

Eadmer of Canterbury  
LIVES AND MIRACLES OF  
SAINTS ODA, DUNSTAN,  
AND OSWALD

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
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AND  
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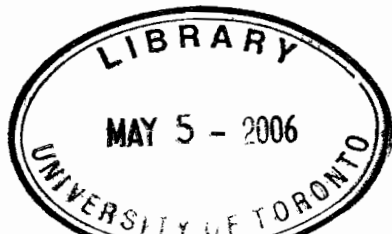
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that his initial uncertainty confused later copyists. Rather than attempting to impose consistency ourselves, we have reproduced Eadmer's own spellings exactly, both because it provides an insight into a medieval scribe at work, and because it occasionally produces additional evidence for the manuscript tradition of these works.<sup>4</sup>

Chapter divisions follow the initial capitals in Corpus Christi College 371; the only exception to this is made in our edition of the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Oswaldi*, where we have followed Raine in marking the prologue separately, as it is in the manuscripts J and O. In the *Vita* and *Miracula S. Dunstani* and in the *Vita S. Oswaldi* the chapter divisions of the editions of Stubbs and Raine printed in the Rolls Series do not always correspond to the chapters of C: for convenience, these earlier chapter divisions are marked in the text in square brackets (e.g. '[2 Stubbs]'). Punctuation is editorial, and follows modern principles.<sup>5</sup> Eadmer used two types of e-caudata in his manuscript, one to represent the diphthong 'ae' and the other for 'oe'; in our edition we have transcribed these letters. Where variant spellings for those of the autograph are found in other manuscripts, such as 'solempnis' for 'solemnis', 'numquam' for 'nunquam', 'nihil' for 'nichil', etc., these have not been noted in the apparatus, unless they provide some evidence for the manuscript tradition. Similarly, corrections in these other manuscripts are only mentioned in the apparatus when they provide evidence for the nature of the copyist's exemplum (summaries can be found under the individual manuscript descriptions). However, all corrections made in Corpus Christi College 371 are noted in the critical apparatus for each text.<sup>6</sup>

In our translations, we have tried to preserve some of the rhetorical structures which pervade Eadmer's Latin, but at times this is simply not possible.<sup>7</sup> Where the Vulgate text of the Bible has been cited, either verbatim or partially, in Eadmer's Latin, our translations are based on the Douai–Rheims English translation of the Vulgate (revised R. Challoner, 1749–50).

## VITA SANCTI ODONIS

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the alternative spellings 'fialam' and 'phialam' in *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 3, which are found in the consensus of manuscripts other than C, showing that the variant occurred in Eadmer's original version of the work ( $\omega$ ).

<sup>5</sup> For detailed discussion of the punctuation system followed by Eadmer in Corpus Christi College 371, see *Vita S. Anselmi*, ed. Southern, pp. xxv–xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> With regard to the reference system in the apparatus criticus, a single letter can denote either variants to a single word or inversion of word order in a phrase. A letter is given twice in order to indicate the start and end of a longer passage containing variants.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

*Witnesses*

- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 371, pp. 87–102  
(s. xii<sup>1/4</sup>, ante 1116)
- H London, British Library, Harley MS 624, fos. 121<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>r</sup>  
(s. xii<sup>2/4</sup>)
- L London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 159, fos. 68<sup>r</sup>–74<sup>v</sup>  
(s. xvi<sup>1/4</sup>, c.1507)
- P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2475,  
fos. 184<sup>v</sup>–190<sup>r</sup> (s. xii<sup>2</sup>)
- T London, British Library, Harley MS 310, fos. 81<sup>r</sup>–88<sup>r</sup>  
(s. xvii)

*Lost witness*

- Bf From the monastery of S. Maria Boni Fontis (pr. *AA SS*,  
Iul. ii. 63–73)

*Edition*

- Mabillon *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, v. 288–96 (ed. J.  
Mabillon)

VITA S. ODONIS

INCIPIIT VITA SANCTI ODONIS  
"ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS"

I. VENERABILIS Christi confessor Odo, nobilibus sed paganis parentibus oriundus, sicut rosa e spinis floruit,<sup>1</sup> uel quasi pretiosum de uilibus uasculis aroma processit. Nam ex impia illa senatorum multitudine fertur genus habuisse quae olim sceleratissimum praedonem Inguarem comitata nauali manu in regnum Anglorum est aduecta.<sup>2</sup> Hos ille natiuitatis principes sortitus, et eorum accuratissima educatione pueriles annos translatus, festinabat Christianorum conuenticula indesinenter adire, diuinos qui ab illis dicebantur sermones magna animi oblectatione audire, domumque reuertens quae audierat parentum auribus sedulo infundere. Super quibus bonorum studiorum primordiis pater impius impie irritatus, prohibebat ne omnino Christum nominaret, neue paternas institutiones Christianae religionis ueneratione immutaret. Verum ille prohibentis imperium penitus despiciens, magis ac magis aecclesiae limina terere,<sup>b</sup> diuini uerbi intento animo semina percipere, et quae coeperat absque pauore domi nunciare. Hinc iterum pater supra humanum modum exasperatus grauissima illum correptione affligit, iusque haereditatis quod ad illum lege primogenitorum uenire debebat subtrahit. Tum puer exultans in Domino, quod talem pro eius nomine proscriptio-nem subiret in terra propter quam ascribendum se esse confideret in caelo, dimissis parentibus et<sup>c</sup> parentum diuitiis, nudus et omni

<sup>a-a</sup> CANTVARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS IIII NONAS IVNII HP; CANTVARIORUM ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS L <sup>b</sup> BfP add et <sup>c</sup> C inserts s.l.; om. P

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. of S. ii: 2: 'Sicut liliū inter spinas'. Eadmer also adapts the wording here from his source, Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 403: 'Postquam uenerabilis Oda, ut uernis floruit rosis, et enormes peccaminum spinas post baptismi sacramentum depulit.'

<sup>2</sup> The year and place of Oda's birth are unknown. Ingvar (Ivarr the Boneless) was a leader of the Scandinavian army which landed in East Anglia in 865 and devastated eastern England. In later Christian literature he gained notoriety for his cruel execution of King Edmund the Martyr in 870; cf. Abbo, *Life of St Edmund*, cc. 9–10, in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972). For Ivarr's role in the Scandinavian settlement of England, see D. M. Hadley, 'Hamlet and the princes of Denmark: Lordship in the Danelaw', *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, ii;

HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF SAINT ODA,  
ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR

I. The venerable confessor of Christ, Oda, who was descended from noble though pagan parents, flourished like a rose among thorns,<sup>1</sup> or, to put it another way, issued forth like a priceless perfume from a worthless vessel. For he is said to have taken his lineage from that horde of godless nobility who were transported long ago in the company of Ingvar, a most wicked plunderer, to the kingdom of the English by a naval force.<sup>2</sup> Allotted such forefathers by birth and passing his childhood years under the exacting training they provided him, he hastened unceasingly to attend the assemblies of the Christians, to listen with great delight in his soul to the divine sermons which they preached, and then returned home to pour zealously those things which he had heard into the ears of his parents. In response to these first beginnings of Oda's sacred studies, with heathen indignation his unbelieving father prohibited him from even mentioning the name of Christ or from transforming the customs of his ancestors through the observance of the Christian religion. But Oda utterly rejected this injunction, and wore down the threshold of the church by his increasingly frequent visits; he received the seeds of the divine Word with an attentive soul, and fearlessly declared at home what he had learned. With that his father, who was again exasperated beyond human tolerance, assailed Oda with the severest reproaches and withdrew the right of inheritance which ought to have come to him by the law of primogeniture. Then rejoicing in the Lord because he had undergone such persecution in this world for his name's sake, for which he was confident he would be entered in the heavenly book, the young boy rejected his parents and his parents'

Turnhout, 2000), pp. 107–32, at 111. Scandinavian names (e.g. Oscytel and Thurcytel) are attested in Oda's family, while some of his relatives, who later obtained influential positions within the church, possessed large land-holdings in East Anglia. For discussion of the evidence for Oda's family, see A. Wareham, 'Saint Oswald's family and kin', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 46–63, at 48–9, and for the family's dominance of senior ecclesiastical positions, J. Barrow, 'Survival and mutation: Ecclesiastical institutions in the Danelaw in the ninth and tenth centuries', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England*, pp. 155–76, at 161–3.

mundano decore priuatus aufugit. Adito itaque duce quodam nomine Athelmo,<sup>3</sup> qui tempore regis Ælfredi<sup>4</sup> et Christianissimus et inter caeteros optimates<sup>b</sup> regni Anglorum unus de sullimioribus erat, postulabat illius se potentia et auctoritate a parentum suorum furore defendi. Qui bona adolescentis indole gaudens, nec dignum aliquatenus esse iudicans ut tale decus paganis ritibus sub patris imperio deseriret, paterno illum affectu<sup>c</sup> suscepit, defensione muniuit, auxiliis necessariis simul et non necessariis fouit. Deinde Graeca et<sup>d</sup> Latina lingua magistris edocendum tradidit, quarum linguarum plerisque tunc temporis in gente Anglorum usus erat a discipulis beatae memoriae Theodori archiepiscopi profectus.<sup>5</sup> Factusque est in utraque lingua ualde gnarus ita ut posset poemata fingere,<sup>6</sup> prosam continuare, et omnino quicquid ei animo sederet luculentissimo sermone proferre.

2. Post haec sacramento baptismatis renatus, clericali tonsura decoratus, usque ad subdiaconatus ministerium domini sui admonitione perductus est. In quo gradu per aliquot annos ita sanctitate uitae et praedicationis sinceritate pollebat ut quicumque illum agnosceret Spiritus Sancti templum esse non dubitaret,<sup>7</sup> omniumque testimonio dignus esset qui ad altiora aecclesiae ministeria, licet aetas eius quantum ad instituta canonum spectat hoc prohiberet, prouehi deberet.<sup>8</sup> Vnde suasus a domino suo ut ad sacerdotium se sineret transferri, quatinus ab illo diuinum cotidie officium audiret cuius uitam castissimam, manus uero munditiae plenas agnouisset,<sup>9</sup> ille

<sup>a</sup> Alfreði L; Eluuredi B/P    <sup>b</sup> om. L    <sup>c</sup> affectu illum B/P    <sup>d</sup> ac HLP

<sup>3</sup> Æthelhelm was a prominent English ealdorman; in 894 he was one of the commanders of King Alfred's army which won an important victory over the Vikings (see ASC s.aa. 887, 894, 898).

<sup>4</sup> Alfred (849–99), son of Æthelwulf, was King of Wessex 871–99.

<sup>5</sup> Theodore of Tarsus (602–90) was archbishop of Canterbury 668–90. Together with the abbot Hadrian (d. 710) he established a school which transmitted a considerable body of Greek Christian scholarship into England; for major studies, see B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994) and *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, ed. M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1995). Eadmer's claim that the traditions of Theodore's school, particularly the teaching of Greek, survived to Oda's time is, however, doubtful. There is no evidence that the Greek language was taught in England during the reign of King Alfred; see M. Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *ASE*, iv (1975), 67–111, at 67–8. However, Eadmer may have been influenced by traditions in contemporary scholarship, such as an elaborate genealogy of scholars written in France in the 10th c., the *Grammaticorum διαδοχή*, which traced the teaching of grammar from Theodore and Hadrian to its own day; see the edition in W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. J. C. Frakes (Washington, DC, 1988), pp. 122–5. In his

wealth and ran away, naked and deprived of any worldly station. And so Oda approached a certain ealdorman called Æthelhelm,<sup>3</sup> who in the time of King Alfred<sup>4</sup> was a most Christian man and one of the highest ranking of all the nobility of the English kingdom, and begged him to protect him by his power and authority from the rage of his parents. Rejoicing in the young man's good character and judging it highly inappropriate that such great virtue should be enslaved to pagan rites by a father's ruling, he received Oda with paternal affection, protected him by his patronage, and nurtured him with both the necessities of life and other things besides. Thereafter he entrusted him to teachers to be instructed in the Greek and Latin languages, which at that time were widely used among the race of the English; teaching of these had been initiated by the disciples of Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory.<sup>5</sup> And he became very knowledgeable in each of these tongues, so much so that he could fashion poems,<sup>6</sup> compose prose at length, and in general express whatever was in his mind in the most lucid language.

2. After this he was born again through the sacrament of baptism, adorned with the priestly tonsure, and on the recommendation of his lord he was promoted to the office of subdeacon. By the sanctity of his life and the sincerity of his preaching he excelled so much at this level over a period of years that everyone who knew him well agreed that he was a temple of the Holy Spirit,<sup>7</sup> and by general consensus they deemed him worthy to be promoted to the higher offices of the church, although according to canonical regulations his youthfulness would have prohibited this.<sup>8</sup> For these reasons Oda was urged by his lord to permit himself to be promoted to the priesthood, so that each day Æthelhelm might hear the divine office from someone that he knew led a very chaste life and had most pure hands;<sup>9</sup> Oda, however,

much later Life of Bregwine, written c.1123, Eadmer also states that this obscure 8th-c. figure was educated in 'studia litterarum, quae ex beati Theodori pontificis Cantuariorum eiusque discipulorum traditione totam terram magnifice irrigabant' (*Vita Bregowini*, c. 1).

<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere, Eadmer mistakenly attributed the highly erudite poem by the Frankish scholar Frithegod, the *Breuiloquium uitae Beati Wilfredi*, to Oda; see *Vita S. Wilfridi*, p. 188 for further discussion.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 6: 19.  
<sup>8</sup> The extant canons of the Anglo-Saxon church do not stipulate a minimum age for elevation to the priesthood, which was fixed in the mid-12th c. on the authority of earlier papal rescripts at a minimum age of 30, and 25 in exceptional cases; see *Decretum* D. 78. Æthelwold of Winchester seems to have been between 25 and 35 when he was ordained some time between 934 and 939 (*Life of St Æthelwold*, pp. xl–xli), while Wulfstan of Worcester was about 26 when he was ordained c.1034 (E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 48, 308).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. 22: 21, 25, and Job 22: 30.

obiecta immatura aetate quantum potuit obstitit. Postmodum uero, ratione simul et antiquorum exemplorum auctoritate uictus, religioso desiderio cessit, leuiticam stolam humero circumdedit, paruoque tempore elapso summorum quoque misteriorum sacrator accessit. Ex quo tempore tam ipse dux quam caeteri pene omnes regalis palatii principes in summa ueneratione eum<sup>a</sup> habere, secreta male actae uitae ei aperire, et de his emendandis eius consilio libenter credere.

3. Interea<sup>b</sup> dux regi suggestit habere se desiderium proficiscendi<sup>c</sup> Romam et sanctis apostolis ibidem supplicandi. Moxque regia licentia simul ac munificentia donatus, adiuncto sibi uenerabili presbitero Odone cum magno comitatu profectus est.<sup>10</sup> Sed cum itineris aliquantulum peregissent, acerba tactus infirmitate acriter coepit egrotare, adeo ut uix reciproci flatus posset aera spirare. Cunque per sex continuos dies et languor augmentum et commeatus acciperet detrimentum, septimo iubet omnem turbam cepta uia progredi, solo Odone secum retento cuius ope in praesenti periculo maxime indigebat. Quem ad se post<sup>d</sup> relictos illos<sup>e</sup> flebili uoce clamatum, orat ut pro sui liberatione Domino preces effundat, referens se indubitanter credere quod nichil ei diuina pietas denegaret quem a puero in magna gratia acceptum haberet. Tum uenerabilis Odo, animo ad Deum erecto, toto corpore terrae procumbit, magnosque diuinae clementiae singultuum imbres effundit. Surgensque de solo postulat sibi repletam uino fialam<sup>f</sup> deferri. Super quam inuictae crucis signaculum edens, humiliter uinum uiro porrexit, atque ut in Domino per omnia confideret fideliter admonuit. Bibit itaque homo quod erat in calice, et eodem momento cum redderet fialam<sup>g</sup> redditam sibi omnimodam sentiebat medelam. Proinde curuatus ad genua presbiteri gratias refert, ascensoque equo praemissos comites uolucer insequitur quos celeri cursu uiam terentes sequenti die impigro et ipse

<sup>a</sup> eum ueneratione *BfHL*; cum ueneratione *P*    <sup>b</sup> *New chapter in P*    <sup>c</sup> proficiscendi *L*  
<sup>d</sup> *om. L*    <sup>e</sup> relictis illis *L p. c., so also T*    <sup>f</sup> *Spelled thus in CHLP*; phialam *Bf*  
<sup>g</sup> phyalam *HL*; phialam *BfP*

<sup>10</sup> Eadmer's story of this pilgrimage derives from his main source for this part of the life, Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 405–6, but a journey of Æthelhelm to Rome in 887 is also recorded in *ASC s.a. 887*. If that journey were the same as the one described here, Oda's birth could be placed some time in the early 860s, since he was already ordained as a priest (see c. 2 above); but this would make him well over 90 when he died in 958. Otherwise, either Byrhtferth must preserve an account of a second journey to Rome made by Æthelhelm which is not recorded elsewhere, or he was aware of the association between Æthelhelm and Oda and of Æthelhelm's journey to Rome, and combined the two elements to produce a fictitious setting for the miraculous healing he relates.

resisted as much as he could, objecting on the grounds of his tender age. He was eventually overruled, however, by both reason and the authority of ancient precedents; yielding to this devout desire, he encircled his shoulders with a deacon's stole and indeed after a short time also became a celebrant of the greatest mysteries. From that moment onwards nearly all the other nobles of the royal palace held him in the greatest esteem, as much as the ealdorman himself had; they confided in him secrets about their days spent in sin and gladly accepted advice from him about how to mend their ways.

3. Meanwhile, Æthelhelm intimated to the king his desire to depart for Rome and there pray to the holy apostles. Blest with the king's permission and endowed by his generosity, he soon thereafter set out in a great company with the venerable priest Oda by his side.<sup>10</sup> But when they had advanced only a short way on their journey the ealdorman was afflicted by an acute illness and began to decline very quickly, so much so that he was scarcely able to draw air in and breathe it out again. And since for six days on end his weakness grew stronger and his progress became slower, on the seventh day he ordered the whole company to continue along the road they had chosen to take, keeping only Oda back with him, since he stood in need of his help in that time of greatest danger. When the others had departed, he summoned Oda with tearful words and begged him to pour forth prayers to the Lord for his deliverance, saying that he believed firmly that the Lord's love denied nothing to one whom he in his bountiful grace had adopted from childhood. Then lifting his mind up to God venerable Oda fell fully prostrate upon the earth, sobbed and poured forth great floods of tears to the God of mercy. And when he rose from the ground he asked for a vessel filled with wine to be brought to him, and making the sign of the victorious cross above it he humbly proffered the wine to the man and urged him to trust faithfully in the Lord in all things. And so the ealdorman drank what was in the chalice, and at the very moment in which he returned the vessel he could feel all manner of healing returning within himself. Thereupon, he bowed down before the priest's knees and offered thanks; then he mounted his horse and swiftly pursued the companions whom he had sent on ahead. They were traversing the road in swift flight, but by riding strenuously too the ealdorman also caught up with them on the following day. And as he came into view they all poured forth tears of joy; they were

uolatu attingit. Viso autem illo, omnes "prae gaudio<sup>a</sup> lacrimas fundunt, sed praestitae salutis auctorem cognoscentes amplius mirantur.

4. Romuleam igitur ad urbem usque progressi, et inde ad patrios lares feliciter reuersi, immensam cum regi tum caeteris in palatio degen-  
tibus in aduentu suo laeticiam praestant. Post<sup>b</sup> dies duce ipso, ac post  
ducem praefato rege de praesenti<sup>c</sup> uita sublato, Edwardus filius  
eiusdem regis in regnum successit, et illud pluribus annis prudentis-  
sime rexit.<sup>11</sup> In cuius diebus uenerabilis Odo presbiterii gradum  
officio simul ac uitae sanctitate insignis administrabat, regi notus et  
acceptus, ei et omnibus admirandus, ad omnes benignitate ac  
mansuetudine diffusus, omnium moribus iuxta apostolum se con-  
temperans ut omnes Christo lucrifaceret.<sup>12</sup>

5. Vbi autem rex Edwardus huic uitae modum posuit, Æthelstanus<sup>d</sup>  
filius eius regni habenas sortitus est.<sup>13</sup> Vir uero admirabilis Odo  
uitam, ut diximus, uirtutum per omnia agens, magnus ab omni  
populo habebatur. Nec enim ciuitas super montem posita uel lucerna  
in candelabro lucens poterat abscondi.<sup>14</sup> Hinc processit ut sanctitatis  
eius fama cotidie augmentando magnificata ad aures quoque eximii  
regis Æthelstani<sup>e</sup> mira cum laudis exaltatione perlata sit. Qui  
hominem ad se euocatum, et uere Dei famulum esse certissime  
agnitum, suis eum amicitiiis iungit ac secretorum suorum prae caeteris  
conscium facit.

6. Inter<sup>f</sup> haec sedes episcopalis quae tunc temporis Scireburne, nunc  
autem Serisberie est, pastore uiduata est.<sup>15</sup> Sciens itaque rex Odonis  
uitam pontificatu omnino dignissimam, eum de suscipiendo episco-  
patu interpellare, ac ut ouium Dei pastor apostolicus loco defuncti  
fieri adquiesceret magno coepit studio renitentem obsecrare.<sup>16</sup> Quid

<sup>a-a</sup> CL write as one word; L (p.c.) inserts division marks s.l.

<sup>c</sup> praesente L p. c.

<sup>d</sup> Æthelstanus B/JLP

<sup>e</sup> Æthelstani B/JL

<sup>b</sup> New chapter in P

<sup>f</sup> New chapter in

HL; L writes |Nota bene| in mg.

<sup>11</sup> Edward the Elder, son of Alfred, ruled 899–924.

<sup>13</sup> Æthelstan, son of Edward the Elder, ruled 924–39.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Matt. 5: 14–15.

<sup>15</sup> The location of Oda's first see is discussed below; the removal of the bishop's seat from Sherborne to Salisbury to which Eadmer refers was formally approved at the council of London presided over by Lanfranc in 1074/5 (*Councils*, p. 613).

<sup>16</sup> In late additions by John of Worcester to his chronicle, mostly deriving from William of Malmesbury, Oda's appointment as bishop of Wilton is dated to 920 and placed under

even more amazed when they recognized who had restored him to excellent good health.

4. And so they travelled all the way to the city of Romulus and returned auspiciously from there to their native hearths; the king was immensely overjoyed upon their arrival, as was everyone who dwelt in the palace. Some days later, when this ealdorman had been taken from the present life, and shortly after him the aforementioned king also, Edward, the son of that king, succeeded to the realm and ruled it in wisest fashion for many years.<sup>11</sup> During his reign venerable Oda performed the priestly office in an outstanding manner, by both his sense of duty and the holiness of his life. He was known and accepted by the king, and was admired by him and everyone else. They were all touched by his kindness and gentleness. He adapted his manners to those of people of all sorts so that in accordance with the injunction of the apostle Paul he might gain them all for Christ.<sup>12</sup>

5. After King Edward had reached the end of this mortal life, the reins of the kingdom were passed to his son Æthelstan.<sup>13</sup> The admirable man Oda continued to lead a life that was in every way virtuous, as we have described, and was considered by everyone to be outstanding: for neither can a city seated upon a mountain nor a candle shining upon a candelabra be hidden from view.<sup>14</sup> Thus it came to pass that his reputation for sanctity, which was magnified and increased daily, was borne with wondrous praise and exaltation to the ears of that most excellent king, Æthelstan. He summoned Oda before him, and recognizing most assuredly that he was truly a servant of God, he included him among his friends and made him, before all the rest, privy to his secrets.

6. While these things were happening the episcopal see, which was then at Sherborne but is now at Salisbury, was deprived of its shepherd.<sup>15</sup> And so, knowing that the life of Oda was in every way most worthy of the office of pontiff, the king began to beseech him with great urgency to take up the bishopric and to beg him, in spite of his reluctance, to agree to take the dead man's place and become the apostolic shepherd of God's flock.<sup>16</sup> Why do I delay in telling you?

King Edward the Elder (John of Worcester, s.a. 920). However, evidence for Oda in episcopal lists and charters (see below) only begins to occur under Æthelstan, who is the king in Eadmer's narrative.



moror? Tandem aecclesiae ac regiis precibus uictus, quod sibi nimium graue testabatur, pontificale officium in praefata Scireburnensi aecclesia pontifex factus administrare consensit.<sup>17</sup> Presidebat his diebus loco, dignitate, auctoritate et officio aecclesiae Cantuariensi uir bonus et strenuus, Wlfelmus nomine,<sup>18</sup> qui huic regis, cleri ac plebis electioni animo libenti consensum attribuens, eum pro suo iure in illam ad quam electus erat pontificii dignitatem debito cum honore sacrauit. Sacratu autem, et insignibus sacerdotalibus sacerdotaliter infulatus, quam gloriosum Deo habitaculum se praebuerit, quam erga animarum sibi commissarum lucra sollicitus fuerit nescio utrum aliquis digne ualeat eloqui, quantacunque sagacitate praeditus ingenii. Vnde quid de illis simplicitas purae mentis aduertere possit scribere nolo, tantum opera miserentis Dei quae in seruis suis placita sibi simplicitate inhaerentibus operari in beneplacito suo dignatur eis consideranda propono.

7. Anno<sup>a</sup> inter haec Domenicae incarnationis nongentesimo tricesimo octauo, regni autem Æthelstani<sup>b</sup> uictoriosissimi regis quarto decimo, congregatus est aduersus regnum Anglorum immensus exercitus paganorum,<sup>c</sup> profanis legibus suis subiugando eneruare, et eneruando uolens annihilare sacratissimas quas Angli seruabant leges Christianorum. Quibus nominatus princeps ualida armatorum manu stipatus occurrens, pugnae se dedit, et diutissime ac atrocissime pugnatum utrinque est.<sup>19</sup> Duxerat autem secum in aciem rex sanctum Odonem, eius meritis se multo maxime quam militum copiis confidens hostem uicturum. Dum igitur hinc inde strages grauissima fieret et erumnosa, res luctuosa contigit. Quo etenim rex ipse pugnabat iuxta capulum gladius confractus est, et regem quasi inermem hostibus exposuit.

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in HLP; L writes* |Nota bene| *in mg.*      <sup>b</sup> *Ethelstani BfL; Etelstani P*  
<sup>c</sup> *paganorum exercitus BfP*

<sup>17</sup> Eadmer's statement that Oda was bishop of Sherborne in Dorset conflicts with other evidence. Eadmer's main source, Byrhtferth, states in a corrupt passage that Oda was made bishop of the town of Wilton in Wiltshire (Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 406: 'rex . . . elegit eum ad gubernandum episcopatum quod est prouincia Wiltuniensi ciuitate'), but he appears in episcopal lists as the bishop of Ramsbury in Wiltshire; see O'Donovan ii. 98–9. Oda was a signatory to charters from 927 onwards, although P. McGurk noted that 'no charter before 930 (Sawyer, 403) attested by him is entirely free of suspicion' (John of Worcester, ii. 381 n. 7). An earlier charter dating to 927 (Sawyer, 398), which names him as bishop of Sherborne, contains a dubious witness list (O'Donovan ii. 98); notably, this charter originates from Eadmer's own monastery, Christ Church in Canterbury.

<sup>18</sup> Wulfhelm was archbishop of Canterbury c.926–941/2; for his dates, see O'Donovan i. 32–3.

Overwhelmed in the end by the prayers of both the church and the king, he agreed to be made a bishop and to take up the episcopal duties of the church at Sherborne, which was just mentioned above, even though he had asserted earlier that these things were far too burdensome for him.<sup>17</sup> In those days, a man who was good and energetic, of noble birth, dignified, magisterial, and conscientious, Wulfhelm by name, presided over the church at Canterbury.<sup>18</sup> With joyful spirit he gave consent to Oda's nomination by the king, clergy, and public, and according to the rights invested in him consecrated him with due honour into the special dignity of the bishopric to which he had been elected. And after he was consecrated and attired in priestly fashion in his sacerdotal vestments I know of no one, even though he be endowed with very great wisdom, who could relate fittingly how glorious a dwelling place Oda provided in himself for God, or how concerned he was to gain the souls entrusted to him. Therefore, I do not wish to write about what only a pure and innocent mind can grasp in these matters; instead, I set out for the consideration of the servants of merciful God who cleave to him and please him by their devotion the works which he deigns in his pleasure to effect among them.

7. Meanwhile in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 938, that is, the fourteenth year of the reign of the most victorious king Æthelstan, a vast army of heathens assembled against the kingdom of the English. They wished to diminish them by subjecting them to their own pagan laws, and by diminishing them to obliterate the most sacred laws of the Christians observed by the English. Flanked by a strong force of armed men and rushing towards the enemy, the chieftain engaged in battle, and for a very long time there was most horrendous fighting on both sides.<sup>19</sup> However, the king had brought blessed Oda into battle with him, trusting that he would defeat the enemy much more by the merits of this man than with hordes of soldiers. And while the most bitter and wretched slaughter was happening all about, a lamentable event occurred. For while King Æthelstan was fighting, his sword shattered close to the hilt and exposed him to his enemies, as if he were defenceless. Meanwhile

<sup>19</sup> The battle described here is the Battle of Brunanburh, recorded in ASC s.a. 937; it was a major victory by Æthelstan over an alliance of Norsemen, led by Anlaf (Olaf) and the Irish under King Constantine. The location of Brunanburh cannot be identified with certainty.

Inter haec Odo a pugna remotus longiuscule stabat, ore et corde pro salute Christiani exercitus Christo supplicans, et uultum, manus ac lumina caelestibus pro hoc ipso indefessus extendens. Quid itaque rex in tali euentu facere posset fluctuabat. Vt se armaret suorum quemquam exarmare nefas iudicabat.<sup>a</sup> Pars igitur aduersariorum ubi regem fracto ense stare aduertit <sup>b</sup>inermem, fugam quam inire coeperat <sup>b</sup>uersis uultibus in pugnam acriori caede uindicare aggreditur. Tum subito intonat 'aether <sup>a</sup> clamore multitudinis,<sup>20</sup> ut Deus succurreret <sup>d</sup>et celeri gressu Odo uenerandus accurreret, <sup>d</sup>uociferantis. Aduolat et quidnam sibi uelit rex a se fieri lassabundus interrogat. Audit et statim regi taliter inquit: 'Quid est hoc? Quo intendis? Ensis tuus in latere tuo integer pendet, et tu eum fractum esse conquereris? Redi ad te; ad uaginam manum extende; exere illum, et ecce dextera Domini erit tecum. Nec formides, quia non prius continget solis occubitus, quam aduersarios Domini tui qui contra te surrexerunt fuga <sup>e</sup> inuoluat aut <sup>f</sup> interitus.'<sup>21</sup> Ad haec quique audientium grandi stupore attoniti, deflexis luminibus uiderunt quem prius non uiderant, ensem in latere regis pendentem.<sup>22</sup> Quem rex in Domino <sup>g</sup> confortatus arripiens, dextra leuaque <sup>h</sup> cunctos occursantes aut debilitauit aut fugauit aut morti funditus tradidit. Itaque iuxta uerbum famuli Dei factum est ut simul et sol occumberet et regi de hostibus uictoria proueniret. Quid hinc gratiarum, quid laudum, quid uotorum Deo per fidelem seruum suum Odonem, per regem, per uictorem exercitum, per totum regnum quo magnitudo istius uictoriae perlata est, sit persolutum quis enarret? Magnificentia facti docebit audientes, quia non facile quisquam. Gloriosus autem Odo magnae dehinc admirationis apud omnes habitus est, et uere praeclarus Isrelita comprobatus.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>a</sup> New chapter in H; L writes |Nota| in mg. <sup>b-b</sup> om. L <sup>c-c</sup> aethera L  
<sup>d-d</sup> om. L <sup>e</sup> om. L <sup>f</sup> om. L <sup>g</sup> Deo B/P <sup>h</sup> dextraque leua L

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 239: 'impulsu quo maximus intonat aether'.

<sup>21</sup> Oda's prophecy alludes to the victory of Joshua at Gabaon, when God made the sun stand still until all of Joshua's enemies were slain (*Josh.* 10: 12-15).

<sup>22</sup> William of Malmesbury gives a number of versions of this miracle. In the *Gesta Regum* he states that it occurred during an attack by Anlaf on Æthelstan's camp by night, that Æthelstan was unable to find his sword, and that it was restored to him by the miraculous intervention of St Aldhelm (*GR*, ii. 131. 6-7), while in the *Gesta Pontificum* he attributes the miracle, which still occurred during the night attack, to Oda instead (*GP*, i. 14); later in the same work he also ascribes it to Aldhelm (*ibid.*, v. 246). R. M. Thomson commented with regard to these differences that 'Clearly the story was available, perhaps orally, in several versions, which William never reconciled' (*GR*, ii. 116). William, who was writing twenty-five years or so after Eadmer, knew many of his works, including the *Vita S. Odonis*, and

Oda stood somewhat removed from the fighting, praying to Christ with his lips and in his heart for the safety of the Christian army, and for the sake of this continually raised his face, hands, and eyes to those in heaven. The king was perplexed about what to do in such a situation, for he thought it unspeakable to take a weapon from one of his men in order to arm himself. When a group of his adversaries noticed that the king had a broken sword and was unarmed, though they had begun to flee they turned their faces back to battle and set about obtaining revenge for their shameful flight by killing him most cruelly. Then all at once the air resounded with the clamour of the multitude<sup>20</sup> crying out both for God to offer assistance and for venerable Oda to come forth as quickly as possible. He raced up to the king and, although weary, asked what it was he wanted him to do; he listened to the king and immediately responded with these words: 'What is the problem? What is worrying you? Your blade hangs intact at your side and yet you complain that it is broken. Come to your senses, extend your hand to the sheath, draw the sword and, behold, the right hand of the Lord shall be with you. And be not afraid, since the sun will not set until either flight or destruction envelops the enemies of your Lord who have risen up against you.'<sup>21</sup> At these words all those who were listening were struck with great amazement, and casting their glance towards the king they saw hanging by his side the sword which had not been there when they had looked earlier.<sup>22</sup> Snatching it and taking comfort in the Lord, the king advanced and maimed or put to flight or dealt death to all the men rushing upon him from both his left and right. And so in accordance with the prediction of the servant of God, it came to pass that the king gained victory over his enemies exactly as the sun was setting. Who could ever recount the thanks, praises, and prayers rendered to God on account of this miracle by his faithful servant Oda, the king, the victorious army, and the entire kingdom when the magnitude of that victory was proclaimed? The very greatness of the deed itself will instruct those who hear of it, since no man can easily do so. And from that time onwards glorious Oda was regarded by all men with great admiration and was acknowledged to be truly an illustrious son of the house of Israel.<sup>23</sup>

seems regularly to have included details from them in his own stories, but whether he was influenced in his accounts of Brunanburh by Eadmer, or the similarities derive from a common source, is uncertain. See also pp. xliii-xliv above.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. John 1: 47.

8. Post<sup>a</sup> paucos huius insignis uictoriae annos Æthelstanus<sup>b</sup> bono fine praesentem uitam finiuit, et frater eius Ædmundus<sup>c</sup> locum decedentis rex factus obtinuit.<sup>24</sup> Hic<sup>d</sup> germani sui uestigia in bono emulans, bonos quosque<sup>e</sup> summo studio diligebat, et eos sibi familiares effectos in iis<sup>f</sup> quae Christianum regem decebant sincero ac libenti animo audiebat. Praeclare igitur inter alios beatus Odo eius familiaritate potitus est, et ab eo pura mente dilectus.

9. His diebus Wlfelmus pontifex Cantuariorum cunctis mortalibus debitum uitae finem sortitus est.<sup>25</sup> Ne itaque tanta sedes<sup>g</sup> plus aequo pastore careret, reuerendum Odonem rex conuenit, suadens quatinus desolatae aecclesiae per susceptionem super illam curae pastoralis subueniret. Obstat ille, nec ullum suadenti praebet assensum. Dicit enim et indignum se tanta re, et si dignitas aliquatenus aspiraret, tamen ne pontifex, aecclesia sua relicta, ad aliam migret canonum fatetur auctoritate prohiberi.<sup>26</sup> Contra quae et notam omnibus probitatem illius rex edisserit, et quod beatus apostolorum princeps Petrus de Antiochia Romam translatus fuerit,<sup>27</sup> multique alii iuxta ueterum monumenta librorum sedes suas, ratione cogente,<sup>h</sup> mutauerint luculento sermone proponit. Et adiecit: 'Huius quoque rei exemplum penes nos idoneum satis<sup>i</sup> et clarum habemus; uiros uidelicet sanctos, Mellitum dico antistitem Londoniensem et Iustum Rofensem Cantuariam, simili ratione qua<sup>j</sup> te sedem mutare suademus fuisse translatos.'<sup>28</sup> Victus in his pontifex sanctus aliud suae

<sup>a</sup> New chapter in *HL*; *L* writes |Nota| in *mg*. <sup>b</sup> Ethelstanus *BfLP*; *L* adds rex  
<sup>c</sup> Edmundus *HL*; Eadmundus *BfP* <sup>d</sup> hinc *BfP* <sup>e</sup> quoque *P* <sup>f</sup> his *BfP*  
<sup>g</sup> om. *L* <sup>h</sup> cognite *L* <sup>i</sup> satis idoneum *BfP* <sup>j</sup> quo *H*

<sup>24</sup> Edmund, son of Edward the Elder and brother of Æthelstan, ruled 939–46.

<sup>25</sup> Wulfhelm probably died on 12 Feb., either in 941 or 942; see O'Donovan i. 32–3.

<sup>26</sup> Canon 15 of the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in AD 325 prohibited a bishop or priest moving from one see to another; see G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum noua et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. (repr. Graz, 1960–1), ii. 674–5. This canon was used most notoriously at the end of the 9th c. against Pope Formosus (891–6), whose translation from Porto to Rome was made one of the principal grounds for annulling all of his acts by his successor Stephen VI (896–7); see the summary in J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 114–16. However, N. Brooks noted that beginning with Archbishop Æthelhelm (923–6), all 10th-c. archbishops of Canterbury, including Oda, were translated there from sees in the west of the kingdom; he concluded that one reason for this was that it allowed the kings to retain tighter control over the see (N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (London, 1984), pp. 214–15).

<sup>27</sup> Peter is only once mentioned as being at Antioch in the New Testament; Paul confronted him there on the issue of Jewish observances (Gal. 2: 11). Nevertheless, by the 4th c. a tradition had developed that Peter had been bishop of Antioch before he was transferred to Rome; cf. the reference in Jerome's translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius

8. A few years after this remarkable victory Æthelstan succumbed to a Christian death and brought his mortal life to conclusion; his brother Edmund was made king and assumed the office of the one who had died.<sup>24</sup> He followed in the footsteps of his brother in doing good; he cherished all good men with the greatest zeal, and with a sincere and willing mind he listened to those whom he had accepted as his friends in matters with which a Christian king ought to be concerned. And so blessed Oda, who was pre-eminent among the others, gained his close friendship and was loved by him with a pure heart.

9. In those days Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, reached the end of his allotted life, as is the fate of all mortals.<sup>25</sup> And so that such a great see might not lack a shepherd any longer than need be, the king summoned reverend Oda to propose to him that he come to the assistance of the bereaved church by assuming pastoral care over it. Oda resisted, and he did not consent to the king's persuasive arguments. For he said that he was unworthy of such a great thing, and even if he were infused somehow by worthiness, he declared that it was forbidden by canonical authority for a bishop to leave his own church and transfer to another.<sup>26</sup> In response to these objections the king drew attention to Oda's impeccable behaviour, which was known to everyone, and in an illuminating speech he further explained that Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles, had been transferred from Antioch to Rome,<sup>27</sup> as many others had changed their sees when compelled by good reason, according to the record of ancient books. And he added: 'We also have an example of this here in our own country, which is abundantly clear and relevant to this case: namely, that the holy men Mellitus, the bishop of London, and Justus of Rochester were transferred to Canterbury in the same way as I propose that you change your see.'<sup>28</sup> Having accepted defeat on

s.a. 42, 'Petrus Apostolus cum primis Antiochenam ecclesiam fundasset, Romam mittitur' (*Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R. Helm, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1913–26; repr. as 1 vol., Berlin, 1984), p. 179). The king's recourse to the example of Peter here also recalls arguments put to Dunstan in Osbern's *Vita S. Dunstani* when he hesitated about holding the bishoprics of Worcester and London in plurality; Osbern depicts King Edgar and his *principes* as citing the apostles John and Paul as instances where sees were held in plurality in the early church (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 31), and it is possible that Eadmer may have been influenced by this account when writing about Oda.

<sup>28</sup> Mellitus and Justus were sent to England to assist in Augustine's mission, according to Bede (*HE*, i. 29), and were later consecrated bishops by him (ii. 3). Mellitus was appointed the first bishop of London, and upon Laurence's death in Jan. 619 succeeded him as archbishop of Canterbury (ii. 7). Upon his death in 624, Justus, who had been bishop of

contradictionis argumentum opponit.<sup>a</sup> ‘Cum primi’, inquit, ‘patres ipsius aecclesiae qui et Christianitatem regno Anglorum attulerunt, et omnes qui eis successerunt usque in praesens monachi, ut omnibus constat, extiterint, ego tam antiquam, tam sanctam, tam Deo acceptam, et tantorum patrum auctoritate roboratam consuetudinem mutarem, infringerem, annichilarem? Absit. Immo nouerit Britannia tota,<sup>b</sup> et quae adiacent insulae omnes, me nullo unquam pacto consensurum ut ipse in clericali habitu constitutus per pontificatum aecclesiae Cantuariensi praesideam, cui nullus ‘qui monachus non fuerit antehac<sup>c</sup> scitur praesedissee. Attamen quia me, ut datur intelligi,<sup>d</sup> non tu solus, sed multi uocant ut ibi pontifex fiam, nec meum est illis reluctando penitus contradicere ne eum qui in ipsis habitat Deum offendam, commendans conscientiam meam ab omni istius honoris ambitione uacuum Deo, sanctum propositum monachicae religionis quod ab ineunte aetate desiderauit, nec adipisci uariis causis impredientibus merui, hac saltem, ut interim ita putetur, occasione assumam. Postmodum uero de pontificatu quo de agitis ipse cui cuncta cordium secreta patescunt agat,<sup>29</sup> et hunc in eo constituat quem idoneum ad hoc sua sapientia probat.’ Hac uiri sententia rex non modice exhilaratus, laudat sanctum propositum eius, laudat constantem uirtutem animi eius, laudat admirandum et imitandum exemplum magnae humilitatis eius. Destinatur igitur post haec sub celeritate nuncii ad abbatem coenobii sancti Benedicti Floriacensis, sanctae religionis habitum ad opus episcopi iuxta praescriptum negotium exquisituri. Fama siquidem religiosissimae conuersationis quae apud Floriacum ipsis diebus quaque terrarum ferebatur omni modo feruere,<sup>30</sup> et contra studium eiusdem religionis quod ob multiplices diuersorum euentuum casus in Anglia usque quaque coeperat deferuere illuc mitti et inde cupitae religionis effectum persuasit expleri. Quod et factum est. Abbas quippe loci ipsius,<sup>e</sup> auditio nuncio, laetissimus efficitur, assumptisque secum nonnullis e fratribus suis, prospero cursu mare transuetus Angliam

<sup>a</sup> ponit *L*    <sup>b</sup> tota Britannia *BfHL*; tota Britannia *P*    <sup>c</sup> antehac qui monachus non fuerit *BfHLP*    <sup>d</sup> intelligi datur *BfHLP*    <sup>e</sup> illius *L*

Rochester from 604, was consecrated archbishop (ii. 8); Justus died on 10 Nov. 627. Eadmer also refers to the careers and the exile of Mellitus and Justus in his life of St Wilfrid; see *Vita S. Wilfridi*, prol. and p. 186.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 14: 25.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Nighthale, ‘Oswald, Fleury and continental reform’, Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 23–45, for a discussion of the Benedictine reforms at Fleury and its attraction for English monks seeking the purest form of monasticism during the 10th c. Fleury claimed the special distinction of possessing the remains of St Benedict (of Nursia).

these grounds, the holy bishop advanced a further argument to support his refusal. ‘Since the founding fathers of this church’, he said, ‘both those who brought Christianity to the kingdom of the English, and all who succeeded them right up to the present time were monks, as everyone agrees, should I change, contravene, or even abolish a custom so ancient, holy, and pleasing to God, and one confirmed by the authority of such great fathers? Far be it from me to do so. Rather, let the whole of Britain and all of the islands that lie close around it know that I shall in no way ever consent for myself to preside as bishop over the church of Canterbury while robed in a priest’s vestments, when it is known that no one who was not a monk has presided over it before now. Nevertheless, since not only you but many others as well summon me to become bishop there, as I am given to understand, it is not my place to frustrate them by resisting utterly, lest I offend the God who dwells within them; and so entrusting to God my conscience, which is devoid of every ambition for that honour, let me at least on this occasion—if for the time being it may be considered that way—take up the sacred vocation of the monk’s religious life, which I have desired from early childhood but have not been worthy to achieve because various reasons prevented it. But hereafter, in the matter of the bishopric with which you are dealing, let him for whom all secrets of the heart lie open<sup>29</sup> decide and establish in it the one whom he judges in his wisdom to be ideal for it.’ The king was completely overjoyed by this reasoning by the man; he praised his holy vocation, the steadfast virtue of his soul, and the example of his great humility, which he thought should be admired and imitated. And thus messengers were afterwards sent hastily to the abbot of the monastery of St Benedict at Fleury to request a habit from him, which was necessary for a holy life, and which the bishop required according to established procedure. For fame reported everywhere in the world that a most religious way of life was flourishing in those days in every respect at Fleury,<sup>30</sup> and on the other hand the yearning for the same religious devotion, which had begun to cool everywhere throughout England on account of manifold misfortunes and various events, suggested that an embassy be sent there and that the establishment of the desired religious way of life be effected from there. And indeed that came to pass. When he had listened to the message, the abbot of Fleury was overjoyed, and taking with him a good number of his brothers he crossed the sea with a favourable voyage and arrived in England; he swiftly approached

ingreditur, antistitem Odonem Deo in cunctis placere studentem alacer adit, et ei quam desiderabat sancti propositi uestem deuotissime tradit.<sup>31</sup> Spectabilis igitur pontifex Odo monachus habitu factus, qui iam olim monachicae uitae sacris fuerat actibus<sup>a</sup> decoratus, quin iugum Domini super totam Angliam, a rege et regno inuitatus, immo compulsus, susciperet<sup>b</sup> recusare ultra non potuit, factus antistes Cantuariensis<sup>b</sup>. Qualiter ergo suscepti regiminis officio usus sit qui nosse desiderant, ex uita eius (quae et qualis ante sacerdotium et in sacerdotio fuerit paucis<sup>c</sup> supra digessimus), sicut estimo, possunt aduertere. Exstitit enim et sanctitate laudabilis et sapientia admirabilis et constantia singularis.

10. Rege autem Edmundo<sup>d</sup> in domo sua malitiose interfecto,<sup>32</sup> frater eius Edredus imperii dignitate functus, a glorioso Odone Cantuariorum summo pontifice in regem sacra est unctione perfusus.<sup>33</sup> His diebus uir praecipuae probitatis Dunstanus, Glastoniensis coenobii dignissimus abbas, magnus apud regem et honorabilis omni populo habebatur. Beatus autem Odo moribus et aetate grandaeuus, religione et industria pollens, auctoritate et modestia praestans, Christianis legibus totum regnum prudentissime nobilitabat.<sup>34</sup> Rex ipse Deum timens, bonos quosque speciali amoris dulcedine fouens, malos uero

<sup>a</sup> actus *L*      <sup>b-b</sup> factus antistes Cantuariensis (*L* adds aeccliesiae) recusare ultra non potuit *BfHLP*      <sup>c</sup> paucis *L*      <sup>d</sup> Eadmundo *BfHP*

<sup>31</sup> Contrary to Eadmer's account, William of Malmesbury says in the *Gesta Pontificum* that Oda himself went to Fleury to be made a monk (*GP*, i. 14). Both accounts may be elaborations of Byrhtferth, who relates that Oda received his monastic habit from Fleury, while not stating explicitly that he went there (Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 413). Richer, whose history of the Franks was completed at Reims between 991 and 998, states that an embassy regarding the return of the heir to the West Frankish throne, Louis, from his exile at the court of Æthelstan, was sent to France in 936, and that it was led by Oda, who was a man of great fairness and eloquence ('magnae aequitatis et eloquentiae uirum'; Richer, *Histoire de France (888-995)*, ed. R. Latouche, 2 vols. (Paris, 1930-7), i. 130). D. Bullough urged considerable scepticism in dealing with this passage, remarking that Richer makes many fanciful elaborations on his principal source Flodoard of Reims (D. Bullough, 'St Oswald: monk, bishop and archbishop', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 1-22, at 5 n. 20); however, Richer's father was a soldier in the household of Louis, and R. Latouche commented that Richer may have obtained his information from an oral source (Richer, *Histoire*, i. 131 n. 2). Brooks suggested that the most likely occasion for Oda's assumption of the monastic habit would in fact have been on this journey in 936, particularly since his host, Duke Hugo, was a leading backer of the reform at Fleury (Brooks, *The Early History*, pp. 222-3).

<sup>32</sup> According to William of Malmesbury, Edmund was murdered at Pucklechurch by a thief named Liofa (*GR*, ii. 144. 1-2); see also John of Worcester s.a. 946, ASC (D) s.a. 946, and ASC (E) s.a. 948.

bishop Oda, who was endeavouring to please God in every way, and handed over to him most reverently the garment of the holy vocation, for which he longed.<sup>31</sup> And so that pre-eminent bishop, Oda, whose life for a long time had been embellished by the holy deeds of a monk's life, was made a monk when he assumed the robe. And once he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, he was no longer able to refuse to shoulder the yoke of the Lord over the whole of England, having been summoned, indeed compelled, by the king and all of the kingdom. And those who want to know how he made use of the office of archbishop once he had assumed it can learn, I think, from his life (I have briefly described above the nature and quality of it both before he entered the priesthood and after he had become a priest). For he was exemplary in his holiness, admirable in his wisdom, and unparalleled in his constancy.

10. After King Edmund was maliciously slain in his own palace,<sup>32</sup> his brother Eadred assumed the high office of ruler and was anointed king with holy unction by glorious Oda, the supreme bishop of Canterbury.<sup>33</sup> In those days a man of outstanding rectitude, Dunstan, the most worthy abbot of the monastery at Glastonbury, was held to be an important man in the king's circle, and thought to be honourable by the entire population. Blessed Oda, who was mature in both his habits and his years, influential on account of his religious life and energy, and pre-eminent in his authority and modesty, was at that time using Christian law to elevate the entire kingdom in a most prudent fashion.<sup>34</sup> The king himself feared God; he cherished all good men with a remarkable loving sweetness, but vehemently

<sup>33</sup> Eadred, son of Edward the Elder and brother of Æthelstan and Edmund, ruled 946-55.

<sup>34</sup> Prior to the death of Edmund in 946, Oda and Archbishop Wulfstan of York attended a synod convened one Easter at London at which legislation was enacted dealing specifically with ecclesiastical matters; it enforced the chastity of religious orders and ordered excommunication for those who did not pay their tithes to the Church or committed murder, perjury, or sorcery (*Councils*, pp. 60-3). Also from the reign of Edmund are Oda's so-called 'Constitutions', ten chapters (canonical regulations) which set out the privileges of the church within society, the duties of the king and the different ranks of the clergy (bishops, priests, clerks, and monks), and the responsibilities of all Christians with regard to sexual conduct, the unity of the church, fasting, and tithes (*ibid.*, pp. 67-74); Oda appears to have based his chapters principally on the canons of the Legatine councils held in England in 786 (cf. the comments of D. Whitelock in *Councils*, pp. 67-8). Another work from this early period to survive is Oda's letter to the bishops exhorting them to watch over their congregations, quoted by William of Malmesbury (*GP*, i. 16); William cites this letter as an instance of Oda's mastery of literary style ('Ipse quoque Odo non mediocre litterarum dedit inditium in epistola'; *ibid.*, i. 15).

ne sua tyrannide bene agentes conturbarent fortiter premens, boni principis mores et actus exequebatur.

II. Hoc ferme tempore quidam clerici maligno errore seducti, asseuerare conabantur panem et uinum quae in altari ponuntur post consecrationem in priori substantia permanere, et figuram tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, non uerum Christi corpus et sanguinem. Quorum enormem perfidiam beatus Odo destruere cupiens, dum quadam die in conspectu totius populi "sacrosanctis missarum solenniis deuotus" intenderet, expressis lacrimis, Dei omnipotentis clementiam in suo ministerio affore postulauit quae ad depellendos hominum errores substantiuam<sup>b</sup> diuinorum misteriorum declararet proprietatem. Cunque ad confractionem uiuifici panis uentum fuisset, O ineffabilem Dei miserationem, O praesentem aeternae maiestatis ostensionem! Confestim nanque inter manus beati<sup>c</sup> pontificis fragmenta corporis Christi tenentis sanguis guttatim defluere coepit.<sup>35</sup> Stans itaque pontifex, et "prae gaudio"<sup>d</sup> uberes lacrimas fundens, innuit astantibus ministris ut illi potissimum propius accedant qui nuper in fide<sup>e</sup> titubauerant. Vocati igitur celeriter assunt, atque in tantarum rerum consideratione perterrefacti pauitanti uoce exclamant: 'O te inter omnes homines felicissimum, hodie cui filius Dei semetipsum in carne dignatus est reuelare.' Et rursum: 'Exora', inquirunt, 'praesulum pater, exora Domini maiestatem ut in pristinam formam praesens sanguis commutetur, ne nos propter infidelitatis errorem ultio diuina<sup>f</sup> sequatur.' Orauit ergo sacerdos, post orationem ad aram respexit, et ubi dimiserat sanguinem consuetam uini repperit speciem. Sumptis autem caelestibus sacramentis, laetantibus cunctis qui tantis interfuere spectaculis, praecepit pontifex pro testimonio tantae uirtutis omnes undecunque pauperes aggregari, et solenne conuiuium eisdem praeparari. Ipse autem cum suis in magna gratiarum actione laeticiam agebat, propterea quod omnis error de Dominico corpore in pectore suorum abolitus fuisset, nec ultra panem in altari

<sup>a-a</sup> om. L    <sup>b</sup> substantiam L    <sup>c</sup> om. BfP; C writes over erasure; H writes manus beati over erasure and protrudes into mg.    <sup>d-d</sup> CL write as one word; L (p.c.) inserts division marks s.l.    <sup>e</sup> fidem L    <sup>f</sup> diuina ultio P

<sup>35</sup> The account of this miracle is derived in part from Byrhtferth; Oda is celebrating mass when the Host began to drip with blood (Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 406-7); Eadmer, however, adds the important extra detail that this miracle came in response to the lack of faith of certain priests in the transformation of the Host into Christ's body and blood. The question of transubstantiation was debated within the Anglo-Saxon church, but Eadmer may have been influenced by a more recent debate about the teaching of Berengar of Tours, who was bitterly opposed by Lanfranc; see above, pp. xl-xli.

suppressed the wicked so that they might not by their tyranny cause disruption among those doing good. He developed good character and performed princely deeds.

II. Around that time, some of the clergy, who were led astray by an evil error, tried to assert that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar remain after the consecration in their previous substance and are merely a symbol of the body and blood of Christ and not truly the body and blood of Christ. On one occasion while he was devoutly attending to the most holy rites of the mass in view of everyone, blessed Oda, desiring to destroy the monstrous lack of faith of those people, poured forth tears and begged that the clemency of almighty God might be present in his servant in order to help make manifest the real nature of the divine mysteries so that he might dispel the errors of men. And when he had come to the breaking of the life-giving bread—O the ineffable mercy of God! O the visible display of his eternal majesty! For drop by drop blood immediately began to trickle between the hands of the blessed bishop as he held the fragments of the body of Christ.<sup>35</sup> And the bishop, standing and pouring forth abundant tears of joy, signalled to his servers who were at hand that especially those who had recently wavered in their faith should approach closer. And being called forth they quickly gathered round, and thoroughly shaken by reflection on such momentous happenings they exclaimed with fearful voice: 'O, you are the most fortunate of all men, for today the Son of God has deigned to reveal to you his very being in the flesh!' And they continued, saying: 'Implore, father of priests, implore the majesty of the Lord that what is now blood may be changed back to its original form, lest divine vengeance pursue us because of our sin of disbelief.' And so the priest prayed. After the prayer he looked towards the altar and when he had set down the blood it regained the normal appearance of wine. When the divine sacraments had been consumed and all those who had witnessed this wondrous sight were rejoicing, the bishop ordered, as a commemoration of such a display of great power, that all of the poor be gathered from round about and that a solemn feast be prepared for them. He himself, however, continued to express his happiness together with his priests with abundant thanksgiving because the error concerning the Lord's body had been completely eradicated from the hearts of his people. Nor did those who had seen real blood

positum<sup>a</sup> uerum Christi corpus esse diffident<sup>b</sup> qui uerum sanguinem inde manare conspexissent.

12. Aliud quoque diuinum reuera miraculum<sup>c</sup> in aecclesia<sup>d</sup> cui praeerat fecit; immo ipse non fecit, sed qui solus habet diuinitatem in illo<sup>e</sup> fecit. Nam tectum eiusdem aecclesiae<sup>f</sup> nimia uetustate corruptum semirutis<sup>g</sup> per totum partibus pendebat. Quod ille renouare cupiens, murum quoque in porrectiorem caelsitudinem exaltare<sup>h</sup> desiderans, congregatis artificibus praecepit et quod disolutum desuper eminebat penitus tolli, et quod minus in altitudine murus habebat iussit extolli.<sup>36</sup> Sed quia clerus ac populus absque diuino seruitio esse non ualebat, et tantae magnitudinis templum non reperiebatur quae ad capiendam numerosae plebis multitudinem sufficere uideretur, deprecatus est pontifex Dominum ut quousque opus incoeptum consummatum fuisset nulla aut infusio imbrium aut uis uentorum infra parietes aecclesiae descenderet quae eos a diuino opere prohibere ualeret. Factumque est ut in tribus annis quibus aecclesiae muri in altum porrigebantur, tota fabrica desuper pateret, nec tamen, non dico infra ambitum solius aecclesiae, sed nec intra muros totius ciuitatis imber aliquando descenderet qui uel clerum in aecclesia<sup>i</sup> consistentem ab officio praepediret, uel populum ad aecclesiam concurrentem aliquatenus posset ab incoepto cohibere. Eratque res digna spectaculo, cum uideres omnia ciuitatis pomeria aquis infundi, et eius moenia nulla pluuiarum inundatione madefieri.

13. Cum autem rex Edredus<sup>j</sup> transitoriam uitam uita perenni permutasset, Eduuius filius supra memorati regis Edmundi<sup>k</sup> in regem electus est.<sup>37</sup> Qui moribus et aetate iuuenulus, iuuenum quos sibi comites atque satellites associauerat mox coepit consiliis uti, spretis senibus quos uita moribus et aetate magna praeditos

<sup>a</sup> L adds sed  
Christi  
adds Christi  
<sup>b</sup> confiderent L p. c.  
ipse L  
Eddredus L  
<sup>c</sup> miraculum reuera diuinum L  
Christi  
Eadmundi BfP  
<sup>d</sup> L adds  
Christi  
L  
<sup>e</sup> L adds  
Christi  
L  
<sup>f</sup> L adds  
Christi  
L  
<sup>g</sup> semirutis BfP  
<sup>h</sup> exaltari L  
<sup>i</sup> L  
<sup>j</sup> Eddredus L  
<sup>k</sup> Eadmundi BfP

<sup>36</sup> The nave of Canterbury Cathedral was partially excavated in 1993, and evidence was uncovered which points to several stages of rebuilding and extension of Christ Church in the Anglo-Saxon period. In his report on these excavations, K. Blockley noted that it is possible that Oda's heightening of the walls may not have left any trace in the archaeological record, but that it could be identified with either the rebuilding of the second Anglo-Saxon cathedral (the excavators' Phase 4B), or the later addition of a western structure to the church (Phase 4C). See K. Blockley, M. Sparks, and T. Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury*

dripping down from there doubt any longer that the bread placed on the altar was the true body of Christ.

12. He also worked another truly divine miracle in the church over which he presided, or rather should I say, that he did not do it himself, but he who alone possesses divinity brought it about through him. For the roof of the church was decayed by its very great age, and was sagging, with parts of it half in ruin throughout its length. Oda wished to restore it, and desired also to raise its walls to a much more exalted height; he instructed the craftsmen whom he had gathered together to tear down completely whatever was jutting out in ruins from above.<sup>36</sup> He also ordered them to extend the wall upwards wherever it was lacking in height. But because the clergy and the people could not go without divine service and a temple could not be found which was large enough and would suffice to contain the great multitude of people, the bishop prayed to the Lord that neither any downpour of rain nor gust of wind which could prevent them from doing their divine task should descend between the walls of the church until the work which had been commenced was completed. And it happened that in the three years during which the walls of the church were being extended in height its entire structure was open above and yet rain did not fall at any time which either hindered the clergy assembled in the church from their office or in any way prevented the people coming together towards the church from doing what they had undertaken to do—and I do not mean just within the bounds of the church itself, but also within the walls of the entire city. And it was a sight to behold, for you could see that all the environs of the city were drenched with water, but its walls were not the least bit dampened by the showers of rain.

13. And when King Eadred exchanged this transitory life for the eternal one, Eadwig, the son of King Edmund who was mentioned above, was chosen as king.<sup>37</sup> An adolescent in character and age, he soon began to act on the advice of the young men whom he had made companions and hangers-on; he spurned the old men whom it was generally agreed, because of their life, morals, and great age, were

*Cathedral Nave: Archaeology, History and Architecture* (The Archaeology of Canterbury, i; Canterbury, 1997), pp. 109–11.

<sup>37</sup> Eadwig, son of Edmund, ruled all of England 955–7, and southern England until 959. The historical traditions which are followed by Eadmer here are extremely hostile towards him.

industria et auctoritate constabat. Vnde correptus a fortissimo milite Christi Odone, aliquantisper se temperabat, uerens ne si illum omnimodis non audiret, regiae dignitatis benedictionem ultra uotum suum sibi dare differret. At ubi eadem benedictione potitus est,<sup>38</sup> ilico quasi effrenis effectus omnes cordis sui sequebatur affectus. Factus est igitur uoluptatum magis quam Dei, luxuriae quam sobrietatis, libidinum quam castitatis amator. Ibat itaque iuxta desideria cordis sui et iniqua gerens<sup>39</sup> a suis benedicebatur. Super haec ea die qua regni coronam in conspectu totius aecclisiae in capite gessit, grauis infamiae notam tantae gloriae et sibi ingessit. Cum enim post officium aecclesiasticum una cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, caeterisque regni principibus<sup>a</sup> iam pransus sederet, subito exiliuit, et relicto consortio omnium in secretiorem sese cameram contulit, duarum feminarum illic<sup>b</sup> eum opperientium stupri ardore succensus, infandum consortium expetens. Quae res considentium mentes magni pudoris merore deiecit. Habito autem consilio inter eos quid facto opus esset, missus est ab archiepiscopo et primoribus is cuius superius mentio facta est, uenerabilis abbas Dunstanus, regem ab illicitis amplexibus abstrahere et ad regiam sedem inter principes reuocare. Quod et factum est. Quapropter rex uehementi furore turbatus, Dunstanum<sup>c</sup> suis omnibus spoliatum exilio damnauit, et extra Angliam trans mare fugauit. Fecit et alia innumera mala quae quoniam alias latius, licet non omnia, digesta sunt, hic tantummodo paucis ea tetigisse sufficere ratus sum.<sup>40</sup> Quae miles Dei omnipotentis Odo aequanimiter ferre non ualens, iniquitatum illius publicus hostis effectus est. Siquidem ubi eum nec admonitionibus suis nec obsecrationibus suis nec increpationibus

<sup>a</sup> principibus regni P    <sup>b</sup> illi P    <sup>c</sup> L adds cum

<sup>38</sup> John of Worcester s.a. 955 records that Oda consecrated Eadwig at Kingston in Surrey. <sup>39</sup> Cf. Ps. 25 (26): 4.

<sup>40</sup> Earlier sources for this period depict a bitter conflict between Oda and Eadwig over the king's private life, but with many differences of detail. The ASC records that Oda divorced Eadwig and his wife, Ælfgifu, because they were too closely related; see ASC (D) s.a. 958. Ælfgifu appears to have survived Eadwig, since she was granted lands by his successor Edgar in 966 and made substantial bequests to Edgar and the church in her will (N. Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 1–23, at 15 and n. 49). Byrhtferth states that Eadwig was married, but that he fell in love with another woman and kidnapped her; Oda, incensed by this, went to the villa where she was staying, kidnapped her himself, and expelled her from the kingdom (Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 402). A third tradition is transmitted by writers from Canterbury. B. describes Eadwig's affair with a mother and her daughter, his outrageous behaviour at the coronation feast, and the role of one of the women, named Æthelgifu, in securing Dunstan's expulsion (B., cc. 21–2); his account is elaborated on by

endowed with diligence and authority. He was rebuked for this by Oda, the most brave soldier of Christ, and controlled himself for a short while, for he feared if he did not listen to him in every matter that Oda would delay bestowing upon him the blessing of the royal office for longer than he would have wished. But when he had been consecrated,<sup>38</sup> all at once he became, so to speak, unbridled and began to follow all of the whims of his heart. Thus he became a lover more of pleasures than of God, of indulgence more than sobriety, of lust more than chastity. And so he acted according to the desires of his heart and in his wrongdoing<sup>39</sup> he was blest by his companions. In addition to this, on the day on which he first wore the crown of the kingdom upon his head in the sight of the entire church, he stamped himself and the glorious occasion with shameful ignominy. For when the ecclesiastical offices were finished and he was sitting after dining together with the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the other chief men of the kingdom, he suddenly jumped up, abandoned the company of everyone present there, and betook himself to a hidden chamber; he was all ablaze with a flame of illicit desire for two women waiting for him there, whose disgraceful companionship he desired. This event weighed upon the minds of those sitting there with great grief and shame. And so they held a conference among themselves to determine what ought to be done, and the venerable abbot Dunstan, who was mentioned earlier, was sent by the archbishop and the leading men to drag the king away from his illicit embraces and to call him back to his royal seat among the leading men. And that was done. Therefore the king was overcome by furious anger and condemned Dunstan to exile, after stripping him of all his possessions, and drove him in flight out of England and across the sea. And he committed innumerable other evils; since these have been rehearsed in great detail elsewhere—though not in their entirety—I thought that it should suffice here merely to touch upon them in a few words.<sup>40</sup> Oda, the soldier of almighty God, was unable to tolerate these things with a patient mind and became the avowed foe of the evil behaviour of that man. Thus when he saw that the king did not want to acquiesce to his warnings or his entreaties and rebukes in order to mend his ways,

Osbern, who adds the story of the woman's hamstringing and death at Gloucester (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, cc. 27–8). Brooks commented that 'it is entirely possible that B.'s dramatic account of this court scandal is a partisan polemic deriving from his memory of the character assassination that attended a disputed marriage' (Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', p. 15). Eadmer conflated the accounts of Osbern and Byrhtferth to produce the narrative here; for discussion, see above, pp. xlii–xliii.



suis acquiescere uelle ut se corrigeret uidit, pontificali auctoritate usus, unam de praescriptis mulieribus quam et amplior potentia et obscenior impudentia dehonestabat, et notiozem hominibus fecerat, quaque nimium contumeliosis amplexibus rex frequentius abutebatur, missis militibus, a curia regis in qua mansitabat uiolenter abduxit, et eam in facie deturpatam, ac candenti ferro denotatam, perpetua in Hiberniam exilii relegatione detrusit. Quae tamen cum<sup>a</sup> post<sup>b</sup> nonnullum temporis interuallum iam obducta in cicatricem corporis forma, sed adhuc hiante impudicae mentis deformitate, relicta Hibernia Angliam rediit, et Gloecestram caecati cordis obscuritate imbuta peruenit. Vbi ab hominibus serui Dei comprehensa, et ne meretricio more ulterius uaga discurreret, subneruata post dies aliquot mala morte praesenti uitae sublata est. Erat quippe summus pontifex Odo uir uirtutum robore, et grandaeuitatis maturitate, ac constantia fultus, et omnium iniquitatum inflexibilis aduersarius. Non hunc alicuius gaudii saecularis illecebrae, non hominum minae, non cuiusuis damni perpessio poterat a rectitudine detertere. Quapropter quia nec sperabat aliquid nec expauescebat, omnium impotentium iram exarmabat.

14. Edwio<sup>c</sup> autem rege (si rex nominandus est, qui nec se nec alios regere nouit), Edwio,<sup>d</sup> inquam, rege regno pro suis criminibus eliminato, et misera morte damnato, Eadgaro<sup>e</sup> fratri eius thronus regius super totam Angliam confirmatus est.<sup>41</sup> Hic omnes paene antecessores suos morum probitate praecedens, cunctas iniquitates quae diebus fratris sui emergerant compressit, euertit, et pro posse in nichilum egit. Praeterea mox ubi regnum obtinuit, reuerendum abbatem Dunstanum ab exilio reuocauit, et eum in episcopatum Wigornensem promouit.<sup>42</sup> Qui electus pontifex in gradum suscepti

<sup>a</sup> om. P    <sup>b</sup> om. L    <sup>c</sup> Eadwio P    <sup>d</sup> Eadwio P    <sup>e</sup> Edgaro L

<sup>41</sup> Eadmer simplifies events here. Eadwig's brother Edgar appears first to have gained power in Northumbria and Mercia in 957 (cf. ASC (BC) s.a. 957), leaving Eadwig to rule over southern England until his death in Oct. 959. Osbern describes this period of divided rule (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 28), and in his life of Dunstan Eadmer elaborates on Osbern's account (*Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 33).

<sup>42</sup> Osbern places the elevation of Dunstan as bishop of Worcester within the period of the divided kingdom, while Eadwig was still alive (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, cc. 29–30); this tradition is also found in John of Worcester s.a. 957. However, Eadmer may have followed other historical traditions for the account here. The life of Dunstan by B. states (probably incorrectly; see note to *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 33) that Dunstan was made bishop of Worcester after the death of Eadwig (B., c. 25). Moreover, late additions to the A version of

Oda, exercising his pontifical authority, sent soldiers and abducted one of the women described earlier by force from the palace of the king where she was residing. She was the one who was disgraced, and made more notorious among men by her greater influence and more obscene impudence, and the king had more frequently cavorted with her in extremely rude embraces. Oda branded her with a white hot iron and disfigured her face, expelled her, and relegated her to perpetual banishment in Ireland. Nevertheless, some time later when the flesh of her body had closed over her scar (though the deformity of her impure mind still gaped wide), she left Ireland, returned to England, and arrived at Gloucester, still tainted by the darkness of her blind heart. She was seized by the servant of God's men and hamstrung so that she could travel no further in pursuit of her vagrant and whorish way of life, and after a few days a bad death carried her off from this present life. Oda, the supreme bishop, was a man sustained by the strength of his virtues and the maturity and constancy of his many years; he was an unyielding opponent of every evil deed. For neither the allurements of any worldly joy, the menacing threats of men, nor the suffering of any kind of loss could deter him from the path of righteousness. Since he neither hoped for nor was afraid of anything, he was able to disarm the rage of all violent men.

14. However, when king Eadwig—if a man can be called king who knows not how to rule either himself or others—when this king Eadwig, I say, was driven from his kingdom because of his crimes and damned to a wretched death, the royal throne of the whole of England was confirmed on his brother Edgar.<sup>41</sup> This man, who surpassed nearly all of his predecessors in righteousness of character, curbed, overturned, and to the best of his ability nullified all of the injustices which had reared their head during his brother's reign. Moreover, upon assuming the kingship he recalled the reverend abbot Dunstan from exile and promoted him to the bishopric at Worcester.<sup>42</sup> The

the ASC, which was brought to Canterbury (perhaps from Winchester) some time in the early 11th c., state that in 959 (Eadwig's death is included under 958 in the original hand) Edgar summoned Dunstan back to England and appointed him first as bishop of Worcester and then London, and that in 961 Oda died and Dunstan succeeded him directly; see ASC (A) s.a. 959, 961. These interpolations have been dated to c.1075, but may be as late as the first quarter of the 12th c.; see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A Collaborative Edition*, iii: *MS A*, ed. J. M. Bately (Cambridge, 1996), p. xxxix, and D. N. Dumville, 'Some aspects of annalistic writing at Canterbury in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, ii (1983), 23–57, at 42–3.

honoris consecrandus Cantuariam pro more aduenit, seque ab ipsius sedis antistite (beato uidelicet Odone) sacrari expetiit. Annuit ipse libens. Verum ut sanctum episcopum spiritu prophetiae pollere in dubium nulli ueniret, hominem qui ad Wiciorum<sup>a</sup> pontificatum promouendus aduenerat in pontificem Cantuariorum Sancti Spiritus operatione promouit. Super quo a circumstantibus cur sic ageret inquisitus, 'Scio', inquit, 'filii, scio, quid operetur in me Deus. Et<sup>b</sup> hunc quidem Wigornensis<sup>c</sup> prouintia me uiuente pastorem habebit, sed tota Britannia eodem, me defuncto, rectore gaudebit.<sup>43</sup> Nec enim lege stringitur<sup>d</sup> Sancti Spiritus donum'. Quae propheta quam uera extiterit, ecclesia Dei quae eius regimine, sicut praedixit episcopus sanctus, diu postmodum gloriata est, et usque hodie sacratissima illius intercessione munitur, optime nouit.

15. Talibus<sup>e</sup> igitur bonorum gratiis spectabilis uir Odo a Domino sullimatus, nequaquam se<sup>f</sup> propter merita operum suorum extulit, sed semper ad meliora proficere studuit; quae retro sunt oblitus, et in ea quae ante sunt extensus, sequebatur ad palmam supernae uocationis Dei, populumque sibi commissum more segetum feracium caelesti doctrina, quasi pluuiali gratia, cotidie irrigauit, quousque animam illius rex in cubiculum suum introduceret, et torrente uoluptatis suae inebriaret.<sup>44</sup> Raptum igitur ex hoc saeculo luculentissimum sidus urbis Cantuariae Odo, gaudentibus angelis, sedem petiit supernae ac gloriosissimae ciuitatis, ubi sempiterna exultatione laetatur, et Christi faciem ineffabilis suauitatis dulcedine contemplatur, securus iam de praemio sui, atque de filiorum suorum salute sollicitus. Obiit autem praesentibus uniuersis ecclesiae Christi filiis, quibus etiam flentibus promittebat quod bonum illis pastorem post obitum suum Dominus esset prouisurus.<sup>45</sup> Post cuius transitum obtinuit locum summi

<sup>a</sup> Wigorniorum *L p. c.*    <sup>b</sup> *om. L*    <sup>c</sup> Wygorniensis *L*    <sup>d</sup> stringitur lege *L*  
<sup>e</sup> *New chapter in P*    <sup>f</sup> *om. L*

<sup>43</sup> Eadmer's statement that Dunstan held authority as primate over all of Britain has particular relevance for his own period, when the successive archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc, Anselm, and Ralph, were endeavouring (with various degrees of success) to assert their authority over all of England, as well as Scotland and Ireland, and to limit the authority of the archbishops of York. For the background to this dispute and documentation, see *Councils*, pp. 586–607, and for further discussion R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 127–42 and *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 330–64.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Ps. 35 (36): 9.  
<sup>45</sup> Oda's death was commemorated at Canterbury on 2 June. O'Donovan evaluated the evidence from chronicles, charters, and the episcopal succession for the year of Oda's death, and concluded that while it is possible that he died in 959, as indicated by his signature in

bishop-elect came to Canterbury according to custom to be consecrated in the rank of the office which he had accepted and requested that he be ordained by the bishop of that see, that is, by blessed Oda. Oda willingly agreed to this. But so that no one might doubt that the holy bishop was greatly endowed with the spirit of prophecy, by the working of the Holy Spirit he elevated to the bishopric of Canterbury the man who had come to be promoted to the bishopric of Worcester. Asked about the reason for this by those in attendance, he said: 'I know, my sons, I know what things God is performing through me. For the province of Worcester will have this man as its shepherd so long as I am alive, but when I am dead the whole of Britain will rejoice in him as its leader.<sup>43</sup> For the gift of the Holy Spirit is not constrained by law.' The church of God knows full well how truly this prophecy was fulfilled, for the guidance of this man glorified it for a long time afterwards, just as the holy bishop had foretold, and it is strengthened even until today by Dunstan's most holy intercession.

15. And so that remarkable man Oda, exalted by the Lord by such great and beneficial gifts, in no way puffed himself up on account of the merits of his works, but strove always to advance to better things; forgetting those things which were behind him and intent on those things before him he progressed towards the palm of God's celestial vocation. Each day like a gift of rain he watered the people entrusted to him with heavenly teaching as if they were fertile crops, until his king should summon his soul into his chamber and inebriate him with the torrent of his pleasure.<sup>44</sup> And thus Oda, the most brilliant star in the city of Canterbury, was snatched from this world, and with angels rejoicing he sought a seat in that most glorious celestial city, where he rejoices in eternal exultation and in the delight of ineffable sweetness contemplates the face of Christ, secure now in his reward and caring still about the welfare of his children. He died in the presence of all the sons of Christ Church, after promising them as they wept that the Lord would provide a good shepherd for them after his death.<sup>45</sup> After

one charter (Sawyer, 658, Eadwig to Abingdon Abbey on 19 May 959, described as doubtful and suspicious by many commentators cited in Sawyer, pp. 221–2), evidence from the chronology of his immediate successors Ælfsige and Byrthelm suggests strongly that he died in 958, and thus during the period when Eadwig still reigned in southern England (O'Donovan i. 33–4, concluding 'placing Oda's death in June 959 necessitates a dangerously compressed sequence of events'). In particular, a charter of 959 (Sawyer, 660), from Eadwig to New Minster, Winchester, is witnessed by Byrthelm as bishop of Canterbury. Oda's death is also recorded prior to that of Eadwig in John of Worcester s.a. 958. However, late

sacerdotii Ælfsinus<sup>a</sup> Wentanus episcopus, cognomento Lippe, data pecunia principibus qui primi erant in palatio regis Edgari.<sup>46 b</sup> Nam et ante Odonem magna ad rapiendum sacerdotium cupiditate<sup>c</sup> agebatur, sed bonorum constantia episcoporum impediabatur. Vnde cum die aduentus sui Cantuariam solenni processione susceptus fuisset, accessit ad sepulchrum uiri Dei,<sup>d</sup> stansque super illud ita furialibus uerbis defuncto exprobrauit, dicens: 'Inepte, ecce tu mortuus es, et sub tellure putridus iaces, et ego cum uoluerō de te potenter triumphabo. Te uiuente, summus Anglorum pontifex esse nequii; te obeunte, 'idipsum factus<sup>e</sup> sum iuxta quod<sup>f</sup> olim esse concupiui. Et inde, male ac decrepitate senex, nullas gratias habeas, quia si ultra uiuere potuisses, nec michi nec ulli uel participium habiti honoris tui concedere uoluisses.' Ita ille palam in presentia eorum qui aderant dixit, et baculo tumbam sancti<sup>g</sup> percutiens, stulto furore quo tenebatur accensus inde recessit. Sed eadem nocte, dum mortalibus concessa requies esset,<sup>47</sup> apparuit beatus Odo aecclēsię saluatoris digno<sup>h</sup> custodi, uultum lacteum habens, uestimentum uero rosei coloris, ita uirum alloquens: 'Dormis, an uigilas?' 'Dormiui', inquit ille, 'senior uenerande, sed ecce uigilo, te loquente.' At ille 'uade', ait,<sup>i</sup> 'ad electum, sed non a Deo, episcopum Ælfsinum,<sup>j</sup> et hanc illi legationem ex meo nomine defer. Haec mandat tibi seruus Christi Odo. Non sum mortuus, sed uiuo regi meo, omnipotenti<sup>k</sup> Deo.<sup>48</sup> Atque ut hoc certissime experiaris, noueris quia sicut<sup>l</sup> tu causa mei adhuc in carne uiuentis non eualuisti ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem peruenire, ita per me in caelesti nunc regno uiuentem inuasum honorem in proximo perdes. Audi ergo quae dico. Quoniam hesterno die uerbis michi derisoriis exprobrasti, baculo tuo sepulchrum meum percussisti, praedico tibi quia mare transfretabis, Alpes ascendes, sed nequaquam pallium patriarchatus sanctae Dorobernensis aecclēsię obtinebis, nec unquam in apostolica eius

<sup>a</sup> Alfsinus L; Ælfsinus P    <sup>b</sup> Eadgari BfP    <sup>c</sup> cupidine BfHLP    <sup>d</sup> L adds Odonis    <sup>e</sup> H writes over erasure; factus idipsum BfP    <sup>f</sup> om. L    <sup>g</sup> L adds Odonis  
<sup>h</sup> digne L    <sup>i</sup> inquit P    <sup>j</sup> Alfsinum L    <sup>k</sup> omnipoti L    <sup>l</sup> ut L

interpolations in the A version of the ASC place Oda's death after that of Eadwig (ASC (A) s.a. 961); these seem to be evidence for a Canterbury tradition which Eadmer followed here.

<sup>46</sup> Ælfsige was bishop of Winchester; for his constant presence at the court of Eadwig, as attested by his signature in charters, see Brooks, *The Early History*, pp. 237–8. For his career, see also A. Williams, 'Princes Merciorum gentis: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, 956–83', *ASE* x (1982), 143–72, at 149, and B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the politics of the tenth century', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 65–88, at 87; his will is printed in *Councils*, pp. 84–6.

Oda's death Ælfsige, who was also called Lippe, acquired the position of supreme pontiff by giving money to the princes who were of leading rank in the palace of King Edgar.<sup>46</sup> For even before Oda's time he was driven by a great lust of seizing the archbishopric, but he was repeatedly thwarted in this by the steadfastness of the good bishops. And so when he had been welcomed on the day of his entry into Canterbury in a solemn procession, he approached the tomb of the man of God and standing above it reproached the dead man with frenzied words, speaking in this manner: 'Behold, you fool, you are dead and lie rotting beneath the earth and I, at my whim, shall triumph over you in power. While you were alive I was not able to become archbishop of the English people; now that you are dead I have been made just that, as I have long desired to be. And so, wicked and shrivelled old man, you shall get no thanks from me since, if you could have lived any longer, you would not have wished to yield either to me or to anyone else a share of the honour held by you.' That man spoke openly in this vein in the presence of those who were in attendance, and inflamed by the idiotic madness which possessed him he struck the tomb of the saint with his crosier and withdrew from there. But that same night, when sleep had been granted to mortals,<sup>47</sup> blessed Oda, with milk-white face and a robe of rosy colour, appeared to a worthy watchman of the Church of the Saviour and addressed the man thus: 'Are you asleep or awake?' 'I was asleep, venerable sir', said the man, 'but behold I am now awake as you speak.' Then Oda said, 'Make your way to Ælfsige, the bishop-elect, though not chosen by God, and deliver this message to him in my name. "The servant of Christ, Oda, makes these things known to you. I have not died but live for my king, almighty God."<sup>48</sup> And so that you may most assuredly learn this, know that just as you were unable to attain the archbishopric of Canterbury because of me while I was still living in the flesh, so too because of me, now dwelling in the heavenly kingdom, you will shortly lose the honour you have seized. Therefore listen to what I say. Because you reproached me yesterday with insulting words and struck my tomb with your crosier, I predict to you that you will sail across the sea and ascend the Alps, but you will never attain the pallium of the patriarchate of the holy church of Canterbury, nor will you ever sit

<sup>47</sup> Adapted from Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 408: 'In eadem nocte intempestiuo tempore, dum mortalibus quies esset concessa'; but cf. also Byrhtferth's source, Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 268–9: 'tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit'.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Ps. 117 (118): 17.

sede sedebis.' Ille autem qui haec uiderat, timens episcopi saeuitiam, dissimulabat ista nunciare. Sequenti nocte apparuit ei iterum sanctus Dei,<sup>a</sup> quae ante dixerat dicens. Sed nec tunc quae audierat homo nunciare audebat. Item tertia nocte adueniens uir Dei,<sup>b</sup> pontificali dignitate redimitus, increpauit praefati hominis socordiam, dicens: 'Si uitae tuae prosperitatem gnarus retinere desideras, moneo ne quod a me iam secundo audisti episcopo tuo reuelare dissimules. Nam si feceris, in poena tua te non bene fecisse probabis.' Tum ille, experrectus et admodum perterritus, mane facto perrexit ad episcopum, incuruatusque toto corpore ante illum ait: 'Venit ad me, pater honorande, speciosus ut angelus Dei, gloriosus Odo, praedecessor tuus, qui haec tibi praecepit denuntiari. "Quoniam", inquit, "michi die nudius terciario uerbis illusoriis exprobrasti, baculo tuo sepulchrum meum percussisti, praedico tibi quia mare transfretabis, Alpes ascendes, sed nequaquam pallium patriarchatus sanctae Doro-bernensis ecclesiae obtinebis, nec unquam in apostolica eius sede sedebis.'" Quibus dictis, dimisit a se episcopus relatores uisionis, parui pendens ea quae audierat uerba ineptae, ut dicebat, comminationis. Sed euolutis aliquantis diebus, omnia euenerunt quae a sancto Dei praedicta fuerunt. Mari nanque propter pallium deferendum transito, itinere aliquandiu prospere decurso, mox ut<sup>c</sup> montana conscendit nimio frigore resolutus, equos qui in eius comitatu erant necari praecepit, pedesque suos eorum uentribus immisit, existimans nimietatem frigoris tali posse remedio propelli. Sed non cessante qui illum cruciabat diuino furore, Domini maiestatem impius blasphemauit, et sic pollutum spiritum suum in mediis niuibus<sup>d</sup> exhalauit.<sup>49</sup> Ita se demonstrauit felix Odo Christo uiuere, quem penitus mortuum infelix Ælfsinus<sup>e</sup> ausus est credere. Hoc ita mortuo, Birhtelmus<sup>f</sup> Dorsætensis<sup>g</sup> prouintiae praesul,<sup>50</sup> homo nimiae pietatis

<sup>a</sup> L adds Odo    <sup>b</sup> L adds Odo    <sup>c</sup> In H at the bottom of the right-hand column of the verso folio, beginning with transito and finishing with ut, a later hand has traced over words which are badly worn, obscuring and corrupting original readings.    <sup>d</sup> ignibus P  
<sup>e</sup> Alfsinus L    <sup>f</sup> Brihtelmus H; Bryhtelmus L    <sup>g</sup> Dorsetensis HP; Dorcetensis L

<sup>49</sup> O'Donovan concluded that the account of the death of Ælfsige in B.'s Life of Dunstan best suited a journey in the winter; this would be the winter of 958/9 (O'Donovan i. 34).

<sup>50</sup> Byrthelm is named as bishop of Dorset in the lives of Dunstan by B. and Osbern (B., c. 26, Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 32). However, there are at least two bishops named Byrthelm recorded in the charters of Eadwig's reign, the bishops of Winchester and Wells, and it is the bishop of Wells who appears to have been the successor of Ælfsige. Brooks noted that he returned to his see, where he remained until his death in 973, and that his removal is likely to have been on political grounds, with Edgar wishing to appoint his favourite bishop, Dunstan, to the see (Brooks, *The Early History*, pp. 238–40). See also the

on its apostolic throne.'" However, the man who had seen these things feared the temper of the bishop and refrained from making these predictions known. On the following night God's saint appeared to him again repeating what he had said before. But once again the man did not dare to proclaim what he had heard. Approaching again on the third night the man of God, draped in his pontifical robes, upbraided the aforementioned man for his indolence, saying: 'If you are wise and desire to retain your prosperous way of life, I warn you not to refrain from revealing to your bishop what you have twice now heard from me. For if you do not do that, you will demonstrate by the punishment inflicted upon you that you have not acted well.' Thereupon the man awoke and was greatly terrified; when morning arrived he went to the bishop and prostrating himself fully before him he said: 'Worshipful father, your predecessor, the glorious Oda, came to me, radiant like an angel of God, and commanded that these words be announced to you: "Since", he said, "three days ago you reproached me with mocking words and struck my tomb with your crosier, I predict to you that you will sail across the sea and ascend the Alps, but you will never attain the pallium of the patriarchate of the holy church of Canterbury, nor will you ever sit on its apostolic throne.'" When these things were announced to him the bishop dismissed the man who had related the vision from his presence, considering the words which he had heard to be of little importance and calling them an absurd threat. But when a few days had elapsed, all of those things that had been predicted by God's saint came to pass. For Ælfsige had crossed the sea in order to bring back the pallium and his journey had gone favourably for some time, but as soon as he ascended the mountains he was enfeebled by the bitter cold; he ordered the horses in his retinue to be slaughtered and stuck his feet into their bellies thinking that this remedy might ward off the intensity of the cold. But when there was no cessation to the divine anger which was torturing him, he impiously blasphemed the majesty of the Lord and thus breathed out his polluted soul there in the midst of the snow.<sup>49</sup> And so blessed Oda, whom wretched Ælfsige dared to suppose was completely dead and gone, demonstrated that he was alive in Christ. After Ælfsige had died in this way Byrthelm, bishop of the province of Dorset,<sup>50</sup> a man of very great

comprehensive re-evaluation of charter evidence for the bishops Byrthelm in the light of recent studies of Eadwig's reign in P. Wormald, 'The strange affair of the Selsey bishopric, 953–963', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 128–41.

ac simplicitatis, in pontificatum Cantuariorum substituitur. Verum ubi comprobatus est in exercendis aecclesiasticis disciplinis omnino quam oportebat minus uigere, iussus quod susceperat onus deseruit, et ad suum ouile quieturus humilis rediit. Igitur<sup>a</sup> ut sententia Domini et prophetia beati Odonis serui sui ueritas esse probaretur, Dunstanus iam tunc Londoniensis aecclesiae pontifex a rege et regno eligitur, ac in patriarchatum totius Britanniae glorioso Odoni dignissimus successor subrogatur. Cuius Dunstani et huius de quo agimus patris Odonis illud inter alia non paruo cognoscendae sanctitatis et beatitudinis illorum indicio est, quod Dunstano in die sancto<sup>b</sup> Pentecostes<sup>c</sup> missam ad altare Domini saluatoris Cantuariae celebrante, Spiritus Sanctus qui super ipsum in specie columbae apparuit, consumpto sacrificio, in australem altaris partem ubi uenerabilis Odo tumulatus iacebat diuertit, et super tumbam eius multis intuentibus requieuit. Quae res in tanta reuerentia ab ipso Dunstano habita est, ut nunquam post hoc ante sepulchrum illius transiret, nisi genua flecteret.<sup>51</sup> Cognomine quoque boni<sup>d</sup> in materna lingua illum deinceps uocare solebat, uidelicet *Odo se gode*, quod interpretatur Odo bonus. Quo cognomine etiam usque hodie ab Anglis, sed maxime a Cantuaritis appellatur. His ita descriptis, gestae rei series narrandi finem expostulat. Quem hic quidem ponimus, et in eo Deum qui est finis et complementum omnium bonorum consona uoce laudamus, qui nomen suum<sup>e</sup> in omni gente ita glorificat<sup>e</sup> ut quicumque illum timet et operatur iusticiam acceptus sit illi. Illi ergo sit laus et gratiarum actio,<sup>f</sup> per infinita saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

EXPLICIT VITA <sup>g</sup>SANCTI ODONIS ARCHIEPISCOPI  
ET CONFESSORIS<sup>g</sup>

[P concludes with the following verses, which are not found in any of the other witnesses:

Vt rosa de spinis, sic prodiit Odo paganis,  
Stigmata perfidiae nulla parente trahens.  
Contra uota patrum fidei complexus<sup>h</sup> aratrum,  
Vt bonus agricola cordis arabat humum.

<sup>a</sup> (I)gitur P, at the start of a line, marking new chapter <sup>b</sup> CL insert sancto s.l.  
<sup>c</sup> Pentecostes P <sup>d</sup> L adds Odonis <sup>e-e</sup> L writes this phrase at the bottom of a recto folio, then repeats it in the next verso. The dittography is not found in T <sup>f</sup> L adds honor, uirtus <sup>g-g</sup> SANCTISSIMI PATRONI NOSTRI ODONIS ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTVARIENSIS AECCLISIAE ET CONFESSORIS. LAVDES DEO L; SANCTI ODONIS CANTVARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI P <sup>h</sup> Mabillon; complexus P

piety and simplicity, was installed in his place in the bishopric of Canterbury. But it soon became apparent that he was altogether less vigilant in exercising discipline within the church than was appropriate, and when asked to he forsook the burden he had undertaken and humbly returned to rest amidst his own flock. And so that the decision of the Lord and the prophecy of his servant blessed Oda might be shown to be true, Dunstan, who was at that time bishop of the church at London, was chosen by the king and by all the kingdom for elevation to the patriarchate of Britain as the most worthy successor of glorious Oda. One particular event among others concerning Dunstan and father Oda, with whom we are dealing, is a strong indication for understanding the sanctity and blessedness of those men; for when on the holy day of Pentecost Dunstan was celebrating the mass before the altar of the Lord and Saviour at Canterbury the Holy Spirit, who had appeared above him in the shape of a dove, turned away towards the southern side of the altar after the sacrifice had been consumed, to where venerable Oda lay buried, and rested above his tomb with many people looking on. Dunstan himself viewed this event with such great awe that thereafter he never used to pass in front of the grave of Oda without genuflecting.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, from that time onwards he used to refer to him by the epithet 'the Good' in his mother tongue, namely *Oda se gode*, which means 'Oda the Good'. And even today the English, and especially the citizens of Canterbury, still refer to him by this name. And now that I have thus described these events, the natural sequence of my narrative demands an end to this history. And indeed I place it here, and in it I praise with fitting words the God who is the end and fulfilment of all good things, he who so distinguishes his name among every race that whosoever fears him and strives for justice is pleasing to him. Therefore let there be praise and thanksgiving to him through countless ages, for ever and ever. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE LIFE OF SAINT ODA, ARCHBISHOP  
AND CONFESSOR

Like a rose from the thorns, thus Oda sprang from the pagans  
Without drawing from his father any taint of paganism.  
Against the wishes of his forefathers he embraced the plough of faith  
And like a good farmer he tilled the soil of the heart.

<sup>51</sup> See *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 46 for a fuller version of this story.

Sanguine sublimis, sublimior ordine morum,                   5  
     Clarus progenie, clarior ore fuit.  
 Vir sceleris purus occursabat sceleratis,  
     Summi regna Patris amplificare studens.  
 Virtutumque phalanx<sup>c</sup> illi praecordia tutans,  
     Non in eo uitium passa tenere locum.                   10  
 Hic precibus fuis hostilia tela fugavit,  
     Qui nos dente petit, hic prece caedit<sup>f</sup> aprum.  
 Qui super astra cluis, pro nobis, Odo, preceris,  
     Multimodae cladis in regione sitis.]

<sup>a</sup> Mabillon; phalans *P*

<sup>b</sup> Mabillon; sedit *P*

Distinguished by blood, but more by his excellent character,  
     Famous by lineage, he was more famous for his words.  
 A man free of sin, he always opposed evildoers,  
     Striving to increase the kingdom of the Father on high,  
 And a phalanx of virtues which protected his heart  
     Allowed not a blemish to secure a place within.  
 Pouring forth prayers he dispelled hostile spears,  
     By prayer he felled the boar which seeks us with its tusk.  
 Oda, famous beyond the stars, pray for us  
     Who live in the vale of death in all its forms.

VITA ET MIRACVLA  
SANCTI DVNSTANI

*Witnesses*

- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 371, pp. 102–75  
(s. xii<sup>1/4</sup>, ante 1116)
- D Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 846, fos. 83<sup>r</sup>–118<sup>v</sup>  
(s. xii<sup>2</sup>)
- M Metz, Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, MS 1168, fos. 1<sup>r</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>  
(s. xii<sup>2</sup>)
- R Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat.  
483, fos. 4<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup> (s. xii<sup>ex.</sup>)
- V Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 163 bis, fos. 162<sup>v</sup>–  
193<sup>v</sup> (s. xii<sup>2</sup>)
- W Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D. 263, fos.  
65<sup>v</sup>–83<sup>r</sup> (s. xv<sup>2</sup>/xvi<sup>1</sup>)

*Lost witness*

- Ab From the monastery of Compiègne (pr. *Acta Sanctorum  
Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, v. 708–12)

*Partial witnesses*

- La London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 436, fos. 59<sup>v</sup>–  
68<sup>r</sup> (s. xiv<sup>2</sup>/xv<sup>1</sup>)
- Ne London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero E. i, pt. 2, fos.  
195<sup>v</sup>–203<sup>v</sup> (s. xii<sup>ex.</sup>)

*Edition*

- Stubbs *Memorials*, pp. 162–249 (ed. W. Stubbs)



INCIPIIT <sup>a</sup>PROLOGVS IN  
VITAM SANCTI DVNSTANI  
ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS <sup>a</sup>

QVIA DEVM in sanctis suis mirabilem prophetica uoce laudare iubemur,<sup>1</sup> eum in iis<sup>b</sup> quae in sancto<sup>c</sup> Dunstano primae metropolis Anglorum pontifice mirabiliter operari dignatus est, quorundam simplicium in bono fratrum non contemnendae<sup>d</sup> uoluntati obtemperantes, usitato more loquendi stili officio laudare decreuimus, scriptis quae alio quodam elocutionis genere ipsa gesta commemorant sapientum<sup>e</sup> considerationi relictis.<sup>f</sup><sup>2</sup> Cui ut licet insipiens adquiescerem, me nonnichil illexerunt eadem scripta, eo quod in quibusdam nonnullis modum usitatae narrationis excessisse uidentur. Adductus etiam in hoc sum quorundam calumniis, qui frequenter questi sunt et conqueri non desistunt, auctorem ipsorum scriptorum uulgatae rerum historiae non omnimodis concordasse (quod non quidem in miraculis quae de ipso patre scripta sunt ei surrepsisse confitemur). De quibus, uerbi gratia, est quod scribit episcopatum Wigornensem, cum ad eum pater Dunstanus electus et consecratus est, fuisse in honorem beatae matris Dei Mariae, cum reuera fuerit in honorem gloriosi apostolorum principis Petri,<sup>3</sup> et quod refert sanctum Edwardum martirem ex sanctimoniali femina natum, cum procul dubio constet eum ex legitima coniuge procreatum,<sup>4</sup> et alia quaedam in hunc modum. Quorum omnium puram ueritatem rogatus ab amicis meis, tanto studio inuestigare sollicitus fui, ut quaque per Angliam ubi talium studia uigere sciebam et ipsemet ire non poteram pro hoc ipso me mittere non pigeret,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> PREFATIO IN VITA SANCTI DVNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI *M*; VITA SANCTI DVNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS *R*; VITA SANCTI DVNSTANI (*V* adds CANTVARIENSIS) ARCHIEPISCOPI *DV* <sup>b</sup> his *DMRV* <sup>c</sup> beato *DMRV* <sup>d</sup> despiciendae *DMRV* <sup>e</sup> sapientium *DM*; *DMRV* add uirorum <sup>f</sup> *DMRV* end here

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. 67 (68): 36.

<sup>2</sup> Eadmer is alluding here in particular to the Life written by Osbern (for discussion, see pp. lxxiii–lxxvii above). The remainder of the prologue is found only in Eadmer's autograph manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 29; cf. c. 39 below.

<sup>4</sup> Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 35; cf. c. 56 below.

<sup>5</sup> Eadmer preserved one letter from his friend Prior Nicholas of Worcester in response to

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE TO  
THE LIFE OF SAINT DUNSTAN  
ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR

Since we are instructed by the words of the prophet to praise God who is wonderful in his saints,<sup>1</sup> and in obedience to the will, which ought not to be despised, of certain brothers who are sincere in their goodness, I have determined to praise him in an everyday manner of speaking (although I am undertaking the business of a scribe) through the telling of those deeds that he deigned to work in wondrous wise through Saint Dunstan, bishop of the foremost metropolis of the English; other writings which recount these same deeds in a quite different literary style I leave to the consideration of wise men.<sup>2</sup> I was tempted to a large extent by these very writings to agree to this task, although unwise myself, because in very many respects they seem to have exceeded the balanced style of everyday narrative. Furthermore, I was also drawn into this because of the accusations of certain men who frequently complained and continue to object that the author of those writings did not concur in every respect with the history of events as it is widely known (I acknowledge that this fault did not indeed creep up on him in the Miracles which were written concerning this same father). From these events, to cite some examples, he writes that the bishopric of Worcester was dedicated to Mary the blessed mother of God when father Dunstan was chosen and consecrated for it, whereas in fact it was dedicated to Peter the glorious prince of the apostles;<sup>3</sup> and he says that saint Edward the martyr was born of a woman who was a nun when, without doubt, it is agreed that he issued forth from a lawful wife;<sup>4</sup> and there are several other things of this sort. When asked by my friends the plain truth in all these matters I was concerned to investigate them with such zeal that it did not trouble me to send letters for this reason everywhere throughout England where I knew that studies in these sorts of things were thriving, and I myself was not able to go,<sup>5</sup> believing

these enquiries (see above, pp. lxxii–lxxiii). With regard to his claim that he was unable to go to these centres of learning, he may perhaps be referring here to his exile from England as the companion of Anselm, who was forbidden to return there by both William II and Henry I; between 1098 and 1106, during which period it is likely that the *Vita S. Dunstani* was written, Eadmer spent only two and a half years in England (for further discussion, see above, pp. lxxviii–lxxix).

omnino uidelicet detestandum existimans, a rerum limite exorbitantia ueritatem nosse uolentibus dicto uel scripto sumministrare. Vnde ne quis me quauis arrogantia uel inuidia ductum iudicet istis scribendis manum imposuisse; fateor (testimonium michi perhibente conscientia mea in ipsa ueritate a qua Christianum deuiare non licet) quia nisi me humanae mentis cecitas fallat, nil in hac parte quae dixi uitia ualuere sed solus amor ueri, quo tantum patrem et praesentibus et secuturis, omni seposita ambiguitate, commendare cupiebam. Nec in his meo sensu usus sum, sed firma et cui non credere nefarium esse credebam patrum auctoritate subnixus, quos michi quondam attestatos fuisse recordor, se res ipsas iuxta quod eas describimus certo relatu eorum qui optime illas nouerunt cognouisse. Horum unum, Ægelredum scilicet, qui supprioris et cantoris officium in aeclesia Cantuariensi strenuissime per multum temporis administrabat, quique postmodum ob religiosam prudentiam et prudentem religiositatem suam Wigornensi aeclesiae sub beatae memoriae Wulfstano episcopo praelatus erat, et multis qui adhuc supersunt notissimus fuerat,<sup>6</sup> ne nudis solummodo uerbis agere iudicer, omissis aliis, proponere cordi fuit. Hic Ægelrico Cicestrensi episcopo, homini magnarum rerum peritia praedito, antehac diu adhaeserat, et ab eo multa de beato Dunstano cui paene contemporaneus fuit didicerat,<sup>7</sup> quae ille ab eis qui interesse meruerunt se accepisse fatebatur. Sunt super haec scripta ueterum simpliciori stilo digesta, et cronicorum abbreviatae notationes iis quae scribimus attestantes. De iis autem quae post sacratissimum transitum eius per eum facta significamus, quaedam ex litterarum monumentis, quaedam ex propriorum sensuum approbationibus, quaedam ex ueridicorum uirorum allegationibus qui ea partim uisu, partim auditu, partim experimento in se ipsis didicerunt, omni remota scrupulositate cognouimus. Si quis igitur haec legere dignabitur uel audire, ita quaeso legat uel audiat ut conscientiae meae simplicitati non derogat. Nam ea non detrudere studiosis, sed

<sup>6</sup> Wulfstan (c. 1008–95) was bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095.

<sup>7</sup> Æthelric was bishop of Selsey from 1019 to 1038; his close association with Canterbury is also suggested by his wish that he might not outlive Æthelnoth, who was archbishop of Canterbury 1020–38 (cf. ASC (D) s.a. 1038, John of Worcester s.a. 1038). The episcopal seat was moved from Selsey to Chichester following the council of London in 1074/5; see *Councils*, pp. 607–16, and for Eadmer's comment on the move, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 44 and p. 232.

it clearly despicable in every way to provide in either spoken or written form things deviating from the strict facts to people wishing to ascertain the truth. Therefore let no one judge me to be motivated by some sort of arrogance or jealousy when I set my hand to writing these things; since my conscience bears witness in the very truth from which it is not permitted for a Christian to deviate, I declare that unless the blindness of the human mind deceives me, in this regard the errors which I described have not had any influence, but the love of truth alone, by which I desired to commend this great father, with all ambiguity set aside both to those living and to those who will follow later. Nor did I rely on my feelings in these matters, but was supported by the firm authority of my elders, which I believed was a sin not to believe in; I remember how they had a long time ago attested to me that they learnt these very things just as I am describing them here by accurate transmission from those who knew them best. Leaving the others aside, lest I be thought to be writing merely in scant detail, it has been my sincere wish to speak about one of them, namely Æthelred, who executed the duties of sub-prior and cantor most vigorously at the church of Canterbury for a very long time; afterwards on account of his holy prudence and prudent holiness he was appointed to the church at Worcester under bishop Wulfstan of blessed memory, and was very well known to many people who are still alive.<sup>6</sup> Previously this man had been a long-time follower of Æthelric, bishop of Chichester, a man renowned for his knowledge of matters of great import, and had learnt from him many things about blessed Dunstan, who was his near contemporary;<sup>7</sup> Æthelric asserted he had learnt these things from those who had had the privilege of actually being involved in them. In addition to these things there are much earlier writings composed in a rather simple style and the sparse entries in chronicles that bear witness to the things I am writing about. But concerning those things which I am declaring here without any hesitation were brought about through Dunstan's intercession after his most holy death, I have learnt some of them from written accounts, some were verified by my own experiences, and some were testified to by men known to speak the truth, who learnt them partly by seeing them, partly by hearing about them, and partly from being involved in these very things. Therefore if anyone should deign either to read or to listen to these things, I beg that he not read or listen in such a way as to rebuke the simplicity of my good intention. For I declare that these things have been described according to my ability not for those who are anxious to criticize, but for those who

paruitati meae meorumque similium condescendere scientibus atque paratis, pro captu meo descripta esse pronuntio. Non itaque se illis quae scribimus inaniter occupet, cui quod petimus in mente non sedet.

EXPLICIT PROLOGVS<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> PREFATIO *M*

know how and are prepared to make allowances for my simple style and that of others like me. And so if anyone is not sympathetic to what I am seeking to do, may he not waste his time with the things I am writing.

HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE

INCIPIIT VITA "BEATI DVNSTANI  
CANTVARIENSIS" ARCHIEPISCOPI  
ET CONFESSORIS

HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF BLESSED  
DUNSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF  
CANTERBURY AND CONFESSOR

1. BEATVS ERGO<sup>b</sup> DVNSTANVS EX NOBILISSIMA GENTIS ANGLORVM PROSAPIA originem ducens, eo nobilius in huius mundi latitudinem prodiit, quo sub materni sinus<sup>c</sup> ipso adhuc angustia clauso, diuino miraculo designatum est praeclarum mundo per eum lumen<sup>d</sup> oriturum.<sup>8</sup> Cum etenim mater eius eo grauida spe prolis futurae laetaretur, dies purificationis beatæ matris Dei festius illuxit.<sup>9</sup> Multitudo igitur utriusque sexus hominum pro excellentia tantæ festiuitatis<sup>e</sup> circumquaque coacta, fluxit ad aecclesiam quæ antiquitus Glastoniae de lignis<sup>f</sup> aedificata in honorem erat eiusdem dei genitricis consecrata.<sup>10</sup> In qua multitudine multos nobilitate dignitateque præcellens, pater sancti Dunstani, Herstanus nomine, cum Chynedritha<sup>g</sup> matre eius ad Dei seruitium properabat,<sup>11</sup> ambo cereos quos pro ritu ipsius diei Deo<sup>h</sup> offerrent deferentes. Iam missæ officium celebrari coeperat, et immensus populus immensa luminum claritate refulgens in domo Dei diuinis laudibus intendebat. Tunc subito in sua serenitate caelo manente, admirantibus cunctis, cuncta simul luminaria extincta sunt. Aspiciunt igitur singuli super se inuicem, ac pro nouitate insueti prodigii metu nimio percelluntur. Verum dum attoniti starent, et quid certi de tali euentu sentire deberent ignorarent, erectis uultibus intuentur flammam ignis caelitus labi, et cereum quem mater Dunstani manu tenebat ex ea accendi. Qui ergo prius de luminarium extinctione magnopere fuerant admirati,

<sup>a-a</sup> SANCTI DVNSTANI *M*; *DRV om. rubric* <sup>b</sup> *om. LaNe* <sup>c</sup> *sinu D*  
<sup>d</sup> *lumen mundo per eum D* <sup>e</sup> *sollemnitatis M* <sup>f</sup> *DMRV add miro opere*  
<sup>g</sup> *Kynedritha D; Chinedyda La; Cinedrita M; Kinedryda Ne; Chinedritha R* <sup>h</sup> *om. D*

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of the year of Dunstan's birth, see N. Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 1–23, at 3–5. The earliest extant biography of Dunstan, that of B., relates that Dunstan was born in the reign of King Æthelstan (r. 924–39). Modern scholarship has pushed the date back to c. 909/10, mainly to accommodate other statements in Adelarð, but Brooks has questioned the reliability of Adelarð's information (see note to c. 6 below).

<sup>9</sup> 2 Feb.

<sup>10</sup> For discussion of the state of Glastonbury prior to Dunstan's appointment as abbot, see M. Costen, 'Dunstan, Glastonbury and the economy of Somerset in the tenth century',

1. And so blessed Dunstan, taking his lineage from the most noble stock of the English people, came forth into this spacious world all the more nobly because while he was still closely constrained within his mother's womb it was indicated by a heavenly miracle that through him a brilliant light would arise in the world.<sup>8</sup> For while his mother was heavy with him and rejoicing in the hope of future offspring the feast day of the purification of the blessed mother of God dawned.<sup>9</sup> And because of the great importance of this feast a multitude of people of both sexes assembled from every direction and poured into the church which in ancient days had been built of logs at Glastonbury and consecrated in honour of this same mother of God.<sup>10</sup> And in the crowd the father of saint Dunstan, Heorstan by name, who excelled many others in nobility and dignity, hastened with Cynethrith, the saint's mother, towards the divine service,<sup>11</sup> each of them bearing candles which they would offer to God as part of the ritual for that feast day. And now the office of the mass began to be celebrated and the huge crowd which was brilliantly lit up by a great number of candles was intent on praising the Lord in the house of God. Then suddenly all at once, though the sky remained serene, to the amazement of everyone all the candles went out. They all looked at each other and they were struck with great fear because of this unprecedented and strange event. But while they stood there thunderstruck, knowing not what to think for certain about such an event, with their faces turned upwards they beheld a tongue of fire descending from heaven and lighting the candle which Dunstan's mother held in her hand. So those who earlier had been greatly stunned by their candles going out were now in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 25–44, at 26–7, and for the meagre records of the abbots in this early period, S. Foot, 'Glastonbury's early abbots', *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth Birthday of C. A. Ralegh Radford*, ed. L. Abrams and J. P. Carley (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 163–89, at 178–9.

<sup>11</sup> For Dunstan's parents and immediate family, see Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', pp. 5–11. The name Heorstan is rare and only appears in one Anglo-Saxon charter, which deals with the lease of an estate in Wiltshire during the reign of King Æthelstan (Sawyer, 1417).

nunc tam de caelestis flammae emissione, quam et de cerei praegnantis mulieris accensione maiori sunt admiratione perfusi. Accedunt itaque singuli ad lumen caelo demissum, et inde recipiunt lumen amissum. Ex eo tempore cultus ac reuerentia omnium circa Chynedriatham<sup>a</sup> ac uirum eius magnifice aucta est. Nam sicut eos nobilitate diuitiis et gloria mundi inter homines eminere sciebant, ita sanctitate uitae in conspectu Dei ex signo quod acciderat enitere intelligebant. De prole etiam quae expectabatur spe magni boni tenebantur, et Deum ut in gaudium atque laeticiam parentibus suis et omnibus bene uolentibus eam nasci, crescere, dilatarique concederet deprecabantur. [2 Stubbs] Dehinc instante partus tempore, puer eleganti forma nascitur, et post dies paucos sacro fonte regeneratus, Dunstanus, montanus uidelicet lapis, nuncupatus est.<sup>12</sup>

2. Is<sup>b</sup> ubi teneros infantiae annos exiuit, a parentibus ad praefatum sacratissimae uirginis templum ducitur, ac pro uita eius atque prouectu Deo preces et munera offeruntur.<sup>c</sup> Ob quae pia deuotionis obsequia ipsis in loco pernoctantibus, apparuit uir quidam angelico speciosus amictu. Qui puerum coram eis per manum accipiens, et eum hinc inde modesto discursu per atrium<sup>13</sup> ducens, dixit illis: 'Sic aedificabitur locus iste ad conuersationem illorum qui siue a pueritia in seruitio Dei nutriendi, siue a prauitate ueteris uitae in nouitatem gratiae Christi per hunc puerum sunt conuertendi.' Haec illi uidentes et audientes ualde gauisi sunt, et misericordi Deo uberes gratias super admirabili gratia eius retulerunt. Deinde puero diligenti studio in ipsa aeclesia sub cura magistri commendato, cum ut litteras disceret, tum ut Dei seruitio sedulus inhaereret, ipsi in sua reuersi sunt.

3. Dunstanus<sup>d</sup> igitur litteris traditus,<sup>14</sup> et eis ultra quam aetas sua ferre poterat die ac nocte intentus, languore graui corripitur, et gemebunda in dies uexatione tortus, fere usque ad exalationem ultimi flatus perducitur. Sed cum iam uelut morti contiguus iaceret,

<sup>a</sup> Kinedriatham *DM*; Kynedridam *Ne*    <sup>b</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>c</sup> offerunt *M*  
<sup>d</sup> *New chapter in DMV*

<sup>12</sup> From Old English *dun* 'hill, mountain' and *stan* 'stone'. Cf. Adelard, lect. xii: 'Dunstanus iuxta interpretationem nominis sui, montanus utique lapis.'

<sup>13</sup> Elsewhere Eadmer uses 'atrium' to mean 'churchyard' (c. 16) or 'forecourt' (c. 30). For differing uses of the word by William of Malmesbury, see the comment of Winterbottom and Thomson in *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, p. 172 n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> B. states that Dunstan read the books which Irish pilgrims, who had come to visit the relics of St Patrick, had brought with them (B., c. 5).

overwhelmed by greater amazement both by the flame shooting from the sky and by the lighting of the candle of the pregnant woman. And then one by one they approached the fire sent down from heaven and from it they regained the light that had been lost. From that time onwards the respect and reverence of everyone towards Cynethrith and her husband was greatly increased. For just as they knew them to be eminent among men by their noble status, wealth, and worldly standing, so too by the sign which had occurred they understood that they were radiant in the sight of God with respect to the holiness of their lives. Moreover, these people were seized by the hope of something great and good coming from the child which was expected. And they prayed to God that he allow it to be born, grow, and flourish for the joy and happiness of his parents and of all well-wishers. [2 Stubbs] And then when the time of birth arrived a boy handsome in appearance was born, and after a few days reborn in the sacred font, he was named Dunstan, that is, a mountain stone.<sup>12</sup>

2. When he had advanced beyond his tender infant years he was led by his parents to the temple of the most blessed virgin (which I mentioned before), and they offered up to God prayers and gifts for his future advancement in life. While they were passing the night in that place observing the rites of their holy devotion a certain man who was beautifully attired in angelic raiment appeared before them. He took the boy by the hand in the presence of his parents and walked here and there throughout the forecourt<sup>13</sup> with him at a gentle pace, and then said to them: 'Here this place will be developed for the common life of those who are to be nourished from boyhood in the service of God or for those who are to be converted through this boy from the depravity of their former ways to new life in the grace of Christ.' Hearing and seeing these things, the parents were overjoyed and gave abundant thanks to God in his mercy for his wondrous grace. Thereupon, after they had entrusted the boy to the care of a teacher in that church to be instructed diligently and to be taught both the liberal arts and to pursue the service of God zealously, they returned to their own home.

3. Thus Dunstan was handed over to literary studies,<sup>14</sup> and because he dedicated himself to them day and night beyond what his young age could bear he was seized by a severe illness and was wracked by painful torment as days passed until he was brought close to exhaling

et confluens coetus uicinorum mortem potius quam ullum sanitatis eius remedium<sup>a</sup> expectaret, en circa mediae noctis silentia<sup>b</sup> per gratiam Dei uisitatur, et integrae sanitati contra omnium opinionem donatur. Ilico, stupentibus cunctis, lecto desilit, domum exit,<sup>c</sup> ad aecclesiam pro reddita sibi sanitate Deo grates acturus impiger tendit. Cuius deuotioni diabolus inuidens, eumque proposito deflectere nitens, simulato teterrimorum canum globo immani latratu ac terrifico impetu in eum ruit. At ille demonum sciens esse figmenta, inuocato nomine Christi, signo se sanctae<sup>d</sup> crucis armauit, arreptamque uirgulam quae<sup>e</sup> forte in uia iacebat<sup>f</sup> contra illos malignorum<sup>g</sup> incursus uibrauit, et sicut uentus fumum, sic omnes a facie sua fugauit.<sup>15</sup> Post haec ad aecclesiae ianuas ueniens, eam undique obseratam inuenit. Huc igitur illucque deambulans, et oratorium intrare desiderans, scalam ad parietem templi erectam offendit quae in superiora tecti nitentibus ascendendi uiam praestare solebat. Quam puer Domini nescienter ascendens, atque ad fastigium aecclesiae ascendendo pertingens, nullum quo ingredi posset aditum repperit, indeque statim ex altera tecti parte descendere coepit. Deus autem, qui delectabatur innocentia cordis eius, uiam inter inuia ipsa disponebat gressibus eius. Tunc repente angelico ministerio sublatus, intra aecclesiam omni ex parte clausam, ipso puero quid circa se diuinitus ageretur ignorante, coram altari depositus est. Ii<sup>h</sup> autem, qui prius in domo egrotanti deseruiebant,<sup>i</sup> ipsum egredientem secuti sunt, contemplantesque rei euentum, fidele testimonium diuino miraculo perhibuerunt. Puer uero cum mane ante altare leni sopore quiescens inuentus, et quali modo illuc uenisset, qui sero morti proximus habebatur, interrogatus fuisset, hoc se nescire pia simplicitate professus est. Omnes ergo qui tunc temporis rem audiere<sup>j</sup> mirati sunt, ac<sup>k</sup> Deum gratiam suam in puero multiplicare deuoto affectu deprecati sunt.<sup>16</sup>

4. [3 Stubbs] Iam<sup>l</sup> Dunstanus adolescentiae decus<sup>m</sup> induerat, et ipse humilis atque summissus omnibus erat. Nam cum illum omnes

<sup>a</sup> remedium eius *D*      <sup>b</sup> silentium *RV*      <sup>c</sup> exit domum *RV*      <sup>d</sup> sanctae se *D*  
<sup>e</sup> quam *RV*      <sup>f</sup> iacentem repperit *RV*      <sup>g</sup> *RV* add spirituum      <sup>h</sup> Hii *DM*; Hi *RV*  
<sup>i</sup> seruiebant *M*      <sup>j</sup> audire *M*      <sup>k</sup> et *RV*      <sup>l</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*  
<sup>m</sup> adolescentiae decus Dunstanus *DMRV*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ps. 67 (68): 3.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 1 Pet. 1: 2.

his final breath. But while he was lying prostrate and looked close to death and a gathering of neighbours assembled expecting his death rather than any return to health, behold, in the silence of the middle of the night he was visited by the grace of God and contrary to everyone's expectation he was granted a complete recovery. He immediately leapt from his bed to the amazement of all and left his house, running quickly to the church with the intention of offering thanks to God for the restoration of his health. The devil was jealous of his devotion and strove to divert him from this intention, and so creating the apparition of a pack of extremely horrible hounds he rushed towards him with fearsome onset and raucous howling. But recognizing that these were demonic illusions, Dunstan called on the name of Christ and fortified himself with the sign of the holy Cross; he seized a branch which happened to be lying in the road, brandished it about in the face of those evil beings rushing towards him, and just as the wind dispels smoke, so too he put them all to flight before him.<sup>15</sup> And coming to the doors of the church after these things had happened he found it locked on every side. Desiring to enter the oratory he walked here and there until he came upon a ladder up against the wall of the church, which usually offered a way of access for those intending to ascend to the top of the roof. Unaware of this, the boy of the Lord climbed it and by climbing reached the gables of the church; when he found that there was no means of entry he immediately began to come down on the other side of the roof. God, however, who delighted in the innocence of his heart, provided an entry for his footsteps where there was none. Then suddenly, supported by angelic assistance, the boy who was himself ignorant of what was transpiring around him by divine agency was set down before the altar inside the church which was locked on all sides. Those who had attended him earlier in his home while he was sick followed him as he set out, and seeing what had happened they offered reliable testimony to the divine miracle. But when the boy was found the next morning resting in peaceful slumber before the altar and was asked how he had come to be there when he had recently been so close to death, he professed with simple piety that he did not know. And so all who heard about that at that time were amazed and prayed to God with devotion and zeal to multiply his grace in the boy.<sup>16</sup>

4. [3 Stubbs] And when Dunstan had assumed the beauty of adolescence, he was humble and obedient to everyone. For although

honorare, illi suum obsequium exhibere satagerent, et affabilitatem ab eo sibi exhibitam magni estimarent, ille e contra nichil in se dignum honore, nichil alicuius dignum obsequio iudicabat, immo quicquid affabilitatis seu commodi sibi quiuis<sup>a</sup> exhibebat, gratiae exhibentis non suis meritis ascribebat. Promptus itaque erat ad ministrandum omnibus, et ipse ad suscipiendum aliorum ministerium tardus.

5. Inter haec rogatur a suis quatinus in sortem Domini transeat, et in quibus Christo deseruiat sacros ordines suscipiat. Annuit ipse petentibus, atque ut liberius oratorium frequentare, luminaria accendere, manibus sacerdotum ac leuitarum aquam fundere, unum et aquam in eucharistiam corporis Christi sumministrare, legere atque cantare in officio diei ac noctis posset, minores gradus suscepit. Videres igitur illum omnia mundi oblectamenta calcare, ludicra iuuenum fugere, maiorum colloquiis delectari, in fouendis pauperibus assiduum esse, et ad quaeque pietatis opera sollicitius inuigilare. Si autem aliquando, ut fit, a coetaneis<sup>b</sup> suis ad mundi uanitates inuitabatur, obtendebat potius necessario sibi oportere<sup>c</sup> illis et illis aecclesiasticis ministeriis curam habere, et ea quae in Dei seruitio legenda erant uel canenda praeuidere. Sic seruus Dei se et a mundi contagiis purum custodiebat, et proposita rationabili occasione, nulli scandalum, nulli in qua Deum quis offenderet aliquam causam suggerebat. Summum itaque studium in oratione, in sacra meditatione, in diuinorum librorum lectione habebat, in his semper Deo adhaerere, Deum in mente habere, quid uoluntati Dei potissimum placeret ediscere gestiens. Vnde factum est ut et quae Dei sunt inuestigaret, et eius iugi consideratione fretus, cuncta peccati inquinamenta deuitaret. Proximus ergo ac familiaris Deo effectus, omnibus in ipso pie uiuentibus carus factus est et acceptus.

6. [4 Stubbs] Audita<sup>d</sup> inter haec fama uenerabilis Athelmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, fratris scilicet patris sui, eum adire atque cum eo habitare disposuit.<sup>17</sup> Videns enim lasciuias saeculi, et

<sup>a</sup> quiuis sibi *DM*    <sup>b</sup> coetaneis a *RV*    <sup>c</sup> oportere sibi *M*    <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in MRV*

<sup>17</sup> Æthelhelm was Archbishop of Canterbury probably from 923 to Jan. 926; for discussion of the dating, see O'Donovan i. 31–2. Before his appointment to Canterbury, he was already Bishop of Wells, and Brooks noted that this translation, while apparently contrary to canon law, set a pattern in English ecclesiastical politics for the rest of the century (see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 9 note). The earliest writer to mention the relationship of Dunstan to Æthelhelm was Adelard, whom both Osbern and Eadmer followed; his reliability on this point was questioned by Brooks, who considered that Adelard may

everyone strove to honour Dunstan and to show deference to him, and considered the friendship shown by him towards them to be of great value, he on the other hand considered that there was nothing in him worthy of honour, nothing worthy of the deference of others; but whenever someone demonstrated any sort of friendship or favour to him, he attributed it to their magnanimity rather than to his own deserts. And in this way he was quick to serve everyone and slow to accept service from others.

5. While these things were happening he was asked by his own people to cross over into religious life and to take up holy orders in which he could serve Christ. Dunstan agreed to their request and he took minor orders so that he could frequent the oratory more easily, light candles, pour water on the hands of the priests and deacons, serve the water and wine in the Eucharist of the body of Christ, and read and sing in both the day and night offices. And so you could see him spurning all the pleasures of the world, fleeing childish games, delighting in conversations with his seniors, being assiduous in nourishing the poor, and attending very carefully to any act of piety. If, however, he was ever lured towards the vain things of this world by his contemporaries, as happens, he would object rather that he had to attend to this or that ecclesiastical duty out of necessity, and to prepare those things which were to be either read or sung in the service of God. In this way the servant of God both kept himself pure from the infections of this world and, having offered an acceptable excuse, never suggested scandalous behaviour to anyone, nor any other grounds by which someone might offend God. And he showed the utmost zeal in prayer, in holy meditation, and in the reading of sacred scripture, being eager always to adhere to God in these things, to keep God in his mind, and to learn what might be most pleasing to the will of God. And so it came to pass that he both investigated those things pertaining to God and, relying on constant contemplation of him, shunned the filth of sin completely. He was most near to God and became a member of his household; he became dear to and was accepted by all of those living piously in God.

6. [4 Stubbs] While these things were happening he heard of the fame of venerable Æthelhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, who as it happens was the brother of his father, and he decided to go and live with him.<sup>17</sup>

have introduced this relationship to strengthen Dunstan's connections with Canterbury ('The career of St Dunstan', p. 4).

iter adolescentis uiam uitae retinere uolentis ualde lubricum et laqueis undique plenum,<sup>18</sup> illudque apostoli meditans, qui stat uideat ne cadat,<sup>19</sup> timebat ne, si loco quem lasciuiis et uoluptuosis deliciis effluere in circumitu<sup>a</sup> suo et hoc inter notos suos uidebat non cederet, a statu rectitudinis aliquo euentu deceptus miserando casu decideret. Hac ergo intentione ductus, accepta a parentibus suis licentia, praefatum antistitem adiit, et quo uitae suae qualitas ad modum conuersationis eius iugiter informaretur, sedulus ei adhaesit. Verum cum elapso aliquanto<sup>b</sup> tempore pontifex in moribus adolescentis omnia quae uerae religioni congruerent perciperet, et ex dono gratiae Dei qua fuerat aspiratus<sup>c</sup> Deum multa suae maiestatis opera per eum in futuro facturum praeuideret, ipsum ad palatium regis Æthelstani<sup>d</sup><sup>20</sup> secum duxit, et ei magno affectu fouendum, necne a cunctis aduersis suo nutu protegendum, pio studio commendauit. Quod ipse benigna mente suscipiens, iuuenem dulciter amplexus est, et multo sinceri affectus amore percoluit.

7. Dunstanus<sup>e</sup> itaque, licet in palatio regis terreni conuersaretur, ac pro sua industria et ad omnes affabilitate ab omnibus honoraretur, amplecteretur, nunquam tamen religionem quam a puero conceperat quemlibet defectum<sup>f</sup> in suis actibus<sup>f</sup> pati sinebat, sed quo labilius inter uitiorum fomenta gradiebatur, eo firmius ne ab ipsis aliquo modo deiceretur praecauebat. Sciens quoque otiositatem inimicam animae esse, nunc istis, nunc illis operibus intendebat, et diuersitate eorum surrepens fastidium sibi tollebat. Peritia nanque scribendi, pingendi, quicquid uellet in cera, ligno uel osse sculpendi, et ex auro, argento, ferro uel haere fabricandi ita claruit, ut a multis quam maximae admirationi haberetur.<sup>21</sup> Super haec instrumentis musici generis,<sup>g</sup> quorum scientia non mediocriter fultus erat, non tantum se, sed et multorum animos a turbulentis mundi negotiis sepe demulcere, et in meditationem caelestis armoniae, tam per suauitatem uerborum quae modo materna, modo alia lingua musicis modulis interserebat, quam et per concordem concentum quem per eos exprimebat,

<sup>a</sup> circuitu *DMNeRV*    <sup>b</sup> aliquo *M*    <sup>c</sup> inspiratus *DM*    <sup>d</sup> Æthelstani *D*;  
Hestani *M p. c.*; Athelstani *Ne*    <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>f-f</sup> *om. R*    <sup>g</sup> *musicae artis RV*

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Ps. 141 (142): 4; Jer. 23: 12; Matt. 7: 14.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Cor. 10: 12.

<sup>20</sup> Æthelstan ruled 924–39.

<sup>21</sup> For discussion of Dunstan's scribal and drawing skills, see below, c. 49 note.

For seeing the enticements of the world and realizing that the path of a young man wishing to observe the road of life was extremely slippery and set with snares on every side and,<sup>18</sup> pondering the words of the apostle that he who stands should look out lest he fall,<sup>19</sup> he feared, if he did not depart from that place which he saw was awash with enticements and voluptuous pleasures, both in his own neighbourhood and among his acquaintances, that deceived by some circumstance he would fall from a state of righteousness because of some miserable accident. And so led by this purpose and with his parents' permission he went to the bishop mentioned above and adhered constantly to him so that the character of his life might be modelled closely on the bishop's way of living. But after a period of time had elapsed the bishop detected in the character of the young man all the things congruent with true religious life, and by the gift of the grace of God with which he was inspired he could foresee that God would accomplish many of his majestic deeds through Dunstan in the future; he took him with him to the palace of King Æthelstan<sup>20</sup> and commended him with holy zeal to be nourished by him with great affection and to be protected by royal decree against all adversities. The king accepted this with kind disposition and embraced the youth gently, and greatly moved by genuine love he nurtured him.

7. So Dunstan, although he was living in the palace of an earthly king and was honoured and embraced by all for his diligence and friendship towards everyone, nevertheless did not allow the religion which he had subscribed to from boyhood to suffer any blemish whatsoever through his actions, but the more precariously he walked amid the allurements of vice the more firmly he took care not to be cast down by them in any way. And knowing idleness to be the enemy of his soul he busied himself now with this, now with that occupation, and by the variety of these tasks he got rid of the haughtiness creeping up on him. For he so excelled in the arts of writing, of painting, of sculpting whatever he wished in wax, wood, or bone, and of casting in gold, silver, iron, or bronze, that he was held in the greatest admiration by many people.<sup>21</sup> In addition to these things he often used to pleasantly divert not only himself but also the minds of many from the turbulent business of the world by playing musical instruments, in the science of which he was very skilled; he used to move them to meditation of celestial harmony as much by the sweetness of the words (both in his mother tongue and another language) interwoven in the musical measures, as by the



concitare solebat. Propter haec igitur a multis frequentabatur, et ab eo multa fieri petebantur. Ille autem quoniam erat ad omnes caritate diffusus, nulli negabat quod uellet ab alio sibi concedi.

8. [5 Stubbs] Haec<sup>a</sup> inter opera eius rogatur a quadam matrona,<sup>22</sup> religiosa quidem et studium habente placendi Deo, domum suam uenire, et orarium sibi, quod ad ornatum et ministerium aecclisae Dei inaurare uolebat, artificiosa quam in auri opere imitaretur arte praepingere.<sup>23</sup> Iam Dunstanus in manibus opus habebat, et cithara eius, quam ad domum ueniens secum forte detulerat, parieti affixa iuxta pendebat. Coepit ergo ipsa cithara, nullius hominis tactu impulsu, per se antiphonam istam distinctis uocibus resonare: 'Gaudent in caelis animae sanctorum qui Christi uestigia sunt secuti, et quia pro eius amore sanguinem suum fuderunt, ideo cum Christo gaudebunt<sup>b</sup> in aeternum.' Ad haec admiratio non parua comprehendit omnes qui in domo consistebant. Singuli ergo, deflexis oculis ab opere iuuenis quo prius intenderant, uultus et aures ad citharam erigebant. Et alii quidem simplicem sonum chordarum aure captabant, Dunstanus uero quid sonus depromeret quidue moneret solus intelligebat. Intelligebat enim in eo quod citharizabatur, quia si cum Christo uellet in aeternum gaudere, non formidaret si necessitas urgeret pro eo sanguinem fundere, nec anima eius gaudium in coelis adipisceretur, si Christi uestigia non sequeretur. Itaque citharedum istum uere angelico modulamine administratum ita accepit, quasi ex sensibili praesentia Dei doceretur quid sibi deinceps foret agendum.

9. [6 Stubbs] His<sup>c</sup> ita se habentibus,<sup>d</sup> ii<sup>e</sup> qui uirum primo se ualde diligere demonstrabant, et ei quasi fidelem societatem in cunctis<sup>f</sup> conseruabant, nunc prouectibus ipsius inuidere, et eum sinistris artibus uti, ac mansuetum ad omnes habitum eius hipocrisi et

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>b</sup> *regnabant RV*      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*  
<sup>d</sup> *agentibus RV*      <sup>e</sup> *hii DM; hi RV*      <sup>f</sup> *ualde se DMRV*      <sup>g</sup> *omnibus RV*

<sup>22</sup> Named Æthelwynn by B. (B., c. 12). This whole episode, placed at a later stage of Dunstan's career by B. (in the period immediately prior to Edmund's accession and Dunstan's appointment as a royal counsellor), was transferred to this earlier period by Osbern, presumably in the interests of a more dramatic narrative (cf. Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 10), and Eadmer follows Osbern's chronology here.

<sup>23</sup> Eadmer's language is difficult here, but appears to be modelled on the corresponding passage in Osbern (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 10: 'compellatus est, ut ei stolam sacerdotalem artificiosa operatione praepingeret, quam postea ad diuinos cultus aurifactoria imitatione figuraret'). The word 'praepingere' is very rare (cf. *TLL*, x. 2, 766. 5-11); we take

harmonious music he produced through them. On account of this he was visited by many people and many things were sought of him. But since he was filled with love for everyone, he never denied to anyone what he himself would have liked another to do for him.

8. [5 Stubbs] Among the things he did, he was asked by a certain matron,<sup>22</sup> who was indeed religious and possessed by a desire to please God, that he come to her house and design a stole for her with his craftsman's skill which she could copy in golden thread; she wished to cover this stole with gold for the embellishment of the church of God and its service.<sup>23</sup> Dunstan had taken this work in hand and his harp which he by chance had brought with him when he came to the house was hanging next to him against the wall. And all on its own, untouched by human hand, the harp began to play aloud this antiphon, recognizable from its notes: 'The souls of the saints who have followed in the footsteps of Christ rejoice in heaven and since they have shed their blood for love of him, thus they will rejoice with Christ forever.' When these things happened everyone who was present in the house was seized by great amazement. And one by one they turned their eyes from the work of the youth which they had earlier been paying attention to and lifted their faces and ears towards the harp. And while the rest were caught up with listening to the simple sound of the strings, Dunstan alone understood what the music foreshadowed and warned of. For he knew by what was being played on the harp that if he wished to rejoice with Christ forever he should not be afraid to shed his blood on his behalf, if compelled by necessity; nor would his soul obtain joy in heaven if he did not follow in Christ's footsteps. He accepted that the performance was truly brought about by the music of angels so that he might be taught as if in the actual presence of God what ought to be done by him in the future.

9. [6 Stubbs] And while these things were occurring, those who earlier had claimed to love him so strongly and appeared to maintain constant friendship with him in all matters now began to envy Dunstan's advancement and charge that he practised sinister arts, and that his gentle behaviour towards everyone was in the service of

Osbern to mean that Dunstan marked out a pattern on the stole, which the matron then executed herself in golden thread. We also assume the expression 'in auri opere' refers to the use of gold thread, as in Osbern's account.

quorumque simplicium deceptioni, magis quam alicui religioni, inseruire conuitiari coeperunt. Ad cuius calumniae firmamentum, id quod in cithara factum fuit uelut quoddam argumentum inducunt, astruentes in huiusmodi instrumento nil tam insolitum fieri potuisse, nisi constaret aliquo diabolico carmine illud per eum, cuius erat, antea tactum fuisse. Quid plura? Crescit iste nequissimus rumor, et in dies fit sibi ipsi<sup>a</sup> deterior. Spargitur per curiales, et perducitur usque ad principis aures. Rex ergo, et multi ex primoribus qui hominem paulo ante magni habebant, uultus suos utpote ab illo qui iam<sup>b</sup> ipsis despectui erat auertebant. Quae Dunstanus aduertens, et ne in peius proficerent nonnichil<sup>c</sup> metuens, malignorum hominum iracundiae cessit, et ad cognatum suum Ælfegum<sup>d</sup> Wentanum episcopum, cognomine Caluum,<sup>24</sup> profecturus, curiae regali<sup>e</sup> decessit. Quod praefatae malitiae commentatores agnoscentes, uiam obseruant, eumque cum sociis comprehendentes, equo deiciunt, iniuriis multis afficiunt, et acriter flagellatum ac uinctum horrido coeno praecipitatum relinquunt. Ne autem penitus ab eis<sup>f</sup> perimeretur, post<sup>g</sup> gratiam Dei, quae illum suis in posterum<sup>h</sup> reseruauit, quaedam ingens molosorum multitudo<sup>i</sup> obstitit, quae ex insperato in eos horridis latratibus irruens adolescentem defendit. Quod ille percipiens, prauorum hominum miseratus errorem, canes eis factos humaniores gemens erubuit. Veruntamen Deo super ineffabili gratia eius ex intimo corde gratias agens, sensu ipso percepit in se cantum<sup>j</sup> citharae nonnichil sibi significasse. Interea uicini, praedicto molosorum<sup>k</sup> latratu audito, perterriti accurrunt, quid acciderit discere gestientes. Et agnoscentes quod factum est, illos nequam homines iam fuga dilapsos detestati sunt, et Dunstanum de coeno educentes, fouendum ad sua perducunt.

10. Profectus<sup>l</sup> dehinc uenit ad memoratum episcopum, et aliquanto tempore deguit apud eum. Erat autem episcopus idem magnae in Christo religionis, et apud omnes id locorum conuersantes magni

<sup>a</sup> ipsi sibi *V*    <sup>b</sup> *M* adds ab    <sup>c</sup> nonnichili *CNe* (perhaps due to a superfluous *minim* in *C* before *metuens*)    <sup>d</sup> Ælfedum *R*    <sup>e</sup> regali curiae *DM*    <sup>f</sup> ab eis penitus *RV*  
<sup>g</sup> per *DMNeRV*    <sup>h</sup> in posterum suis *DM*    <sup>i</sup> multitudo molosorum (*M p. c.*) *DM*  
<sup>j</sup> cantus *R*    <sup>k</sup> molosorum praedicto *R*    <sup>l</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*

<sup>24</sup> Bishop of Winchester from 934/5 to 951 (see O'Donovan ii. 111–2). The degree of Dunstan's relationship to Ælfheah is uncertain. He is first mentioned by B., who calls Ælfheah a 'propinquus' (B., c. 7); for a sceptical view, see Brooks, 'The career of St

hypocrisy and deception of simple people rather than any kind of religion. In support of this vile charge they cited what had happened with the harp as if it were a proof, adding that nothing so unusual could have happened on an instrument of this kind unless it had plainly been touched beforehand by some devilish spell cast by the one who owned it. What more can I say! That most nefarious rumour grew and day by day its nature worsened. It filtered through the courtiers and came eventually to the ears of the king. And so the king and many of the leading men who had held Dunstan to be of great worth just a little earlier turned their faces from him as from one whom they now despised. When Dunstan noticed this, fearing that things might get much worse, he gave way to the anger of those wicked men and departed from the royal court, intending to go to his kinsman Ælfheah, the bishop of Winchester, who was known as 'the Bald'.<sup>24</sup> When the perpetrators of the aforementioned evil perceived this, they noted his route and seizing him and his companions they threw him from his horse and inflicted many injuries upon him; they severely whipped and shackled him and they cast him headlong into horrible filth and left him. So that he not be utterly brought to ruin by them, however, through the grace of God which preserved him for his own people afterwards, a huge pack of dogs confronted them, rushing out of nowhere towards them with terrifying barking, and defended the youth. Seeing this, Dunstan felt sorry on account of the error of those wicked men, and blushed, lamenting that dogs had become more humane than them. Notwithstanding this, giving thanks to God from the bottom of his heart for his ineffable grace, he perceived by his own reckoning that there had been great significance for him in the song of the harp. Meanwhile, when they heard the barking of the dogs mentioned earlier, those living thereabouts were terrified and eagerly ran up to find out what had happened. And discovering what had transpired, they despised those worthless men who had by then dispersed in flight, and lifting Dunstan from the filth they took him back to their homes to care for him.

10. He then set out from there and went to the bishop mentioned earlier and remained with him for some period of time. That same bishop was renowned for his religious devotion to Christ and of great fame among those living under his guidance in that place.

Dunstan', p. 7, who argued that B. may have exaggerated the closeness of the relationship, or else misrepresented an adoptive relationship as a blood relationship.

nominis. Egit igitur industria qua uigebat ut Dunstanus monachus fieret. Proposuit ei inter alia monachi uitam esse uiam<sup>a</sup> perfectionis, de qua Dominus illi qui se omnia legis mandata dixit seruasse, 'unum' ait, 'tibi deest. Si uis perfectus esse, uade, uende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus, et ueni, sequere me.' Et adiecit: 'Ita, fili, si uis ut ea quae in te iam magni boni spem praestant perfectionis culmen attingant, necesse habes omnia quae in saeculo possides relinquere, et Christi uestigia nudus sequi.'<sup>b</sup> <sup>25</sup> Ad haec licet ille quaedam quae sibi rationis uidebantur obiceret, nec subito assensu iis<sup>c</sup> quae dicebantur animum summittere uellet, tamen non parum in ipso uerba pontificis operata sunt. De nuptiis quippe, quas se facturum certo sibi ipsi ante promiserat, iam utrum eas faceret an non dubius fluctuabat. In qua dubietate<sup>d</sup> constitutum, nutu Dei ualida febris inuasit, et in tantum corpus eius attenuauit, ut nichil minus quam de ducenda uxore cogitaret.<sup>e</sup> Cum autem, iam aliquantum sopito languore, et uerba pontificis et duriciam sui cordis in se reuersus ad mentem reduceret, suspirans grauiter erubuit, quod potentior in eo fuit<sup>f</sup> tercianae febris igniculus ad extinguendam carnis suae concupiscentiam, quam ille ignis quem, ut in cordibus fidelium uehementer arderet, Dominus <sup>g</sup>uenit mittere<sup>g</sup> in terram.<sup>26</sup> Versa igitur uice, ardorem ignis diuini in se succedens carnalibus illecebris funditus renunciauit, seque perpetuo uirginem perseueraturum diuinitatis confisus auxilio uouit. Mittens itaque episcopum fecit ad se uenire,<sup>h</sup> et apud eum poenitentiam egit, quod sibi uiam perfectionis suadenti non statim obtemperauerit, quod habitum religionis monasticae<sup>i</sup> ad uerbum eius non susceperit. Quibus antistes auditis, gaudio gauisus est magno, et de conuersione iuuenis immensas grates persoluit largitori omnis bonitatis Deo.<sup>j</sup> Dunstanus ergo monachus sine dilatione factus est, et deinde legitimo tempore per canonicas sacrorum ordinum successiones etiam ad sacerdotii gradum ab eodem episcopo prouectus.

Therefore he strove with his customary vigour to see that Dunstan became a monk. Among other things he argued with him that the life of a monk was the life of perfection; concerning this the Lord said to a certain man, who said that he observed all the statutes of the law, 'One thing is lacking in you: if you wish to be perfect, go, sell everything that you own, give it to the poor, and come and follow me.'<sup>25</sup> And the bishop added to this, 'And so, my son, if you wish for all those things which already promise hope of great goodness in you to reach the pinnacle of perfection, it is necessary for you to leave behind all the things which you possess in this world and follow naked in the footsteps of Christ.' Although Dunstan responded to these things with some arguments that seemed reasonable to him, and did not wish to commit his soul to those things being said with too hasty a decision, nevertheless the words of the bishop had considerable effect on him. Indeed, with respect to the marriage which he had earlier promised himself he would certainly go through with, he now vacillated greatly about whether or not to do it. By God's plan a strong fever overcame him while he was preoccupied with his doubts and his body was reduced to such an extent that nothing was less on his mind than getting married. When, however, the sickness had somewhat abated, he came to himself and called to mind the words of the bishop and the hardness of his own heart, and sighing heavily he was embarrassed because the negligible heat of a tertian fever was more effective in extinguishing the desire of the flesh in him than was that flame which the Lord came to send into the world to burn fervently in the hearts of the faithful.<sup>26</sup> On the contrary, enkindling the fire of divine love in himself, he renounced carnal desires completely and vowed that trusting in divine assistance he would preserve his virginity forever. Then he sent a message and caused the bishop to come to him; he did penance before him because, as he confessed, he had not immediately obeyed when the bishop was urging him to take up the road of perfection and had not assumed the monastic religious habit as he had advised. When the bishop heard these words he was greatly overjoyed and offered up bountiful thanks to God, who bestows all goodness, for the conversion of the young man. And so Dunstan was made a monk without further delay and after the prescribed time he was promoted through the canonical stages of holy orders by Ælfheah until he reached the priesthood.

<sup>a</sup> uiam esse *RV*      <sup>b</sup> sequi nudus *M*      <sup>c</sup> hiis *DM*; his *RV*      <sup>d</sup> dubitatione *M*  
<sup>e</sup> cogitauit *R*      <sup>f</sup> fuit in eo *RV*      <sup>g-g</sup> misit *RV*      <sup>h</sup> fecit episcopum uenire ad se *RV*  
<sup>i</sup> monachice *V*      <sup>j</sup> *New chapter in RV*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mark 10: 21; Matt. 19: 21; see also Luke 12: 33.

<sup>26</sup> Luke 12: 49.

II. [7 Stubbs] Post<sup>a</sup> aliquantos nouae conuersionis<sup>b</sup> suae dies Glastoniam Dunstanus<sup>c</sup> perrexit, et ibi iuxta aecclesiam sanctae Dei genitricis uirginis Mariae, in qua lumen, ut supra meminimus, caelitus emicuit, sibi domunculam adeo paruulam fecit ut mirum habeant, qui eam nouerunt, qualiter ibi uiuus homo degere potuerit. Ipsemet enim eam mensus sum, et nichil ultra quattuor<sup>d</sup> pedes in longitudine, nec plus quam duos ac semis habet in latitudine.<sup>27</sup> Altitudo autem staturam hominis concipit. In medio ostii<sup>e</sup> fenestra est. Illic ergo conuersari, orare, psallere, non nulla quae loci angustia patiebatur manibus operari, et uni Deo placendi per omnia et in omnibus operam dare. Quibus exercitiis eius antiquus humani generis aduersarius inuidens, sicut eum a curia regis nuper expulit, ita qualiter a loco isto expelleret maligne sollicitus fuit. Quadam igitur uice, cum uir ipse,<sup>f</sup> iam die aduesperascente, fabrili intenderet operi, astitit fenestrae ipsius demon unus humana effigie tectus, rogans sibi nescio quid operis ab homine fieri. At ille pietatis affectu ex more permotus, intermissis iis<sup>g</sup> quae faciebat, parabat se satisfacere postulanti. Interim is<sup>h</sup> qui uenerat formam ac uerba mutare, ut nunc senis, nunc pueri, nunc lasciuiae puellae estimares te<sup>i</sup> uultus cum uoce uidere.<sup>j</sup> Quod Dunstanus audiens,<sup>k</sup> quis esset protinus agnouit. Et sedens motus eius patienter se ferre dissimulauit. Sumptis interea tenaculis, quibus calida ferra tenere solebat, fortiter ea igniuit, et candentia de fornace subito proferens, monstrum per nasum arripuit et strictissime tenuit. Videres itaque<sup>l</sup> pulchrum certamen inter amicum Dei et inimicum. Ille ardorem sentiens, ac detectis insidiis superbiam suam deiectam non ferens, totis nisibus conabatur euadere, iste illum retinens, et intro uiriliter trahens, laetabatur quod in nomine Christi poterat de inimico eius taliter triumphare. Tandem cum dedecore a uiro abiectus fugit, et per plateam currens, querula uoce clamitabat, dicens: 'Ve, quid ille caluus diabolus fecit, ue, quid ille caluus diabolus fecit? En me miserum, misericordiae opus ab eo

<sup>a</sup> New chapter in DMV    <sup>b</sup> conuersionis RV    <sup>c</sup> om. R    <sup>d</sup> quattuor DMRV  
<sup>e</sup> hostii DM    <sup>f</sup> ille RV    <sup>g</sup> his DMRV; hiis Ne    <sup>h</sup> his M    <sup>i</sup> om. V p. c.  
<sup>j</sup> mutare RV    <sup>k</sup> intuens DM    <sup>l</sup> utique R

<sup>27</sup> Osbern, on whose account Eadmer's narrative here is directly modelled, states that he also had visited the cell and measured it, and found it to be five feet in length (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 13: 'ut enim de re quam ipse uidi, testimonium feram, quantum mea fert aestimatio, longitudo eiusdem cellae non amplius quinque pedum'). The difference suggests that Eadmer may have been determined to demonstrate his independence from Osbern even in the most minor of matters (see above, pp. xxxi, lxxiv). That Eadmer visited

II. [7 Stubbs] Some days after his recent conversion Dunstan travelled to Glastonbury and there, next to the church of the holy virgin mother of God Mary, where as was mentioned earlier a light had flashed down from heaven, he built a tiny cell for himself; it was so small that those who are familiar with it are amazed that any living being could have dwelt in it. I myself have measured it and it is no more than four feet in length and no more than two and a half in width.<sup>27</sup> However, it is high enough for a man to stand in it. There is a window in the middle of the door. And so he dwelt, prayed, sang psalms there, and did with his hands whatever things the narrow space allowed, and devoted his attention to pleasing only God in all things and in every way. The ancient foe of the human race envied him his spiritual exercises and was determined in evil manner that just as he had expelled him recently from the king's court, so too would he expel him from that place. Therefore on a certain occasion, as day was advancing towards evening and Dunstan was engaged in smith's work, a demon appeared at his window clothed in human likeness and asked him to do some task or other for him. He was moved as usual by pious affection; he set aside the things he was doing and prepared himself to fulfil the request. While he was doing this the one who had come there began to change his appearance and voice, so that you might have thought that you were seeing the face and hearing the voice now of an old man, now of a boy, now of a seductive young girl. Hearing these things, Dunstan recognized immediately who it was. Sitting down, he pretended to tolerate patiently the other's shape-changing. Meanwhile he took up the tongs with which he usually held the red-hot iron, heated them up greatly, and drawing the glowing iron out of the furnace suddenly he seized the monster by the nose and held him very tightly. Then you could have beheld an exemplary struggle between the friend of God and his enemy. Feeling the heat and unable to accept that his treachery had been detected and his pride humbled, the demon tried with all his might to escape, but Dunstan held onto him and bravely dragged him inside, rejoicing because in the name of Christ he was able to triumph in such a manner over his enemy. Finally he was thrown out in disgrace by Dunstan and fled running down the street crying out in a mournful voice and saying: 'Woe is me! what has that bald devil done! Woe! What has that bald devil done to me! Look

Glastonbury at some stage is shown by his comments in his *Epistola ad Glastonienses* (p. 412).

petentem, misere afflixit, et nil mali de eo merentem, igne malignitatis suae longo cruciatu combussit.' Has uoces multi audientes, et eas mane uiro referentes, sciscitati sunt quidnam hoc esse potuerit. Quibus ille: 'Demonum', ait, 'insidiae sunt, qui suis fallaciis nos uolunt<sup>a</sup> inquietare, si possunt. Sed si in seruitio Christi stabiles fuerimus, leuiter eos in eius adiutorio<sup>b</sup> deuincemus, et confusi fugient a nobis.' Haec dixit, et securus postmodum in sua domuncula habitauit. Nec enim in ipso loco unquam amplius eum inimicus aggredi ausus est, in quo talem belli apparatus in primo congressu sortitus est. Ex eo igitur tempore cum munditia cordis, tanta claruit in Dunstano<sup>c</sup> pudicia corporis ut omnes, qui uitam illius<sup>d</sup> nouerunt, similem angelo iudicarent. Vnde quamplures<sup>e</sup> utriusque sexus homines, tam diuites,<sup>f</sup> quam non omni ex<sup>g</sup> parte locupletes, ad eum properare, eum de sua salute consulere, ab eo uia uitae festinabant informari. Ipse autem singulis, prout quisque opus habebat, sua uerba dispertiens, quemque ad uoluntatem Dei instituebat.

12. [8 Stubbs] Dum<sup>h</sup> haec fiunt, uenit ad eum mulier quaedam,<sup>i</sup> Ælfgiua nomine,<sup>28</sup> quae ab ineunte aetate grata fuit et accepta regibus Angliae, cum quia bonis moribus et castis actibus praedita, tum quia filios eorum educando et<sup>j</sup> nutriendo gnara erat atque sollicita.<sup>29</sup> Haec igitur, audito Dunstano, habitationem sibi prope oratorium sanctae Mariae instituit, ubi ad eam Dunstanus uenire, eam de propectu bonorum operum, de spe retributionis futurae,<sup>k</sup> de gaudio regni caelestis imbuiere posset.<sup>l</sup> Et factum est. Quicquid ei Dunstanus dixit, ita opere exercere<sup>m</sup> sollicita fuit, ac si ab ore Dei corporeis auribus id acciperet. Quapropter diebus ac noctibus aecclesiam frequentare, orationibus insistere, egenis de facultatibus suis quibus

<sup>a</sup> uolunt nos *DM*      <sup>b</sup> auxilio *RV*      <sup>c</sup> *RV* add et      <sup>d</sup> eius *DM*  
<sup>e</sup> quamplurimi *DM*      <sup>f</sup> diuites tam *M*      <sup>g</sup> ex omni *DM*; *R* inserts ex *s.l.*      <sup>h</sup> *New*  
*chapter in DMRV*      <sup>i</sup> quaedam mulier *DM*      <sup>j</sup> atque *DM*      <sup>k</sup> aeternae *RV*  
<sup>l</sup> posset imbuiere *DM*      <sup>m</sup> *RV* add studuit et

<sup>28</sup> B. names this woman Æthelflæda (B., c. 9); the name Æthelflæd is first recorded as that of King Alfred's eldest daughter (d. c. 918), and it was subsequently used by a number of women associated with the royal house. B. states that this particular woman was the niece of King Æthelstan, and that she retired to Glastonbury following the death of her husband, where she became a generous benefactress (ibid., c. 10); it was Osbern who first introduced the story that she fostered royal children (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 15: 'omne semen regium materno semper affectu dilexerat, fouerat, nutruierat'), and it is from Osbern that Eadmer derives this story, as well as the name Ælfgiua. For the support given to Dunstan at this stage of his career by such aristocratic widows, see Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', p. 7.

at me, a poor wretch. I sought a work of mercy of him, but he attacked me mercilessly; and though deserving no malice of him, in long drawn-out torture he burned me with the fire of his malignity.' Many people heard these words; and in the morning they mentioned them to Dunstan and asked repeatedly what this could signify. He said to them, 'These are the deceits of devils who seek, if they are able, to disturb us with their deceits. But if we remain firm in the service of Christ, we shall easily defeat them with his help, and they will flee from us in confusion.' Having said these things he dwelt safely thereafter in his little cell. Nor did his enemy ever dare to attack him further where he had experienced such a weapon of war in their first encounter. And so from that time the purity and cleanliness of body and heart that shone brightly from Dunstan were so great that everyone who knew about his life judged him to be like an angel. From then on very many people of both sexes, as much from among the wealthy as from those less well off, approached him and asked about their salvation, hastening to be shaped by him with the way to life. He distributed his words to each one according to his needs and trained them for the will of God.

12. [8 Stubbs] While these things were happening a certain woman by the name of Ælfgifu came to him;<sup>28</sup> from an early age she had been pleasing and acceptable to the kings of England, as much because she was endowed with chaste morals and good deeds as because she was experienced and concerned about educating and fostering their children.<sup>29</sup> Thus when Dunstan had come to her notice she determined to set up a dwelling for herself close by the oratory of St Mary where he would be able to come to her, to imbue her with words concerning advancement of good deeds, the hope of future reward, and the joy of the heavenly kingdom. And this was done. Whatever Dunstan recommended to her she was as concerned to implement as if she had heard those things with her human ears from the mouth of God. Therefore she endeavoured to frequent the church both by day and night, to devote herself to prayer, to give generously

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the 'First Life of St. Frideswide', c. 3 (ed. J. Blair, *Oxoniensia*, 52 (1987), 96): 'tradiderunt eam [scil. Frideswide] cuidam matrone, Ælfgive nomine, ad erudiendum litteras'. This version of the Life of Frideswide survives in a fragmentary collection of saints' Lives of c.1130 from Worcester, now bound in a composite manuscript (London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 2, fos. 156<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>v</sup>); this manuscript also contains fragments of another collection of saints' Lives including the 'Cotton Nero Life of Dunstan' (see above, pp. xci-xcii).

affluebat largiter ministrare, et prorsus iis<sup>a</sup> quae Deo placere posse sperabat sedula studebat operam dare. Circa uenerationem uero beatae matris Dei quam deuota extiterit, ex eo aliquantum aduerti posse putamus,<sup>b</sup> quod ipsa nonnullos clericos in templo eius poni fecit quibus, ut die noctuque seruitio illius libere inuigilarent, omnia quorum opus habebant abundanter sumministrabat. Ipsa quoque pia domina pro fideli famula sua multa faciebat, quando ab ea quid (mediante ratione) postulabat. Verbi gratia: rex Æthelstanus,<sup>c</sup> cum quadam uice Glastoniam uenisset, diuertit propter loci religionem ad praefatam aecclesiam sanctae Mariae. Quod illa sciens, rogat eum quatinus dignetur in domum suam diuertere, et aliquantum quieti indulgere, ac modicum cibi potusque in uera caritate suscipere. Concedit rex, licet inuitus, nolens scilicet eam, quam et sibi ex antiquo familiarem habebat, et nunc deuotam Deo nouerat, contradicendo in aliquo offendere. Laeta igitur non parum effecta, se ad regium ministerium totam impendit. Et prauidens ea quae tali negotio conuenire sciebat, nichil eorum quae uolebat minus esse aduertit, illo duntaxat potu excepto qui medo uocatur, quo Angli quam maxime uti solebant. Verens ergo ne huius inopia aliorum copiam obnubilaret, oratorium piae Mariae ipsius suffragium de re postulatura ingreditur. Et prostrata solo,<sup>d</sup> orat eam quatinus sua prece a Deo obtineat<sup>e</sup> ut memorato liquori, unde parum habebat, diuinae suae<sup>f</sup> benedictionis augmentum infundat. Mira res: rex, magna suorum multitudine saeptus, ad prandium sedet, et prandentibus de praefato potu copiose hinc inde defertur, semperque uasculum, unde hauriebatur solito, plenum inuenitur.<sup>30</sup> Factumque est ut, rege a loco discedente, in uasculo minime appareret, quod inde quicquam sumptum fuisset. Haec iccirco hic inseruimus,<sup>g</sup> ut quantum uerba uiri Dei in cordibus audientium ad uoluntatem Dei conciliandam profecerint, huius exemplo intelligamus.

<sup>a</sup> his *DMRV*    <sup>b</sup> putamus posse *RV*    <sup>c</sup> Ætelstanus *DM*; Ethestanus *V*    <sup>d</sup> solo prostrata *DMRV*    <sup>e</sup> obtineat a Deo *D*    <sup>f</sup> *C* inserts *s.l.*    <sup>g</sup> inseruimus hic *R*

<sup>30</sup> Eadmer's primary sources for this miracle are B., c. 10 and Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 15, and his comment about the habits of the English, which is not in either of these sources, suggests that he was conscious that his work could be read by a foreign audience (see also below, c. 43 note). Nevertheless, it is possible that he was also influenced by a similar miracle which is recounted in Wulfstan's *Life of St Æthelwold*, which makes similar remarks about the drinking habits of the Northumbrians (*Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 12, and p. 24, nn. 1 and 2).

to the poor from her own resources (which she had in abundance), and above all to attend assiduously to those things which she hoped would please God. How dedicated she was to the devotion of the blessed Mother of God I think can be shown to some extent by the fact that she arranged for several clerics to be located in his church; she supplied them generously with everything they needed so that they would be able to devote themselves freely by day and night to the service of the Virgin. That same loving Lady was accustomed to perform many deeds on behalf of her faithful servant whenever she explained her reasons and sought something from her. For example, when King Æthelstan came to Glastonbury on one occasion he turned aside to this church of St Mary on account of the holiness of that place. Discovering that, Ælfgifu asked that he might deign to call at her house, indulge in a short rest there, and in true Christian love receive a little food and drink. The king agreed reluctantly, since he did not wish to offend by disagreeing in any way with one who had been very close to him for a long time and who he knew was now devoted to God. She was made very happy by this and dedicated herself completely to serving the king. And attending to those things that she knew befitted such an important occasion she noticed that nothing she wanted was lacking, with the sole exception of that drink called mead, which the English are accustomed to drink in great abundance. Fearing that the lack of this thing would offset the abundance of the other things, she entered the oratory of loving Mary to seek for her favour in this matter. And lying prostrate on the ground she begged the Virgin that through her intercession God might pour forth by his divine blessing an increase of the drink just mentioned, of which she had but a little. And a wondrous thing happened. The king, surrounded by a great multitude of his own men, sat at dinner, and copious amounts of that drink were served here and there to those dining with him, and yet the vessel from which drink was usually drawn was always found to be full.<sup>30</sup> And it happened that once the king had departed from that place there was no sign in the vessel that anything had been taken from it. I insert this story here so that we should know from this example how much the words of the man of God achieved in working the will of God in the hearts of those listening.

13. Igitur<sup>a</sup> cum ipsius suae famulae merita Deus uellet aeterna quiete remunerari, paterno eam uerbere percussit, uolens<sup>b</sup> scilicet illam,<sup>b</sup> hoc ordine ab omni peccati macula castigatam, numero filiarum caelestis Ierusalem celerius aggregare.<sup>31</sup> Quam ubi Dunstanus infirmari cognouit, uenit ad eam, ac de salute animae eius, de gloria uitae aeternae, de poenis Gehennae et horum infinito fine ipsi locutus, illam ad sectanda uestigia Christi, renunciato saeculo et rebus saeculi, exortatus est. Ad quae illa: ‘Cuncta quae mei iuris sunt Christo relinquo, atque ut ea distribuas secundum<sup>c</sup> quod illi<sup>d</sup> melius placere cognoueris super te pono. Nec enim aliquem in hac uita aequae carum habeo, nec alicui sicut tibi per omnia credo.’ His ille auditis, omnia fere quae in mobilibus ipsa habebat pauperibus sine mora distribuere coepit, aliis interim ad aecclesiarum consolationem pro temporum qualitate seruatis. Iam dies in uesperam declinabat, et Dunstanus, ne a nocte extra cellulam deprehenderetur, illuc properabat. Ibat itaque uespertinum officium psallens. Et cum ante fores aecclesiae perueniret, nec eam, quia clausa erat, intrare ualeret, substitit, uolens pro foribus perficere horam quam inceperat. Tum<sup>e</sup> subito ex dulcedine psalmodiae, uti plerunque accidere solet, mente compunctus, oculos ad caelum<sup>f</sup> subleuat, et conspicit inde columbam miri candoris praepeti uolatu descendere, quae aera scintillantibus radiis fulgore diuerberans domum morientis matronae, ipso considerante, subintrat. Ilico, reflexo gressu, concitus redit, et ante camerae introitum stans, totum habitaculum incredibili uidet nitore splendere, eamque interius audit cum quodam de iocunditate patriae caelestis sermocinantem, et eidem innumeras gratias persoluentem. Cuius rei fine<sup>g</sup> patienter expectato, tandem ingreditur, et praeter eam neminem inueniens, quis fuerit interrogat cum quo loquebatur. ‘Ille idem’, ait, ‘qui tibi ante fores aecclesiae psallenti, priusquam ad me ueniret, apparuit. Ille, inquam, dignatus est me uisitare,<sup>h</sup> et suae michi consolationis gratiam praerogare. Quapropter dico tibi, amicorum karissime, ne tu uel aliorum quis de meo discessu doleat, quia non poena infernalis, sed gloria me suscipiet regni caelestis. Tantum precor ut cras mane ad me uenias, et michi cum sacramento sacrae inunctionis uaticum

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>b-b</sup> *eam scilicet R*      <sup>c</sup> *om. M*      <sup>d</sup> *ei RV*  
<sup>e</sup> *Tunc V*      <sup>f</sup> *ad caelum oculos DM*      <sup>g</sup> *finem R*      <sup>h</sup> *me uisitare dignatus est DMRV*

<sup>31</sup> For ‘daughters of Jerusalem’, cf. S. of S. 2: 7; Luke 23: 28.

13. Therefore when God wished to reward the merits of this servant of his with eternal rest he beat her with a paternal whip; he wished to include her, cleansed in this manner of the stain of every sin, more quickly in the number of daughters in the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> When Dunstan learned that she was ill he came to her and talked about the salvation of her soul, the glory of eternal life, the punishments of hell, and the infinite nature of these things, and urged her to follow in the footsteps of Christ, having renounced this life and the things of the world. To this she replied: ‘All things that I possess I leave to Christ, and I place them in your hands so that you may distribute them in a manner which you know would please him best. For I hold no one more dear to me in this life than you, and I trust no one as much as you in all matters.’ When he heard these words Dunstan began without delay to distribute nearly all of her chattels to the poor, while her other property was in the interim kept to assist the church as need might arise. And now the day was waning towards evening and Dunstan hurried to his cell so that he would not be caught outside it at night; as he went he sang the evening office. When he arrived before the doors of the church, he was not able to enter because it was shut; he remained there, wishing to complete in front of those door the office which he had begun. Suddenly pierced at that moment in his heart by the beauty of the psalms, as often happens, he lifted his eyes to the heavens and saw a dove of marvellous whiteness descend in swift flight from there; beating the air with a gleam of shining rays it entered the house of the dying matron as Dunstan watched. Turning in his track from there he returned hastily and standing before the entrance to her room he beheld the whole little dwelling shining with incredible brightness and heard her inside discussing with someone the joys of the heavenly homeland and rendering innumerable thanks to that same person. Having waited patiently for this business to conclude he finally entered and finding no one but her there he asked whom she had been speaking to. She replied, ‘It was that same being who, before he came to me, had appeared to you while you were singing psalms in front of the doors of the church. Indeed, he deigned to visit me and give me in advance the grace of his consolation. Wherefore I say to you, dearest of friends, that neither you nor any of the others should grieve about my death since it is not infernal punishment but rather the glory of the heavenly kingdom that will receive me. I only ask of you that tomorrow morning you come to me and administer to me the

dominici corporis tradas.<sup>7</sup> Annuit ille, et diluculo reuersurus, tristic simul et laetus in suam domunculam abiit. Humanitatis nanque affectu contristabatur, quia tanto ad praesens solatio destituebatur,<sup>a</sup> sed altera consideratione magnam in corde laeticiam concipiebat, propterea quod ipsam, cui aeternam salutem<sup>b</sup> unice concupiebat,<sup>c</sup> eandem<sup>d</sup> salutem apprehendere<sup>e</sup> iam iamque uidebat. Mane igitur iuxta condictum reuersus est, et ipsa sacramentorum quae desiderauerat pro ritu aecclesiae compos effecta, beatum finem adepta est, et in saepedicto oratorio decenter sepulta.

14. Post<sup>f</sup> haec Dunstanus non solum de possessionibus quas, ut diximus, ab eadem<sup>g</sup> matrona commendatas susceperat, sed et de illis quas sui parentes, de hac uita ad Christum migrantes, ei<sup>h</sup> quem unicum genuere dimiserant, sollicitus tractabat apud se quemadmodum Christi membra commodius inde posset sustentare. Et iis<sup>i</sup> quidem qui Deo sub patrocinio beatae Mariae in eius aecclesia seruebant, uel seruituri erant, propinquoeres terras perpetuo iure possidendas donauit, remotiores uero ad opus quinque aecclesiarum quas construere disposuerat iuxta locorum positionem<sup>j</sup> dandas reseruauit. Quae nimirum aecclesiae postmodum institutae, ac subsequenti tempore in tantum sunt mobilibus ac immobilibus rebus illius instantia auctae, ut in singulis multiplex monachorum coetus ad nutum patris Dunstani sub regularis uitae custodia militaret.

15. [9 Stubbs] Exin<sup>k</sup> uir Domini infatigabili desiderio ad supernam patriam mentis obtutum dirigere, et ciuibus eius quibus conuersatione necdum<sup>l</sup> poterat iugi meditatione satagebat interesse.<sup>m</sup> Vnde contigit ut quadam die, in contemplationis dulcedine positus, subito raperetur super se, et<sup>n</sup> patris ac<sup>o</sup> matris suae animas inter choros angelorum conspiceret in caelorum regno gaudere. De qua uisione ualde gauisus, immensas omnipotenti Deo gratias egit, et deinde iuxta apostolum, quae retro erant obliuiscens, in ea quae ante sunt cotidie sese extendit.<sup>32</sup> Inde quoque semper animo secum uolebat, se

<sup>a</sup> solatio ad praesens destituebatur *DM*; solatio destituebatur ad praesens *RV* <sup>b</sup> *DM* add cui (*partly erased in D*) <sup>c</sup> cupiebat *DMRV* <sup>d</sup> eandemque *R*  
<sup>e</sup> apprehensuram *DMRV* <sup>f</sup> *New chapter in DMRV* <sup>g</sup> ipsa *DMRV*  
<sup>h</sup> eique *RV* <sup>i</sup> his *DMRV* <sup>j</sup> positionem locorum *RV* <sup>k</sup> *New chapter in DMRV* <sup>l</sup> necdum quibus conuersatione *RV* <sup>m</sup> interesse satagebat *V* <sup>n</sup> ac *R*  
<sup>o</sup> et *R*

<sup>32</sup> Phil. 3: 13–14.

viaticum of the Lord's body with the sacrament of Extreme Unction.' Dunstan agreed to this and, intending to return at daybreak, both sad and happy at the same time, he departed to his little cell. For he was saddened by human emotion because he was being abandoned by such a great source of solace in this present world; but on the other hand he began to feel great joy in his heart because he saw that the woman for whom he desired only eternal salvation was even now receiving that very salvation. Therefore he returned in the morning, as he had promised, and when according to the rites of the church she had received the sacraments that she had desired she experienced a blessed death and was buried fittingly in the oratory mentioned often above.

14. After these things had happened, Dunstan was considering anxiously within himself how he might best be able to support the members of Christ's church not only with the possessions which, as I have said, he received in trust from that same woman, but also with those goods which his own parents had left to him as their only child when they departed from this life to be with Christ. And indeed he granted to those who served God under the patronage of blessed Mary in her church or who would serve in the future the lands that were closer to be possessed by perpetual right; but he retained the lands lying further afield, according to where they were situated, to be distributed according to the needs of the five churches that he had decided to build. And in fact these churches were established subsequently and in the period thereafter they were enriched substantially with land and chattels through his efforts, to such an extent that in each church a large band of monks served under the constraints of the regular life at the command of father Dunstan.

15. [9 Stubbs] Thenceforth the man of the Lord strove with never-ending desire to direct the focus of his mind on the celestial homeland, and with constant contemplation to be among its citizens with whom he could not yet dwell. Thence it befell on a certain day while he was deep in sweet contemplation that he was suddenly taken up in rapture out of himself and saw the souls of his mother and father rejoicing among the chorus of angels in the heavenly kingdom. He was overjoyed by that vision and rendered immense thanks to almighty God; thereafter, in accordance with the words of the apostle, forgetting the things that were behind him he strove daily for those things which lay before him.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, after that he always thought



uidelicet parentum suorum legitimum filium nullatenus esse, si minus illis uoluntati Domini obsequendo, propter suam desidiam perderet haereditatem quam eos uiderat in terra uiuentium adquisiuisse.

16. Hac<sup>a</sup> meditatione quadam nocte illi uehementissime occupato, apparuit iuuenis quidam<sup>b</sup> uultu splendidus, amictu decorosus,<sup>c</sup> quem ipse adolescens adolescentem olim nouerat, et sancto sancti<sup>d</sup> amoris feruore multum dilexerat.<sup>33</sup> In quem oculos Dunstanus defigens, paulisper expauit, ex antiqua scilicet noticia quis esset aduertens, sed eum iam dudum huic uitae exemptum reminiscens. Tunc ille hominem ne timeret ortatus,<sup>e</sup> et ipse ab eo de uita in qua tunc erat familiari alloquio percunctatus, coepit ei de gaudiis regni Dei multa disserere, ac demum ea quae illi erant euentura praedicere. Ait ergo eum multas hominum malignorum aduersitates et insidias demonum plurimas perpessurum, sed ei in cunctis Dei auxilium<sup>f</sup> affuturum, ad summos aeccliesiae gradus promouendum, multas populorum multitudines sua praedicatione et exemplo Christo Domino adquisiturum, cum quibus sciret se post hanc uitam perennem gloriam adepturum. Quibus dictis, uirum foras in atrium aeccliesiae ducit, eique locum quendam eatenus incontaminatum ostendens, dicit: 'Vt de iis<sup>g</sup> quae audisti omnino certus existas, hoc in loco ante triduum presbiter unus sepelietur<sup>h</sup> qui nondum aliqua corporis infirmitate tenetur.' Dixerat, et ab oculis eius euanuit. Mane facto, clericos ad locum Dunstanus ducit, et eis quid de presbitero inibi sepeliendo audierit edicit. Eadem die uenit ad eosdem clericos presbiter qui dominae, cuius actus paulo ante paucis tetigimus, in seruitio Dei assiduus esse solebat, conuentionem cum eis faciens, quatinus eum in praedicto<sup>i</sup> loco, cum defunctus esset, tumularent. Illis uero adquiescentibus, sanus et alacer domum reuersus statim est infirmatus, ac sequenti die defunctus, iuxta uerbum serui Dei in praesignato loco sepultus est. Omnes igitur qui rem gestam audierunt mirati sunt, et opera Dei mira in Dunstano praedicauerunt.

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>b</sup> *quidam iuuenis DM*    <sup>c</sup> *decorus DMRV*    <sup>d</sup> *sancti sancto V*    <sup>e</sup> *hortatus DMV; hortatur R*    <sup>f</sup> *auxilium Dei RV*    <sup>g</sup> *his DMRV*  
<sup>h</sup> *presbiter unus sepelietur ante triduum D; ante triduum sepelietur unus presbiter M*  
<sup>i</sup> *in praedicto eum M*

<sup>33</sup> Named Wulfredus in B., c. 9.

to himself in his mind that he was not at all a legitimate son of his parents, if on account of his own idleness he lost the inheritance, which he had seen them acquire in the land of the living, by obeying the will of God less than they had.

16. One night while he was most strenuously preoccupied with these thoughts a certain youth, splendid in appearance and clad in beautiful raiment, appeared before him, one whom he had known when they were both young men and had loved greatly with the holy fervour of divine love.<sup>33</sup> When Dunstan cast his eyes upon him he was briefly frightened because he knew who he was from their past acquaintance, but also recalled that he had long since been taken from this life. Then that youth urged the man not to be afraid, and he was asked by Dunstan in friendly conversation about the life he was now living. He began to tell Dunstan many things about the joys of the kingdom of God and finally to foretell things that were going to happen to him. He said that Dunstan would suffer many adversities at the hands of evil men and numerous insidious attacks of demons, but that the help of God would be with him in all matters, he would be elevated to the highest ranks of the church, and by his preaching and exemplary life he would acquire for Christ the Lord many multitudes of people with whom he knew he would obtain eternal glory after this life. When he had said these things he led Dunstan outside into the churchyard and pointing out to him a place which was still undefiled he said: 'So that you can be completely assured about those things that you have just now heard I tell you that before three days have passed a certain priest will be buried in this place even though he has not yet been seized by any bodily sickness.' Thus he spoke and then vanished before his eyes. In the morning Dunstan led the clergy to that place and informed them of what he had heard about the priest who would be buried there. On that same day a priest who used to perform the service of God assiduously for that lady whose deeds we briefly touched upon a little earlier, came up to those clergy and made an agreement with them that when he died they should bury him in that very spot. And when they agreed to this, returning home vigorous and healthy he was immediately struck with illness and died on the following day; according to the promise of the servant of God he was buried in that designated place. And so all who heard about that event were amazed and they proclaimed the wondrous works of God effected through Dunstan.

17. [10 Stubbs] Sublato<sup>a</sup> de hac uita rege Æthelstano,<sup>b</sup> successit ei in regnum Eadmundus,<sup>c</sup> frater eius.<sup>34</sup> Hic post aliquot suae consecrationis dies,<sup>d</sup> missis nunciis, rogat Dunstanum uenire ad se. Sciens quippe qua ratione, qua prudentia, qua omnis probi consilii<sup>e</sup> gratia praeditus fuerit, magnopere desiderabat illum sibi proximum fore, cuius industria fultus tam se quam regnum sibi commissum sub aequitatis uirga facilius gubernaret. Dunstanus itaque regi, quasi praecellenti, secundum praeceptum apostoli oboediendum fore perpendens,<sup>35</sup> regem adiit, et salua in omnibus reuerentia ordinis sui eius imperio se subiecit. Ipse suo consilio regni negotia disponebat, ipse lites et contentiones, si quando oriebantur, destruebat, ipse pacem et concordiam inter omnes nutriebat. Nullus in qualibet causa unquam de iniuria sibi illata<sup>f</sup> conquestus est, ubi ad comprobendam iudicii sententiam Dunstanus mediator aut arbiter sedit. Rex ipse,<sup>g</sup> principes quique ita ei summissi erant, ut contra id quod ipse iuberet uel ordinaret nemo quid faceret. Magnus itaque habebatur a cunctis. Haec omnium bonorum inuidus hostis attendens, et quonam modo ea turbaret sua arte perquirens, inuenit quosdam quorum corda bene nouerat uirum non sincere diligere, sed ei specietenus obsequii sui amorem praetendere. Hos ad dissipandum bona quae non amabat ardentem contra uirum inflammat, ac primo clam, postea palam in detractionem eius illorum ora relaxat. Quid dicam? In tantam discordiam profecerunt uerba malignantium ut, subuersa omni pace, Dunstanus non solum pristino honore priuaretur, sed et<sup>h</sup> curia depelleretur.<sup>36</sup> Quo facto, die tertia rex in siluam uenatum iuit. Silua autem ipsa montem magnae altitudinis occupat. Qui mons in summitate sui interruptus, ingens praecipitium et horridam abissum spectantibus offert. Cum ergo<sup>i</sup> fugitantem ceruum rex hac et illac insequeretur, ceruus ad praeruptum montis hiatum perueniens, introrsum ruit, ac in partes discissus interit. Insectantes canes par ruina inuoluit. Equus quem rex sedebat, ruptis habenis, effrenis effectus, obstinato cursu regem post bestias portat, et ultimam sortem regi prae se patens baratrum intentat. Ille trepidat et angustiat. Occurrit interim animo eius<sup>j</sup> iniuria Dunstano nuper illata.<sup>k</sup> Ingemit,

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>b</sup> *Ethestano D; Æthestano M*    <sup>c</sup> *Edmundus DLAMRV*  
<sup>d</sup> *dies suae consecrationis DM*    <sup>e</sup> *consilii probi V*    <sup>f</sup> *illata sibi V*    <sup>g</sup> *M adds et*  
<sup>h</sup> *V adds a s.l.*    <sup>i</sup> *autem RV*    <sup>j</sup> *animo eius interim M*    <sup>k</sup> *illata nuper V*

<sup>34</sup> Edmund, the half-brother of Æthelstan, ruled 939–46.

<sup>35</sup> 1 Pet. 2: 13–14.

<sup>36</sup> B. states that the court was being held at Cheddar in Somerset (B., c. 13).

17. [10 Stubbs] When King Æthelstan was taken from this life his brother Edmund succeeded him to the kingdom.<sup>34</sup> A few days after his consecration this man sent messengers to Dunstan and asked him to come to him. For knowing with what intelligence, what prudence, what gift for just decision in every matter he was endowed, he desired him to be close by him so that relying on his industry he might govern himself as much as the kingdom entrusted to him more easily with the rod of justice. And so Dunstan, judging that he should pay obedience to the king as supreme (according to the words of the apostle), went to the king and subjected himself to his imperial command saving in all respects the reverence due to his holy order.<sup>35</sup> It was Dunstan who by his counsel settled the business of the kingdom, eliminated vexatious lawsuits and disputes whenever they arose, and cultivated peace and harmony among all men. No one ever complained about any harm done to him in any suit whatsoever when Dunstan sat as mediator or judge in determining a legal decision. The king himself and each of the princes were so submissive to him that no one did anything contrary to what this man had ordered or ordained. And so Dunstan was held to be great in everyone's eyes. The enemy, jealous of all good deeds, noticed these things and considered by what means he might throw them into disarray with his cunning. He discovered certain men whom he well knew did not love Dunstan sincerely in their hearts but rather feigned speciously love and obedience to him. In order to undermine the good deeds, which he loathed, he ardently inflamed these men against Dunstan, and at first secretly, but afterwards openly, loosed their tongues in order to defame him. What can I say! The words of his maligners created such discord that all peace was subverted, and not only was Dunstan deprived of his former honour but he was even expelled from the court.<sup>36</sup> On the third day after this had happened the king went hunting in the woods. This forest is perched on a mountain of great height, while the mountain is broken off at its summit and offers to the eyes of beholders a huge precipice and a frightening chasm. When the king was chasing a fleeing hart here and there it came to the broken-off chasm of the mountain and rushed headlong into it; it was torn to pieces and perished. A similar fate befell the pursuing hounds. Then the reins of the horse on which the king sat snapped, and it became frantic and carried the king away, galloping resolutely after the beasts. The chasm gaping before him threatened the king with the final stroke of destiny, and he was filled with fear and anxiety. Meanwhile

et se quam citissime illam multiplici emendatione correcturum,<sup>a</sup> solummodo imminentem sibi mortem eius meritis ad horam Deus auertat, Deo celeri mentis sponsione promittit. Cuius cordis praeparationem auris Dei e uestigio audiens, illius misertus est. Equus nanque ilico substitit, et regem, a periculo mortis liberatum, ualde <sup>b</sup>magnificas Domino grates ex imo cordis persolvere fecit.<sup>b</sup> Inde ad hospitium rex reuersus, adunatis principibus suis rei quae acciderat ordinem pandit,<sup>37</sup> et Dunstanum cum honore ac reuerentia adduci praecepit. Actaque coram eo poenitentia pro iniuriis quas ei intulerat, ueniam<sup>c</sup> cum magna humilitate postulabat. Qua potitus, fidum se amicum uiro deinceps omni tempore futurum, nec ulterius cuiusquam<sup>d</sup> maledicis uerbis de eo fore crediturum pollicitus est. Ac ut maledicorum ora inter eos perpetim obstruerentur, scirentque omnes quo uinculo, qua stabilitate amicitia eorum copularetur, ei locum in quo natus fuerat atque<sup>e</sup> nutritus perpetuo iure<sup>f</sup> possidendum dedit, eo pacto ut quod arbitrii eius tenor magis eligeret, exinde potissimum ordinaret. 'Et si', ait, 'tibi placuerit illic tuae professionis uiros multiplicare, tanta eis regia liberalitate per misericordiam Domini<sup>g</sup> tribuam, ut multitudini eorum semper superabundet multitudo donorum meorum.'<sup>h</sup> Pro quibus Deo et regi Dunstanus gratias agens, et Glastoniam in dominium suum accipiens,<sup>i</sup> secundum exemplar parentibus suis sibique ostensum, ut praediximus,<sup>38</sup> in augmentum maioris aecclesiae fundamenta iacere, claustra et officinas construere, et quaeque poterant esse monachis Domino Christo seruientibus accommoda inibi coepit aedificare. Post quae, plurimis sibi fratribus associatis,<sup>j</sup> loci ipsius<sup>k</sup> abbas effectus est. Creuit itaque monasterium ipsum intus et extra, tam in sancta et<sup>l</sup> monachili religione, quam et in multimoda terrenarum rerum possessione. Et quidem de possessione<sup>m</sup> rerum terrenarum<sup>n</sup> usque hodie scitur quod ita sit.<sup>39</sup> De religione uero ex eo probatur quod ita fuerit, quoniam

<sup>a</sup> correcturum *M* <sup>b-b</sup> gratiosum Deo reddidit *DRV*; gratiosum Deo reddit *M*  
<sup>c</sup> *DMRV* add ab eo <sup>d</sup> cuiusdam *V* <sup>e</sup> et *RV* <sup>f</sup> iure perpetuo *DM* (*M* writes partly in *mg.*) <sup>g</sup> Dei *M* <sup>h</sup> meorum donorum *DMV* <sup>i</sup> suum suscipiens *R*;  
 suscipiens suum *V* <sup>j</sup> associatis fratribus *DM* <sup>k</sup> illius *RV* <sup>l</sup> om. *DM* <sup>m</sup> de  
 possessione quidem *V* <sup>n</sup> terrenarum rerum *RV*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 179: 'remque ordine pando'.

<sup>38</sup> See c. 2.

<sup>39</sup> For discussion of the lands held by the abbey of Glastonbury c.940, and the growth of its possessions over the ensuing centuries, see M. Costen, 'Dunstan, Glastonbury and the economy of Somerset in the tenth century'. The *AG* lists Edmund's donations and emphasizes his generosity (*AG*, c. 55: 'Primam . . . liberalitatis palmam preripuit Edmundus'); for discussion of evidence from charters for these grants and of the authorship of this chapter, see the comments of J. Scott, *AG*, p. 202 nn. 112-13. By the time of the

the injury which had recently been inflicted on Dunstan occurred to him. He groaned and promised to God in his mind with timely vow that he would rectify that injury as quickly as possible with manifold reparation, if only by Dunstan's merits God would promptly turn aside the death threatening him. Straightaway the ear of God, perceiving the disposition of his heart, took pity on him. For the horse came to a standstill in that place, causing the king, who was saved from the danger of death, to render very great thanks to the Lord from the bottom of his heart. When the king returned from there to his lodgings he revealed in sequence to his assembled princes what had happened to him<sup>37</sup> and ordered Dunstan to be brought to him with honour and reverence. After he had done penance before him for the injuries he had inflicted upon him, he begged his forgiveness with great humility. When he had obtained this he promised that he would be a faithful friend of Dunstan from then on and for all time and that he would never again believe any malicious words uttered by anyone about him. And so that the mouths of the malefactors should be blocked up forever among them and so that everyone should know by what a chain, by what stability, their friendship was bound together, he granted to Dunstan possession by perpetual right of the place in which he had been born and raised, on the understanding that should his discretionary judgement choose something more, then thereafter he would most readily ordain it. 'And if', he said, 'it should please you to increase there the number of men in your profession, by the mercy of the Lord and royal largesse I will provide so many things for them that the multitude of my gifts will always exceed the number of men.' Giving thanks to God and the king for these things and accepting domain over Glastonbury, Dunstan, following the plan shown to his parents and to him, as I mentioned earlier,<sup>38</sup> began to lay the foundations there for the expansion of the church, to construct cloisters and workplaces, and to build there whatever was necessary for the monks who serve Christ the Lord. After these things had been done and many were brought together with him, he was appointed abbot of that place. Thereafter that monastery increased both inside and out as much in holy monastic piety as in abundant possession of worldly goods. And indeed with respect to the possession of worldly goods even up to this very day it is known that it is so.<sup>39</sup> Concerning the

Domesday Book, the abbey owned very extensive estates throughout Somerset and Wiltshire.

inde ad episcopatus, ad abbatias, ad quaeque officia aecclesiastica personae eligebantur,<sup>a</sup> accipiebantur, et ad eruditionem aliarum aecclesiarum constituebantur,<sup>40</sup> factumque est ut, sicut supra diximus,<sup>41</sup> ex cereo matris Dunstani totum aecclesiae conuentum lumen amissum recuperasse, ita ex hoc loco,<sup>b</sup> ipsius Dunstani doctrina instituto, omnes aecclesias Angliae constet uerae religionis lumen sumpsisse.

18. [11 Stubbs] Inter<sup>c</sup> haec uita et conuersatio Dunstani magnum contra se generabant odium diaboli. Qui gemens nequaquam inconuulsa mansisse,<sup>d</sup> quae per suae uoluntatis ministros in eum aduersa coniecerat, per se ipsum illum aggredi temptat, ratus uel sic eum a bonis quibus die ac nocte insistebat deterrendum. Quadam itaque nocte, dum solus ex more oraret, in lupi effigiem demutatus, coram eo, aperto ore et distectis dentibus ringens, horridus apparuit. In qua forma quoniam uirum nec in puncto quidem ab intentione sua deflectere ualuit, statim in uulpeculam uertitur, et quo illum ad se intendere faceret, uariis anfractibus et iocosis motibus huc illucque perlabitur. Tunc Dunstanus modicum subridens: 'Vere', ait, 'ostendis quod agere soles, iocando nanque 'blandiris incautis'<sup>e</sup> ut eos deuores, deuoras ut tibimet ipsi blandiaris. Sed iam discede, miser, quoniam Christus, qui leonem et draconem conculcauit, ipse te lupum et uulpeculam per me sua gratia superabit.'<sup>42</sup>

19. Sentiens<sup>f</sup> ergo Dunstanus prophetiam amici sui iam ex rerum euentibus partim demonstrari ueram esse,<sup>43</sup> semper quasi nouus accederet ad seruitutem Dei stabat in timore, et praeparabat animam suam ad temptationes,<sup>g</sup> iugiter ad exequendam<sup>h</sup> uoluntatem Dei<sup>h</sup> operam dans, nec ulla hora ulloue momento otio uacans. Vnde contigit uno dierum ut intra cellam<sup>i</sup> suam, corde et opere Deo intentus, subito angelos Dei in sullimi congratulando psallentes audiret in hunc modum atque dicentes: 'Pax Anglorum aecclesiae,

<sup>a</sup> *M* adds et      <sup>b</sup> *C* adds in mg.      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>d</sup> *DMRV* add ea  
<sup>e-e</sup> agis diris in cautis *M*      <sup>f</sup> *New chapter in MRV*      <sup>g</sup> temptationem *R*  
<sup>h-h</sup> uoluntate *D p. c.*      <sup>i</sup> cellulam *V*

<sup>40</sup> For a list of prominent clerics who came from Glastonbury and were appointed archbishops and bishops in other English churches during the Anglo-Saxon period, see *AG* c. 67; Scott noted that a list similar to this was undoubtedly contained in William's original version of this work written c. 1129, and that a related extract can be found in *GR* ii. 184. 2, but suspected that a later interpolator had also been at work on the text as it has been transmitted (*AG*, p. 206 n. 133).

religious life, however, that this was so is demonstrated by the fact that people from there were chosen and accepted for the position of bishop, to become abbots, and for all ecclesiastical offices, and were appointed for the education of other churches;<sup>40</sup> it came about also, as it is agreed, that just as the entire gathering of the church recovered the light that it had lost from the wax candle of Dunstan's mother, as I related above,<sup>41</sup> so too all the churches of England received the light of true religion from this place, which was founded on the teaching of Dunstan.

18. [11 Stubbs] While these things were happening the life and career of Dunstan were creating great hatred towards him in the devil. He lamented that the calamities he had put in place against Dunstan through the servants of his will had been completely ineffective; he tried to confront him in person, thinking that in this way he might be able to deter him from the good deeds that he practised both day and night. And so one night while Dunstan was praying alone, as was his custom, he assumed the likeness of a wolf with bristling hair and appeared before him with gaping mouth, snarling and baring his teeth. And since in this guise he was not able to distract Dunstan one iota from his concentration, he suddenly changed into a little fox, and so that he might draw his attention towards him he jumped about to and fro in various twisting and laughable movements. Then smiling a little Dunstan said, 'Truly you are revealing how you usually behave, for by joking you flatter the unwary so that you might devour them, and you devour them in order to flatter yourself. But now depart from here, wretch, since through me Christ, who crushed the lion and the dragon with his heel, will himself by his grace overcome you, whether a wolf or a fox.'<sup>42</sup>

19. Therefore, perceiving that the prophecy of his friend was already shown to be partly true by the outcome of events up till then,<sup>43</sup> Dunstan always stood in fear, like a novice approaching the service of God, prepared his soul against temptation, constantly attended to following the will of God, and never at any hour or moment made himself free for leisure. And so it came to pass one day while Dunstan was in his cell, concentrating on God in his heart and through his work, he suddenly heard angels of God singing celebratory psalms on high in the following manner and saying, 'Peace to the church of the

<sup>41</sup> See c. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Ps. 90 (91): 13, Matt. 4: 10.

exorti nunc pueri et Dunstani nostri tempore.' Regina siquidem regi Eadmundo<sup>a</sup> filium qui Edgarus<sup>b</sup> appellatus est eodem tempore peperit, atque hoc ipsum simul et, quod pacis sectator esset futurus, per angelicas uoces atque concentus Dunstano Deus innotescere uoluit.<sup>44</sup>

20. [12 Stubbs] Per<sup>c</sup> idem fere tempus seruus Dei Bathoniensem ecclesiam uisitare perrexit. Vbi post refectionem corporis in oratione detentus, leuatis in altum oculis, uidit animam cuiusdam iuuenis, quem ipse a puero Glastoniae in sancta conuersatione nutriuera<sup>d</sup>, multis angelorum fultam agminibus<sup>e</sup> in caelum deferri.<sup>45</sup> Qui pro tanta gloria fratris ultra quam dici queat exultans, et immensas corde et ore Deo cunctipotentis<sup>f</sup> gratias agens, sociis quid acciderit manifesta uoce exposuit, et diem ac horam transitus eius notari praecepit. Illis ad haec obstupescens, et uerbis eius non ex toto fidem accommodantibus, uenerunt quidam ad patrem qui et de fratris obitu et obitus hora<sup>g</sup> sic, quemadmodum dixerat, accidisse testati sunt.

21. Dehinc<sup>h</sup> sanctus a loco digrediens, et ad regem secum loqui desiderantem celerius tendens, in medio itinere diabolum sibi obuuium<sup>i</sup> habuit. Qui mimo<sup>j</sup> similis coram eo ludere, subsilere, et multis modis coepit laetiae frena laxare. Quod Dunstanus intuens, et quid tantum<sup>k</sup> demonis gaudium portenderet<sup>l</sup> per spiritum praeuidens, iussit monstrum tale se cunctis qui secum erant uisibiliter demonstrare, quale sibi apparebat. Quod et factum est. Requisitus ergo Dunstanus quid sibi uellet illa lasciuientis hostis laetitia, regem in proximo respondit moriturum, et regnum non multo post multas tribulationes perpeurum. Quae sententia ueritas facta est, ut ea quae post dicentur declarabunt. Super haec tamen quae uir Dei de petulante inimici gaudio dixit, ut aliis quibusdam uisum est, nonnulla eiusdem gaudii causa fuit, hoc scilicet; quia sperabat, defuncto rege qui Dunstanum in magna reuerentia semper habebat, alium regem mox surrecturum qui nec eum reuereretur, nec eius prudentem

<sup>a</sup> Ædmundo Ne; Edmundo *DLaMRV* <sup>b</sup> Ædgarus Ne; Egarus La <sup>c</sup> New chapter in *DMRV* <sup>d</sup> nutriuera RV <sup>e</sup> agminibus fultam *LaNe* <sup>f</sup> omnipotentis *DM* <sup>g</sup> horam R <sup>h</sup> New chapter in *MRV* <sup>i</sup> obuuium sibi V <sup>j</sup> C adds in mg. <sup>k</sup> om. M <sup>l</sup> praetenderet RV

<sup>43</sup> See c. 16.

<sup>44</sup> The earliest version of this story occurs in Adelard, lect. iii, and Eadmer cites his account of the angels' message to Dunstan verbatim, ignoring the more elaborate rewording in Osborn, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 19. Edgar's birth was recounted by John of Worcester s.a.

English people, in the time of a child just born and of our Dunstan.' And indeed at that very moment the queen had borne a child to king Edmund, who was called Edgar; God wanted to make known to Dunstan at the same time through angelic singing and music that he had been born and that he would be a pursuer of peace.<sup>44</sup>

20. [12 Stubbs] At about the same time the servant of God went to visit the church at Bath. There, when occupied in prayer after nourishing his body, he lifted his eyes on high and saw the soul of a certain young man, whom he had nourished in the holy life from boyhood at Glastonbury, supported by many bands of angels and being carried towards heaven.<sup>45</sup> Dunstan was happy beyond words with the immense glory of his brother and with heart and voice gave great thanks to omnipotent God; in a clear account he told his companions what had happened and ordered them to note the day and time of his death. Although they wondered at these things and did not altogether believe his words, certain men journeyed to the father, who testified with regard to the death of the brother and the hour of his death that it had happened just as Dunstan had related.

21. Then the saint departed from that place and while travelling swiftly to the king, who desired to speak with him, he encountered the devil in the midst of his journey. He began to play the clown openly before Dunstan, to dance about and give vent to his delight in a variety of ways. Seeing this Dunstan foresaw through the Holy Spirit what such great joy on the demon's part portended and commanded the monster to make himself visible to everyone who was with him in the same way as he appeared to him. And that is what happened. When Dunstan was asked what his enemy's particular delight and frolicking meant to him, he responded that in the near future the king would die and not long afterwards the kingdom would suffer many tribulations. This statement came true, as those events that will be related later will show. Moreover, in addition to what Dunstan said about the insolent glee of his enemy, as it has seemed to certain other writers, there was a good reason for the devil's joy, namely this: he was hoping that, once the king who had always held Dunstan in great reverence was dead, a new king would immediately arise who would neither revere him nor protect with royal providence

943, but cf. McGurk's comment that this may have been extrapolated from the date of his coronation (John of Worcester, ii. 397 n. 6). Edgar's mother was called Ælfgifu.

sanctitatem, qua se et alios innumeros in Dei seruitio constringebat, regali prouidentia tueretur.<sup>46</sup> Sed in hoc ad tempus deceptus est.

22. Regi<sup>a</sup> nanque in palatio antequam dies septem transiret occiso,<sup>47</sup> et a uenerabili Dunstano Glastoniae sub immensa lugentis populi frequentia honorifice sepulto,<sup>b</sup> successit in regnum Edredus frater eius,<sup>48</sup> uir quidem egregius, et ad exercenda quae Dei sunt feruido mentis affectu subnixus. Hic Dunstanum non minori caeteris regibus amore percoluit; immo, ut ei maioris dilectionis signa monstraret operam dedit. Ælfego siquidem Wentano episcopo, cuius supra meminimus, de hac uita translato, multis eum precibus ut in episcopatum succederet postulauit.<sup>49</sup> Cui cum ille nulla ratione adquiescere uellet, rex non modico merore suffusus<sup>c</sup> matrem suam Edgiam reginam,<sup>50</sup> reginam dico omnis bonitatis titulo insignem, de negotio conuenit, atque ut illa Dunstano persuaderet quod ipse nequiuerat summo studio deprecatus est. Tunc illa hominem ad se euocatum, et ad prandium suum inuitatum, inter epulas de suscipiendo episcopatu coepit interpellare, et ne collum suum a iugo Domini alienaret multa suasionem insistere. At ille, perpendens quid sibi recondant qui episcopatum loco proficui et honoris, non officio tenent morum et praedicationis: 'Obsecro te, domina', inquit, 'ne tali prece amplius te fatigando me fatiges. Nam reuera noueris, quia in diebus domini mei, filii tui regis, me pontificali cathedrae nemo praesidere uidebit.' Dicebat haec, cum quia sibimet ipsi ne sub tanto onere deficeret<sup>d</sup> formidabat, tum quia impium fore iudicabat, si se a rege, qui frequenti corporis languore uexabatur, propter episcopatum elongaret, maxime quia totum se, totum regnum suum in illius prouidentia et dispositione posuerat.

<sup>a</sup> Rege *R*; *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>b</sup> sepulto honorifice *D*    <sup>c</sup> perfusus *RV*  
<sup>d</sup> deficeret onere *DM*; *D writes deficeret in mg.*

<sup>45</sup> Named Ceolwyn by B., c. 34.

<sup>46</sup> In B.'s version, Dunstan is travelling with a nobleman named Ælfstan when the devil appears to him; afterwards Ælfstan relates to Dunstan a vision he had of the king falling asleep and his counsellors changing into wild beasts, which Dunstan interprets as prophesying the death of Edmund and descent of the counsellors into corruption and greed (B., c. 31).

<sup>47</sup> Edmund was murdered on 26 May 946 at Pucklechurch (Gloucestershire); see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 10 and note.

<sup>48</sup> Eadred, son of Edward the Elder and brother of Æthelstan and Edmund, ruled 946–55.

<sup>49</sup> Ælfheah's death is recorded in ASC (A) s.a. 951 on 12 Mar.

<sup>50</sup> Eadgifu was the third wife and widow of Edward the Elder (d. 924), and the mother of Edmund and Eadred (see *GR*, ii. 126. 3). Her powerful influence within the West-

his holy wisdom by which he held both himself and innumerable others in the service of God.<sup>46</sup> But he was deceived in this for the time being.

22. For when the king had been killed in his palace before seven days had elapsed<sup>47</sup> and had been buried honourably amidst a great crowd of mourners by venerable Dunstan at Glastonbury, his brother Eadred succeeded to the kingdom;<sup>48</sup> he was an outstanding man and relied on the fervent disposition of his mind to carry out the works of God. This man cherished Dunstan with love no less than the other kings; nay rather, he took pains to show signs of greater affection towards him. Indeed, when Ælfheah, the bishop of Winchester whom I mentioned earlier, was carried from this life, he begged Dunstan with many imprecations to succeed him to the bishopric.<sup>49</sup> Since he did not want to agree to this on any condition, the king, who was overcome with immense grief, consulted his mother, Queen Eadgifu,<sup>50</sup> about the matter—a queen, by my word, marked with the sign of every goodness—and with the greatest zeal he begged her to convince Dunstan, which he had not been able to do. Then when she had summoned Dunstan and invited him to dine with her she began to importune him while they were feasting about taking up the position of bishop and to insist with great persuasion that he not remove his neck from the yoke of the Lord. But he, reflecting on what situation those people store up for themselves who hold a bishopric as a position of personal profit and honour and not as an office entailing moral advice and preaching, said: 'I beseech you, my Lady, not to tire either of us further with your entreaties. For you can rest assured that no one will see me presiding over a pontifical throne in the days of my lord, your son, the king.' He said these things as much on his own account because he feared lest he falter beneath such a great burden as because he thought that it would be sacrilegious if on account of a bishopric he were to distance himself from the king, who was plagued with frequent bodily illness, especially as the king had placed his entire person, his entire kingdom, under his prudent management.

Saxon kingdom is indicated by the large number of charters from the reigns of her two sons which she attested immediately after the king, and before the archbishops, princes, and bishops; these charters were discussed in *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell (RHS Camden 3rd ser., lxxii, 1949), pp. 62–4. As Campbell noted, there is a decided change which occurs during Eadred's reign about 952, after which she usually signs only after all the bishops. Her last charter is dated 966, and she may have died shortly after this date.

[13 Stubbs] Et de pontificatu tunc inter eos quidem<sup>a</sup> res ita remansit, et Ælfsinus quidam in pontificatum ipsius aecclesiae ilico assumptus est.<sup>51</sup> At Dunstanus, qui ex uoce sacri eloquii ueraciter dicere poterat 'ego dormio et cor meum uigilat',<sup>52</sup> cum sequenti nocte sese quieti dedisset, uidit in somnis se Romam perrexisse, ac in sua aecclesia beatissimum Petrum, in sua quoque sanctissimum<sup>b</sup> Paulum adorasse, ac demum, urbe relicta, in patriam reditum accelerasse. Itaque cum<sup>c</sup> Montem Gaudii attigisset,<sup>53</sup> apparuerunt ei principes regni Dei, beatissimus uidelicet apostolorum princeps Petrus, et sanctus Paulus atque Andreas,<sup>d</sup> singuli in manibus suis singulos gladios auro inscriptos praeferentes, eique pro munere apostolicae benedictionis conferentes. Et in gladio quidem beati Petri scriptum erat: 'In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat uerbum.'<sup>54</sup> At gladius Pauli nomen Pauli, gladius Andreae nomen Andreae continebat. Beatus igitur Andreas in hominem blando intuitu oculos dirigens, modulata uoce ex euangelio cecinit, dicens: 'Tollite iugum meum super uos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris.'<sup>55</sup> A glorioso autem principe apostolorum ut manum extenderet iussus, leuam extendit, et in palma leni ictu ab eo uirga percussus, ne ulterius abiceret iugum Domini<sup>e</sup> ipso est signo praemonitus. Ad quem ictum ille expergefactus, fratrem qui coram eo quiescebat interrogauit quis ipsum<sup>f</sup> percusserit. Quo respondente, 'Nemo', iam a quo sit percussus<sup>g</sup> scire se dixit, sicque residuum noctis in seruitio Dei peruigil expendit. Mane narrauit regi quae uiderat. At ille non modica admiratione permotus, et quid uisio significaret ex magna parte per Spiritum eductus,<sup>h</sup> hoc modo respondit: 'Si quemadmodum accepi, per gladium nonnunquam intelligitur uerbum Dei,<sup>56</sup> cum tibi beati apostoli gladios suos contulerunt, nimirum uerbum Dei, quod acceperunt, tibi uice sua dispensandum tradiderunt. Et quoniam episcopus uices apostolorum ad erogandum uerbum Dei agere scimus, episcopatus honore te sullimandum certissime scias. Quod autem in gladio beati Petri "in principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat uerbum"<sup>i</sup> scriptum accepisti,

<sup>a</sup> quidem tunc inter eos *DM*; inter eos tunc quidem *R*      <sup>b</sup> beatissimum *R*      <sup>c</sup> *M*  
*adds in*      <sup>d</sup> *RV add* omnium sanctorum mitissimus      <sup>e</sup> iugum Domini abiceret *DM*  
<sup>f</sup> eum *RV*      <sup>g</sup> percussus sit *V*      <sup>h</sup> eductus per Spiritum *RV*      <sup>i</sup> *om. R*

<sup>51</sup> For Ælfsige, see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 15 and note.

<sup>52</sup> S of S 5: 2.

<sup>53</sup> Monte Mario (Mons Gaudii) is a small hill in Rome, which offered approaching pilgrims an excellent view of the city. For description, see Winterbottom and Thomson in *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives*, p. 218 n. 4.

<sup>54</sup> John 1: 1.

<sup>55</sup> Matt. 11: 29.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Eph. 6: 17.

[13 Stubbs] And the matter of the bishopric remained between them thus for the time being, and a certain man named Ælfsige was immediately appointed as bishop of that church.<sup>51</sup> But when Dunstan, who could truly say in accordance with the words of sacred eloquence, 'I sleep and my heart watches',<sup>52</sup> had given himself to sleep on the following night, he saw in his dreams that he had travelled to Rome and worshipped most blessed Peter in his own church, and most holy Paul as well in his, and finally when he had left the city that he hastened to return to his native land. And when he had reached Monte Mario,<sup>53</sup> principal figures of the kingdom of God appeared to him, namely Peter, the most blessed prince of the apostles, and saints Paul and Andrew, each of whom bore in his hand a sword inscribed in gold and offered it to him as a gift with apostolic blessing. And on the sword of blessed Peter was written: 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God.'<sup>54</sup> But the sword of Paul had upon it the name 'Paul' and the sword of Andrew the name 'Andrew'. And so directing his eyes in gentle gaze towards Dunstan, blessed Andrew sang these words from the Gospel with melodious voice: 'Take up my yoke upon you and learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart: and you shall find rest to your souls.'<sup>55</sup> But he was ordered by the glorious prince of the apostles to extend his hand; and when he had stretched out his left hand Peter struck him a gentle blow on the palm with his rod and Dunstan was forewarned by this sign that he should no longer reject the yoke of the Lord. He was awakened by the blow and asked a brother who was sleeping nearby who had struck him. When he replied, 'No one', Dunstan immediately said that he knew who had struck him, and he spent the remainder of the night vigilantly performing the service of God. In the morning he told the king what he had seen. The king was struck with great wonder, and since he was informed by the Holy Spirit for the most part what the vision signified, he responded in this manner: 'If, as I have been told, the Word of God is sometimes signified by the sword,<sup>56</sup> when the blessed apostles handed their swords to you they in fact handed over to you the Word of God, which they had received, to be granted to you in turn. And since we know that bishops act in place of the apostles in propagating the Word of God, you should understand most assuredly that you ought to be elevated with honour to the position of bishop. And bear in mind what you have seen inscribed on the sword of blessed Peter, 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with

fixum tene, quia sicut ipsa uerba specialiter nobis<sup>a</sup> innuunt filium Dei, ita tu in ipsa aecclesia archiepiscopatu sullimaberis quae specialiter Cantuariae dedicata subsistit in honore<sup>b</sup> ipsius filii Dei,<sup>c</sup> domini nostri Iesu Christi. In qua etiam uices eiusdem apostoli agendas<sup>d</sup> suscipies, et potestatem ligandi atque soluendi quam ille a Deo<sup>e</sup> accepit super totum orbem terrarum,<sup>57</sup> tu ab eo accipies super omnes totius Angliae prouintias et adiacentium insularum.<sup>7</sup>

23. [14 Stubbs] Post<sup>f</sup> haec Dunstanus desiderio uidendi fratres suos Glastoniam abiit, et ibi aliquantis diebus inter eos habitauit.

24. Interea<sup>g</sup> rex Edredus laetali morbo correptus, mandans rogauit sub celeritate Dunstanum uenire ad se. Ille, audito nuncio, suae imbecillitatis quam ex inedia atque uigiliis necne aliarum uirtutum exercitiis contraxerat oblitus, protinus, ascenso equo, ad egrotum festinat. Iam fere medium iter exegerat, et suis comitatus quod residuum erat uiae explere laborabat. Et ecce subito audiuit uocem de caelo quae dixit: 'Rex Edredus in pace quiescit.'<sup>58</sup> Ad cuius uocis sonitum<sup>h</sup> equus cui uir Dei insidebat sine omni insidentis laesione ad terram corruens extinctus est. Stupefacti comites de subitaneo animalis interitu, quidnam hoc esse potuerit pauidi percunctantur. Quibus Dunstanus et de uoce<sup>i</sup> angelica et de regis obitu, quae latebant, aperuit, ac ut spiritum defuncti una creatori omnium Deo commendarent admonuit. Inde lugentis palatii moenia subiens, regem quem ante paucos dies purpuratum et toti Angliae imperitantem<sup>j</sup> reliquerat, modo inuenit cadauer stupidum, iam terrae puluere operiendum et escam uermium mox futurum.<sup>59</sup> Iis<sup>k</sup> ergo qui uiuo assistere, uiuum suis<sup>l</sup> solebant<sup>m</sup> ambitibus delinere, se ab exequiis defuncti subtrahentibus, ille cum suis exanime corpus accepit, et decentissime matri omnium terrae consignauit.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>a</sup> nobis specialiter *DM*    <sup>b</sup> honorem *DMRV*    <sup>c</sup> *RV* add et    <sup>d</sup> agenda *M*  
<sup>e</sup> a Deo ille *RV*    <sup>f</sup> *New chapter in MV*    <sup>g</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>h</sup> sonitum uocis  
*D*    <sup>i</sup> uoce de *V*    <sup>j</sup> imperantem *M*; *Ne writes* uel imperantem *s.l.*    <sup>k</sup> *Hiis DM*; *Is*  
*R*; *His NeV*    <sup>l</sup> *om. M*    <sup>m</sup> solebant suis *R*

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Matt. 16: 19.

<sup>58</sup> ASC (A) s.a. 955 states that Eadred died on the Feast of St Clement (23 Nov.) at Frome (Somerset); see also ASC (D) s.a. 955, John of Worcester s.a. 955, ASC (BC) s.a. 956.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Job 21: 26.  
<sup>60</sup> Cf. Serv. in *G.*, 2: 11: 'nam terra mater est rerum omnium et seminum cunctorum creatrix'. Unlike his brother Edmund, who was buried at Glastonbury, Eadred was buried at Winchester in the Old Minster; see ASC (D) s.a. 955, John of Worcester s.a. 955.

God and the Word was God', for just as these very words suggest to us in particular the Son of God, so too you will be elevated to the archbishopric in that church which has been founded at Canterbury and dedicated specifically in honour of that same Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. You will take up too the task of representing the apostle there, and the power of binding and loosing, which he received from God with respect to all the countries of the earth,<sup>57</sup> you will receive from him over the provinces of all of England and its adjacent islands.<sup>7</sup>

23. [14 Stubbs] After these things had happened Dunstan departed for Glastonbury with a desire to see his brothers, and he stayed there among them for a number of days.

24. Meanwhile king Eadred was seized by mortal illness; he sent to Dunstan and implored him to come to him with haste. Having listened to the messenger, Dunstan forgot his own weakness, which he had contracted from fasting and vigils and other exercises of virtue; he immediately mounted a horse and hastened to the sick man. When he had completed about half the journey and was exerting himself with his companions to complete what remained of the trip, behold, suddenly he heard a voice from heaven which said, 'King Eadred rests in peace'.<sup>58</sup> Upon hearing the sound of this voice, the horse upon which the man of God was sitting collapsed to the earth and died, with no injury at all to its rider. His companions were stunned by the sudden death of the animal, and terrified they asked what sort of portent this might be. Dunstan revealed to them what had been hidden concerning the angelic voice and the death of the king, and advised them that they should all together commend the spirit of the dead man to God the creator of all things. Coming thence beneath the fortifications of the grieving palace, Dunstan discovered the king, whom he had last seen clad in purple and ruling over all of England a few days earlier, now to be a senseless corpse about to be covered with the dust of the earth and soon to become food for worms.<sup>59</sup> And when those who used to attend him when he was alive and used to soothe him during his lifetime by paying compliments withdrew themselves from the services for the dead man, Dunstan and his companions took charge of the lifeless body and consigned it with great dignity to the earth, the mother of all things.<sup>60</sup>



25. [15 Stubbs] Post<sup>a</sup> hunc Edwius,<sup>b</sup> filius Edmundi regis, regnum obtinuit, corpore quidem iuuenis, sed nulla qua regnum gubernaret praeditus industria mentis.<sup>61</sup> Hic omisso senum consilio, satellites sibi et consiliarios de adolescentibus fecit. Ibat igitur secundum desideria cordis sui,<sup>62</sup> et iniqua gerens<sup>63</sup> laudabatur a suis et benedicebatur. Vnde quid mali circumquaque succreuerit, quam infamis fama populorum aures et ora repleuerit, leue est, et me tacente, uidere. Ipse nanque possessiones quorumque diripere, hos et illos exhaeredare, maiores natu qui nequitiis eius inimicabantur proscribere, totumque regnum innumeris oppressionibus conturbare. Accessit his malis eius nimis detestabile malum. Matrem quippe totius Anglici regni, auatricem<sup>c</sup> et nobilitatricem aecclesiarum, consolatricem et sustentatricem oppressorum et inopum, Edgiuam, dico,<sup>d</sup> supra memoratam reginam, in immensum afflixit, ac uastatis rebus ad eam pertinentibus, ab eo statu in quo esse solebat saeuus et crudelis deiecit.<sup>e</sup><sup>64</sup> Gemebat Dunstanus in istis, et eo amplius gemebat quo correptionem suam rex non solum non admittebat, sed insuper furiosi more irrationabilibus eam obiectionibus contradicendo deridebat. Quid igitur circa talem hominem<sup>f</sup> faceret ignorans, ad monasterium suum, relicta curia, Glastoniam<sup>g</sup> secessit.

26. Ea<sup>h</sup> tempestate structura aecclesiae in fabrica tecti perficiebatur. Ad cuius tecti sustentationem, dum trabes una pergrandis multiplicibus funibus in sullime raperetur, subito funes dirumpi,<sup>i</sup> et trabes deorsum uergens nonnullis coepit interitum minitari. Tunc Dunstanum qui praesens aderat ingenti strepitu plebs inclamitat, ac ut extensione dexterarum suarum imminenti periculo obuiet obsecrat.<sup>65</sup> At ille statim signum salutiferae crucis ruenti machinae obiciens, eam sine funibus et sine omni humano conamine<sup>j</sup> in superiora redire, ac in loco ad quem prius cum magno labore trahebatur iacere coegit.

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>b</sup> *Edwius MR*      <sup>c</sup> *altricem R*      <sup>d</sup> *om. RV*  
<sup>e</sup> *deiecit et crudelis D*      <sup>f</sup> *hominem talem M*      <sup>g</sup> *Glastoniam curia relicta DMRV*  
<sup>h</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>i</sup> *dirumpi MR*      <sup>j</sup> *conamine humano M*

<sup>61</sup> Eadwig, son of Edmund, ruled all of England 955–7, and southern England until 959. As noted in the *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 13, the historical traditions which Eadmer follows are extremely hostile to him. However, there are distinct changes in emphasis from that of the *Vita S. Odonis* both in the *Vita S. Dunstani* and the later *Vita S. Oswaldi* which may be attributed to the changes in Eadmer's sources. In the account which follows here, Eadmer was largely dependent on B. and Osbern, who presented highly scandalous accounts of Eadwig's reign.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Ps. 80 (81): 13; Rom. 1: 24.

25. [15 Stubbs] After this man, Eadwig, the son of king Edmund, inherited the kingdom; he was a man young in body but not gifted with the mental vigour to govern the kingdom.<sup>61</sup> He eschewed the counsel of his elders and appointed young men as attendants and advisers for himself. Thus he went about his business impelled by the desires of his heart,<sup>62</sup> and when he did evil things<sup>63</sup> he was praised and blessed by his companions. From this it is easy to see, even without my mentioning it, what sort of wickedness flourished everywhere and what stories of ill repute filled the ears and mouths of the people. For he seized everyone's possessions, disinherited all and sundry, proscribed those senior by birth if they were opposed to his evil deeds, and threw the entire kingdom into confusion by his innumerable acts of oppression. A further most detestable evil was added to these evil deeds of his. For he severely afflicted the mother of the entire English realm, the founder and benefactor of churches, the consoler and supporter of the oppressed and the poor, Eadgifu I mean, the queen mentioned earlier; stripping her of her possessions, this savage and vicious man cast her from the state in which she had been accustomed to live.<sup>64</sup> Dunstan lamented these things and lamented even more because the king not only would not listen to his rebuking of him, but further, in the manner of a madman, cast scorn upon this rebuking by contradicting it with irrational objections. Therefore, not knowing what he ought to do about such a person, Dunstan left the court and departed for his own monastery at Glastonbury.

26. During that time the construction of the church was being completed by the installation of its roof. While a single beam of tremendous size was being hoisted up on high by a great number of ropes to support the roof, the ropes suddenly snapped and teetering down the beam threatened death to many below. Then the people cried out with great clamour to Dunstan, who was present there, begging him to forestall the imminent danger by raising his right hand.<sup>65</sup> And straightaway countering the fall of the apparatus with the sign of the life-giving Cross, he made it return upwards without ropes or any human effort and lie in the place towards which it was earlier being lifted with great effort.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Ps. 25 (26): 4: 'cum iniqua gerentibus non introibo'.

<sup>64</sup> Eadred had left the vast bulk of his landed possessions to his mother Eadgifu in his will (Sawyer, 1515), as well as substantial sums of money to the church ('The career of St Dunstan', p. 14).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ps. 137 (138): 7.

27. Inter<sup>a</sup> huius modi opera accidit ut ipse quadam die officinas monasterii, sociato sibi uno ex monachis suis, circumiret, et quid in unaquaque domo ad supplendas fratrum necessitates haberetur diligenti cura prospiceret. Quo facto, ad claustrum iter reflectens, ac iuxta oratorium transiens, repente<sup>b</sup> audiuit uocem de caelo clare sonantem, et fratrem qui cum eo ibat<sup>c</sup> ex nomine hoc modo uocantem: 'Veni, Ælfsi, ueni, ueni.' Ilico Dunstanus rem intelligens: 'Eia frater', ait,<sup>d</sup> 'audisti quo uocaris? Praepara ergo te, quatinus conuersatione illa unde appellaris, quando hinc migraueris, dignus habearis. Nam pro certo noueris quod in hac uita non diu<sup>e</sup> manebis.' Quae uiri uerba uelox fratris obitus, qui cito post accidit, declarauit esse uera. In ipso itaque loco in quo uocem de caelo<sup>f</sup> Dunstanus audiuit oratorium in modum turris non multum porrectae sullimitatis aedificauit, et illud sub patrocínio beati Iohannis Baptistae fecit consecrari.

28. Haec<sup>g</sup> uidens, omnis boni<sup>h</sup> inimicus diabolus ingemuit, non ob hoc solum,<sup>i</sup> quod pro tantis uirtutibus uirum coram hominibus magnum haberi, sed quia de die in diem uidebat tam ipsum quam et alios per ipsum in Dei seruitium exinde magis ac magis promoueri. Licet igitur iam sepe ab eo se confusum et uictum meminisset, cohiberi tamen ab eius infestatione non potuit. Nam adhuc de suarum uersutiis artium confisus, eum orantem in ursi effigie hispidus aggreditur, et hianti rictu super eum insurgens, horrore sui oratione<sup>j</sup> detertere molitur. Ast ille, zelo diuino correptus, arreptum baculum quem manu ferre solebat in hostem uibrat, et eum cedendo tam diu insequitur, donec idem baculus in tres partes comminutus confringeretur. Inter quae hunc uersum miles Dei psallere coepit: 'Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici eius, et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius.'<sup>66</sup> Tunc Dunstanus, uidens baculum suum sic in hoste contritum, dixit: 'Si uiuit Dunstanus, scias, inimice, huiusmodi baculum faciet ut si amplius ueneris, nequaquam, sicut iste confractus est, sua gracilitate aut imbecillitate confringatur.' Fecit itaque sibi alium baculum grossum et fortem, ac

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>b</sup> *om. DM*    <sup>c</sup> *pergebat DM*    <sup>d</sup> *om. M*    <sup>e</sup> *diu non RV*  
<sup>f</sup> *RV add sanctus*    <sup>g</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>h</sup> *omnium bonorum RV*  
<sup>i</sup> *solum ob hoc RV*    <sup>j</sup> *orantem V p. c.*

27. It happened on a certain day during the course of such works that Dunstan was touring the workplaces of the monastery in company with one of his monks and investigating with diligent care what was required in each and every house to meet the needs of the brothers. When he had finished doing this he turned back towards the cloister and as he walked past the oratory he suddenly heard a voice sounding clearly from heaven and summoning the brother who was walking with him by name in this manner: 'Come, Ælfsige, come, come!' Perceiving the meaning of this event immediately, Dunstan said, 'Listen, my brother, do you hear whither you are being called? Therefore prepare yourself so that when you go forth from this world you will be found worthy for that way of life from which you are being called. For you can be certain that you will not last much longer in this life.' The swift death of this brother, which occurred very soon afterwards, showed these words of Dunstan to be true. And thereafter in that place in which Dunstan had heard the voice from heaven he built an oratory in the shape of a tower, though not of a great height, and had it consecrated in honour of blessed John the Baptist.

28. When he witnessed this, the devil, who is hostile towards every good thing, groaned, not only on this account—that because of his great virtues Dunstan was regarded highly among men—but also because he saw that Dunstan, and through him others, were being moved more and more each day towards the service of God. Although he recalled at that moment how he had often been confounded and defeated by Dunstan, nevertheless he could not keep himself from harassing him further. For still trusting in his arts and wiles, he approached Dunstan while he was at prayer in the shape of a shaggy bear, and towering above him with gaping jaws he strove to deter him from his praying by causing terror to him. But Dunstan was seized with divine zeal and snatching the staff which he usually carried in his hand he brandished it at his enemy; he pursued him and struck him all the while until that staff splintered into three small pieces. While doing this, the soldier of God began to sing this verse: 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face.'<sup>66</sup> And seeing his staff broken in this way upon his adversary, Dunstan said: 'Know for certain, my foe, that if Dunstan should live he will make such a staff that should you return it will not be broken on account of its slenderness or weakness like this one has been.' And so he made another stout and strong staff for himself, and

<sup>66</sup> Ps. 67 (68): 2.

illius summitatem argento circumposito decoravit. Quod argentum in suprema parte sui in modum concauae sperae formatum, dentem beati Andreae apostoli gestat inclusum.<sup>67</sup> Quem dentem Dunstanus inibi posuit, cum ut insuperabile munimen sibi praestaret contra incursus malignorum spirituum, tum quia prae ceteris sanctis dulci affectu diligebat eundem apostolum.<sup>a</sup> Propter quae sepiissime ipsius familiari fouebatur alloquio, muniebatur consilio,<sup>b</sup> et auxilio releuabatur. Sentiens ergo diabolus suam pugnam, qua<sup>c</sup> Dunstanum a bonis operibus arcendum putabat, semper sibi ad confusionem, et Dunstano procedere ad gloriam et exaltationem, continuit se a corporali illius accessu, aliam uiam ad conturbandum ipsum perquirens.

29. [16 Stubbs] Erat<sup>d</sup> in illis diebus mulier quaedam ex magna et alta progenie nata, filiam adultam secum habens.<sup>68</sup> Vtrasque, quantum ad corpus spectat, formosa species decorabat,<sup>e</sup> sed quod pudicis mentibus non paruae offensionem erat, libidinosus animus et habitus qui iuxta in eis operabantur eandem speciem ualde<sup>f</sup> decolorabant. Hae praefato regi Eadwio<sup>g</sup> assidue adhaerebant,<sup>h</sup> suis blanditiis et nutibus illecebrosus pro posse operam<sup>i</sup> dantes, quatinus unam illarum sibi in coniugium copularet. Ad quas ille, impudico illiciti amoris desiderio feruens, indecenti amplexu nunc hanc, nunc illam, neutrius<sup>j</sup> aspectum in hoc erubescens, destringebat. Praeterea die quo ipse Edwius<sup>k</sup> in regem est consecratus, a loco conuiuui in quo cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, totiusque regni principibus sedebat, iam pransus exilit, et relictis omnibus, in cameram ubi praedictae feminae erant solus secedit, capitique corona sublata, se inter illas medium iecit. Quod optimates agnoscentes, oppido indignati sunt. Et rem tractantes inter se, Odonem archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, qui dignitate caeteris eminebat, unanimiter ortari coeperunt, quatinus uiros qui regem, siue uolentem siue nolentem, festine reducerent destinaret. Ad quod agendum, cum hi et illi regiam iram metuentes se excusarent, tandem super Dunstanum abbatem et eius consanguineum Kynsinum<sup>l</sup> episcopum sententia uersa est.<sup>m</sup> 69 Qui ex praecepto

<sup>a</sup> apostolum eundem *V*    <sup>b</sup> obsequio *RV*; *R* adds uel consilio *s.l.*    <sup>c</sup> per quam *RV*  
<sup>d</sup> *RV* add autem; *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>e</sup> decorabat formosa species *RV*    <sup>f</sup> *om. R*  
<sup>g</sup> Eduuio *D*; Edwino *M*; Ædwino *Ne*; Eduuino *R*; Edwio *V*    <sup>h</sup> adhaerebant assidue *V*  
<sup>i</sup> operam pro posse *DM*, *D* inserting pro posse *s.l.*    <sup>k</sup> ne utriusque *V*    <sup>l</sup> Eduuius *D*;  
 Ædwinus *Ne*; Edwinus *MR*    <sup>m</sup> Kinsinum *NeRV*    <sup>n</sup> uersa est sententia *RV*

<sup>67</sup> Dunstan's new staff is not described in any of Eadmer's sources for this episode, although his fruitless attempt to drive the devil away with his old staff is mentioned both in *B.*, c. 17, and Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 26. Eadmer also mentions this staff in *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 29.

<sup>68</sup> For the difficulties in determining the identities of these women, especially given the

decorated the top of it by wrapping silver around it. The silver, which was shaped at its top in the form of a hollow sphere, bears enclosed within it the tooth of blessed Andrew the Apostle.<sup>67</sup> Dunstan put the tooth inside as much to offer an insuperable defence for himself against the attacks of evil spirits as because he loved that same apostle with sweet affection first and foremost before the other saints. For this reason Dunstan was very often encouraged by his friendly words, protected by his counsel, and comforted by his help. When the devil realized that the struggle in which he thought to deter Dunstan from his good works always led to his own frustration and to Dunstan's glory and exaltation, he refrained from approaching him bodily and sought a different avenue for tormenting him.

29. [16 Stubbs] In those days there was a certain woman born of a great and important family who had a full-grown daughter living with her.<sup>68</sup> To look at their bodies alone, each of them was beautiful in appearance, but a lustful spirit and way of acting, which greatly offended those who were pure of mind, operated at the same time within them and greatly disfigured that appearance. These women were always together with king Eadwig, whom I mentioned earlier, striving as hard as they could by their blandishments and seductive gestures to have him couple with one of them in marriage. Burning with the lustful desire of illicit love for them he embraced now this woman, now that with indecent caresses, not feeling any shame to be observed in this situation by either of them. Furthermore, on the day on which Eadwig was consecrated king, after he had eaten he leapt up from the feast where he had been seated with archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the princes of the entire kingdom, and leaving them all behind he withdrew alone into a chamber where the women just mentioned were waiting; throwing the crown from his head he flung himself down between them. When the nobles discovered this they were most indignant. And discussing the matter among themselves they began with one voice to urge Oda, the archbishop of Canterbury, who excelled the rest in dignity, to designate men to bring the king back immediately whether or not he was willing. When it came to doing this, however, each and every man excused himself because he feared the wrath of the king, and finally the choice fell upon Dunstan the abbot and his kinsman, the bishop Cynesige.<sup>69</sup> When on the

strongly differing historical traditions for Eadwig's reign, see above, pp. xlii–xliii and *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 13 note.

summi pontificis et aliorum omnium ad regem ingressi eum, ut dixi, in medio duarum illarum decubantem reppererunt. Tunc Dunstanus, primo in ignominiosas mulieres asperae increpationis uerba uultu et uoce contorquens, lasciuias earum,<sup>a</sup> sicut uerum castitatis amatorem decuit, detestatus est. Deinde regem ut se tanti opprobrii exortem faceret monens, ad proceres eum redire, eosque sua praesentia<sup>b</sup> exhilarare, summissa uoce precatum est. Qui animi sui furore simul et uultus<sup>c</sup> rubore perfusus, dum se rediturum omnino negaret, Dunstanus manum illius arripuit, et a loco uiolenter abstractum, imposito capiti eius diademate, ad conuiuantes introduxit. Quod mulieris ignominia nullatenus aequanimiter ferens, saeuis uerborum inuentionibus in uirum surrexit, et se eum confusioni perpetuae tradituram garrula contestatione deuouit. Et hoc quidem detestabile uotum, non tepescente malitia eius, facto exercere sollicita postmodum fuit. Effecit nanque apud regem ut cuncta quae in monasterio<sup>d</sup> Dunstani habebantur diripi ac deuastari, et ipsum a regno eliminatum in exilium pelli iuberet.<sup>70</sup> Qua tempestate seuiente, contigit quoddam lacrimabile malum. Quidam enim ex fratribus monasterii qui uirum contra omnes emulos tueri, et ei usque ad mortem more bonorum filiorum obsequi deberent, propria nequitia magis quam ipsius doctrina imbuti, se medios ad prouocandum regem contra illum clanculo iniecerunt, et quo edictum de expulsionem eius immobile faceret, quantum poterant, institere.<sup>71</sup>

30. [17 Stubbs] Dehinc<sup>e</sup> ministris impii principis in direptione rerum aecclesiasticarum, sicut iussi fuerant, occupatis, et multis exinde graui merore consternatis, audita est uox cuiusdam in atrio templi excussum risum edentis, et more lasciuiae puellae summo gaudio et exultatione perstreptentis. Quae Dunstanus audiens, et demonem

<sup>a</sup> illarum *V*    <sup>b</sup> praesentia sua *DM*    <sup>c</sup> uultu *M*    <sup>d</sup> *RV* add beati    <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in MRV*

<sup>69</sup> For discussion of the charter evidence for Cynesige as Bishop of Lichfield, see O'Donovan ii. 95; his signatures appear on charters regularly from 949 onwards, and cease in 963. Brooks argued that the degree of Dunstan's relationship with Cynesige may have been exaggerated by B. to provide a more exalted lineage for him, in line with hagiographic conventions ('The career of St Dunstan', p. 7).

<sup>70</sup> Evidence from charters corroborates a break between Eadwig on the one hand and Dunstan and Cynesige on the other at this period. Both Dunstan's and Cynesige's attestations occur in the group of charters issued by Eadwig in Jan. 956, and Dunstan is also a witness in an isolated charter in the group issued in Feb., but following that their names are both missing from witness lists; see S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*

command of the archbishop and all the others they went into the king they discovered him, as I have said, lying in bed between the two women. Then Dunstan immediately grimaced with his face and cast words of bitter rebuke upon those infamous women with his voice and showed his abhorrence for their lascivious behaviour, as befitted a true lover of chastity. Afterwards he advised the king to make himself free of such great disgrace and begged him with humble voice to return to the princes and to delight them by his presence. Eadwig's spirit was filled with anger and at the same time his face blushed red; when he refused utterly to return, Dunstan seized him by the hand and dragged him violently from that place and after he had placed the crown on his head he led him back among those feasting. The woman, who had been deeply shamed, could not tolerate this in a rational way and with fierce verbal abuse roused herself against Dunstan; she vowed with garrulous threats that she would bring perpetual turmoil down upon him. And since her malice did not abate, she took pains afterwards to fulfil this detestable threat by deed. For she saw to it with the king that he should issue orders for everything possessed by Dunstan's monastery to be seized and destroyed and for the man himself to be expelled from the kingdom and driven into exile.<sup>70</sup> While this storm was raging, a lamentable and evil thing happened. For some of the brothers of that monastery, who ought to have protected Dunstan against all jealous people and to have obeyed him in the manner of good sons even unto death, being imbued with their own wickedness rather than his teaching, secretly threw themselves into the midst of events in order to encourage the king to oppose him; as much as they could they saw to it that the king would make the edict concerning his expulsion irrevocable.<sup>71</sup>

30. [17 Stubbs] Thereafter, while the agents of that unholy ruler were engaged in plundering the things of that church as they had been commanded—though many others were overcome with heavy grief because of this—a voice of someone was heard in the forecourt of the temple emitting raucous laughter in the manner of a wanton young girl and shouting with the greatest joy and exultation. When Dunstan

*'The Unready' (978–1016): A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 49–69.

<sup>71</sup> William of Malmesbury mentions a 'pseudo-abbot' named Ælsgite to whom Eadwig granted lands during Dunstan's period of exile (*AG*, c. 58; see also Scott's comment on the authenticity of the name at p. 203 n. 119).

esse qui pro suo discessu petulanti laetitia iocabatur aduertens, uersus ad illum dixit: 'Eia, eia, auctor "et amice omnium malorum,"<sup>a</sup> modo de exilio meo laetaris, et pro tribulatione plurimorum, unde me dolere conspicias, iam gratularis. Sed absque dubio fixum habere potes, quia nichil est gaudium quod nunc habes, me recedente, comparatione<sup>b</sup> tristitiae quam habiturus es, me reuertente.' In his uerbis demon a fugit. At<sup>c</sup> Dunstanus uidens suos in direptionem datos, pietate permotus, qua supra quam dici queat fretus erat ad omnes, prout sibi possibile fuit exilium inire distulit, cogitans ne forte Deus cor principis aliquo modo tangeret, et a concepto furore mitigaret. Verum ubi eos qui se hospitio uel aliquo humanitatis officio confouebant uidit in immensum affligi, depraedari, proscribi, damnari, ratus est melius fore malignitati hominis caedere, quam tot innocentes pro suo commodo indebita poena uexari. Ponens itaque aecclesiam Angliae sub tuitione regis omnium Christi, mare petiit, ad ignotam sibi regionem transiturus nauem ascendit, ductuque diuino prospero cursu Flandriam uenit. [18 Stubbs] Igitur ad haec praefatae mulieris<sup>d</sup> ira in immanem uesaniam instinctu demonis acta,<sup>e</sup> missis nunciis, ubi Dunstanus esset perquiri fecit, et si comprehendi ualeret, sine ullo respectu misericordiae oculos ei erui praecepit. Sed Deus, qui sua sapientia et bonitate priuari nequit, prius seruum suum marinos fluctus placido lapsu euexit,<sup>72</sup> quam ministri crudelitatis ad portum maris eum insequendo pertingere possent.

31. Cum<sup>f</sup> itaque<sup>g</sup> Dunstanus Flandriam uenisset, et principis terrae noticia functus fuisset, magni habitus est, et ab eo ualde dilectus.<sup>73</sup> Quem quoniam uirtutis uirum esse, mundique contemptum funditus habere cognouit, Gandauit eum conuersari rogauit, utpote loco qui maiori religione in omni sua potestate eo tempore praeditus erat.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> malorum et amice omnium nequitiarum *RV*    <sup>b</sup> comparationi *DM*    <sup>c</sup> *RV* add  
beatus    <sup>d</sup> mulier *M*    <sup>e</sup> aucta *RV*    <sup>f</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>g</sup> *RV* add beatus

<sup>72</sup> For the construction, cf. Virgil, *Aen.* i. 524 ('uentis maria omnia uecti'), and Austin's note to i. 67 (*P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*, ed. R. G. Austin (Oxford, 1971), p. 47). See also *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 15: 'felici cursu nauis equoreos fluctus transuehitur', and *Vita S. Anselmi*, ii. 23: 'in breui prosperrime marinos fluctus uecti'.

<sup>73</sup> Flanders, although nominally a fief of the West Frankish kingdom, was virtually independent at this stage. The count (not prince) who welcomed Dunstan was Arnulf I (r. 918–65), whose mother Ælfthryth was the daughter of King Alfred; Arnulf was thus the cousin of Edmund and Eadred (cf. David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, 1992), pp. 39–43). Dunstan's exile is recorded in ASC (D) s.a. 957, in John of Worcester s.a. 956, and ASC (A) s.a. 956. The annal in the latter manuscript is, however, an interpolation from the time of Eadmer (see *Vita S. Odomis*, c. 14 n.).

heard these things and recognized that it was the devil who was laughing with insolent glee on account of his banishment, he turned to him and said: 'Listen, just listen, you author and lover of everything evil, you now rejoice because of my exile and you now take delight in the suffering of many, on which account you see me saddened. But you can rest assured of this, that the joy which you now have as I am leaving is nothing in comparison with the sadness you will experience once I return.' Upon these words the devil fled. And seeing his men given over to this plundering, Dunstan, who was greatly affected by love for them all, on which he relied more than can be described, put off going into exile for as long as he could, thinking that God might in some way touch the heart of the king and soften the anger that had overcome him. But when he saw those people who had comforted him in their homes or shown him some act of human kindness greatly afflicted, plundered, proscribed, and condemned, he thought it would be better to yield to the malice of man than that such innocent people should be vexed by undeserved punishments on his account. Therefore he placed the English church in the care of Christ, the king of all mankind; he went to the coast, boarded a vessel with the intention of crossing to a land unknown to him, and with divine guidance arrived at Flanders after a most prosperous voyage. [18 Stubbs] Wherefore the anger of the woman mentioned earlier was stirred up on account of these things to an immense madness by the prompting of the devil; she despatched messengers, instructing them to discover where Dunstan might be and, if he could be caught, she ordered that his eyes should be plucked out without any thought of mercy. But God, who cannot be deprived of his wisdom and goodness, carried his servant through the ocean waves with a gentle passage<sup>72</sup> before the ministers of cruelty could arrive at the seaport in pursuit of him.

31. When Dunstan had arrived in Flanders and attracted the attention of the prince of that land, he was held to be of worth and was greatly loved by him.<sup>73</sup> Since he recognized Dunstan to be a man of virtue and to have a profound contempt for the world, he asked him to live in Ghent, that is to say, in the place which was distinguished at that time among all his possessions for its religious fervour.<sup>74</sup> Therefore

<sup>74</sup> Adelard notes that Dunstan went to the monastery of Blandinium (Mont Blandin), outside Ghent; for the history of this abbey, see P. Schmitz, *DHGE* ix. 118–29. The abbot at the time of Dunstan's arrival was Womar (abbot 953–80), who apparently at some stage

Venit ergo<sup>a</sup> Dunstanus ad locum, ibique in omni sanctitate degens, omnibus est carus factus et admirabilis. Exilium itaque<sup>b</sup> in patriam sibi uersum est. Tamen in hoc sepe animo deficiebat, quod corpore remotus erat ab eis quos in hac uita cariores habebat. In quo defectu constitutum, dilectus dilector eius uenerandus Andreas apostolus crebra uisitacione consolabatur, nec eum aliquo incommodo, ultra quam facile ferre poterat, grauari patiebatur.

32. [19 Stubbs] Praeterea<sup>c</sup> accidit ut ipse Dunstanus, quadam uice in oratione prostratus, ingenti cordis contritione suos quos in Anglia reliquerat filios Deo commendaret. Et ecce dum orationis prolixitas tenditur, merore grauatus somno opprimitur. Visum ergo illi est<sup>d</sup> se<sup>e</sup> Glastoniae in oratorio cum fratribus, uespertinam horam psallentibus, pro consuetudine stare. Qui fratres, cum dicto euangelii cantico antiphonam, 'Quare detraxistis sermonibus ueritatis' subiunxissent, et eam usque ad id quod dicitur, 'Quae cogitastis explete',<sup>75</sup> percantassent, conticuerunt, nec ullo modo ipsa ultima uerba dicendo eam finire potuerunt. Quibus dum Dunstanus uultu, uoce,<sup>f</sup> signis insisteret,<sup>g</sup> ut parum quod de antiphona restabat perdicerent, et ipsi econtra muta uoce confusi starent, audita est uox de transuerso in sullimibus ita dicens: 'Nequaquam, nequaquam fiet hoc, ut quae cogitauerunt opere expleant. Neque enim unquam se a tua potestate, Dunstane, euellent, aut te ab istius coenobii praelatione deponent.' Ad haec<sup>h</sup> Dunstanus euigilans, intellexit uisionem, et quia nonnullos quos uerbo uitae imbuerat, et de<sup>i</sup> quibus nil mali se meruisse sciebat in suo damno stetisse aduertit, grauiter ingemuit, et eis Deum propiciam fore supplicii prece orauit.

33. [20 Stubbs] Post<sup>j</sup> haec misertus est pius et omnipotens Deus genti Anglorum, ac ut illis ad perpetuam consolationem patrem suum Dunstanum redderet tali consilio,<sup>k</sup> dictante aequitatis ac misericordiae suae censura, usus est. Excitauit quosque potentes a terminis

<sup>a</sup> RV add beatus    <sup>b</sup> namque R    <sup>c</sup> New chapter in MRV    <sup>d</sup> est ergo illi DM;  
D follows with an erasure of a short word    <sup>e</sup> om. DM    <sup>f</sup> uoce uultu D  
<sup>g</sup> insisteret V    <sup>h</sup> RV add beatus    <sup>i</sup> om. RV    <sup>j</sup> New chapter in MRV  
<sup>k</sup> auxilio R

also came to England and stayed with Æthelwold in Winchester, where he was remembered with affection (see M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 89–117, at 98–9).

<sup>75</sup> This antiphon derives from Job 6: 25–8, beginning 'Quare detraxistis sermonibus ueritatis', and concluding 'Quod coepistis, explete' ('However finish what you have begun').

Dunstan went to that place and dwelling there in complete holiness he came to be loved and admired by everyone. In this way his place of exile became his homeland. Nevertheless, his spirit was often depressed because he was removed bodily from those whom he held most dear in this life. Because he was depressed in this manner, his beloved friend, the venerable apostle Andrew, consoled him with frequent visitations and did not allow him to be burdened with any hardship that was greater than he could easily bear.

32. [19 Stubbs] Moreover, it happened on one occasion as Dunstan lay prostrate in prayer with great grief in his heart that he commended his sons, whom he had left behind in England, to God. And behold, when he had been praying for a very long time, he was weighed down with sorrow and sleep overcame him. And in a vision he saw himself standing according to custom in the oratory at Glastonbury with his brothers who were singing the Vespers office. When the Gospel reading had been chanted, these brothers responded with the antiphon 'Why have you detracted from the words of truth?', and when they had sung as far as the words 'What you have thought, do',<sup>75</sup> they fell silent and could not at all bring themselves to finish it by uttering these final words. While Dunstan was urging them with looks, voice, and signs to complete the little bit of the antiphon that remained, but on the contrary they stood confused and silent, a voice was heard from on high in the transept speaking thus: 'In no way, in no way shall this come to pass, that they shall complete with their deeds what they have thought. For neither will they ever wrest themselves from your control, Dunstan, or depose you from the leadership of that monastery.' On hearing these words Dunstan woke up and realized the meaning of the vision; and since he perceived that several of those whom he had imbued with the word of life and from whom he knew he deserved no evil had taken part in his downfall, he moaned heavily and in humble prayer prayed to God that he be merciful to them.

33. [20 Stubbs] After these events loving and omnipotent God was merciful towards the people of England, and so that he might return their own father, Dunstan, to them for their perpetual consolation, he adopted this plan (as any assessment of his sense of fairness and mercy indicates). He roused certain powerful men up against the impiety of King Eadwig in the territory from the mighty Humber

magni fluminis Humbrae usque ad terminos fluuii Tamisiae contra impietatem regis Eadwii,<sup>a</sup> et eum quia<sup>b</sup> talem se fecerat, qualem, ceu praelibauimus, regem non esse decebat, unanimiter persequi, et aut uita aut regno priuare moliti sunt. Et ipsum quidem ultra Tamisiam fugauerunt, nefandam uero meretricem eius iuxta ciuitatem Glawornensem mala morte, quod breui et summam dictum accipiatur, perdiderunt.<sup>76</sup> Quibus patris, Edgarum fratrem illius super totam terram a praedicto Humbrae fluuius usque ad flumen Tamisiae regem fecerunt.<sup>77</sup> Regnum itaque, quod prius erat unum, in duo diuisum est, Tamisia suo illud alueo disterrinante. Vnde frequentes lites, seditiones nonnullae, uarii conflictus hinc inde suborti, totam terram grauissimis<sup>c</sup> tribulationibus concusserunt. Ex quibus omnibus patuit uerum esse quod supra diximus per lascium diaboli gaudium Dunstanum intellexisse.<sup>78</sup> Veruntamen Edgarus de die in diem<sup>d</sup> semper erat in melius proficiens, et Edwius<sup>e</sup> econtra in deterius cotidie deficiens.<sup>79</sup> Erat enim Edgarus ipse prudens et strenuus,<sup>f</sup> ac mandatis Dei intimo corde adhaerens, propter mala quae in Anglia per fratrem suum emergerant non modico merore tabescebat, eaque modis<sup>g</sup> quibus poterat restinguere gestiebat. Hic itaque, adeptus<sup>h</sup> regali dignitate, prauos quosque, et qui alios iniqua dominatione solebant opprimere, potestate qua gloriabantur coepit priuare, atque illos qui suis rebus iniuste spoliati fuerant fecit amissa recuperare. Omnibus ergo aecclesiis Angliae quae in regno eius erant pax et concordia orta est, et iuxta quod uox diuina, sicut supra meminimus, hoc rege nato, praenunciauit, donec ipse uitae praesenti superfuit, in melius aucta et roborata est. Ad haec, missis in Flandriam uiris, Dunstanum patriae cum ingenti honore restituit, ac se suaque omnia eius sapientiae atque consilio disponenda commisit. Deinde ut maior auctoritas facta eius in cunctis comitaretur, eum Wigornensis<sup>j</sup> aecclesiae episcopatum

<sup>a</sup> Eduuii D; Æduuini Ne; Edwini MR; Edwii V  
<sup>b</sup> quem M  
<sup>c</sup> grauissimis  
<sup>d</sup> de die in diem Edgarus D  
<sup>e</sup> Ædwinus Ne; Edwinus MR  
<sup>f</sup> strenuus et prudens DMRV  
<sup>g</sup> RV add omnibus  
<sup>h</sup> accepta R  
<sup>i</sup> atque DM  
<sup>j</sup> Wirgornensis DM

<sup>76</sup> For Eadmer's earlier account of her death, see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 13 and note.

<sup>77</sup> Edgar had been atheling under his brother Eadwig, and his signature occurs either immediately after the king's or those of the archbishops in nearly all of the charters from 956 (see Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 51–61). The revolt of northern England against the misrule of Eadwig is described in B., c. 24; it is mentioned briefly in ASC (BC) s.a. 957 as the accession of Edgar to the throne of Mercia, and more fully in John of Worcester s.a. 957, who explains that Edgar was made king by the Mercians and Northumbrians, who abandoned Eadwig with contempt. In his letter to Eadmer responding

River right up to the River Thames, and each and every one of them endeavoured to track him down because he had made himself a type of person not fit to be king, just as I mentioned earlier, and to deprive him of either his life or his kingdom. And they drove him in flight beyond the Thames, but slew his wicked whore, who died a bad death, near the city of Gloucester—may you accept this brief and summary account.<sup>76</sup> When these things had been accomplished they made his brother Edgar king of the entire country from the River Humber, which I mentioned earlier, right up to the Thames River.<sup>77</sup> And so the kingdom that had earlier been one was divided into two, with the course of the Thames as the boundary. From this situation frequent litigations, many insurrections, and various conflicts arose on both sides of the river, and the whole country was completely shaken by the gravest tribulations. From these events it was clear to everyone that what Dunstan had perceived through the gleeful joy of the devil was true, as I said earlier.<sup>78</sup> But Edgar was a man who always improved from day to day, while Eadwig by contrast deteriorated daily.<sup>79</sup> For Edgar was wise and vigorous, and attended daily to God's commandments in his inmost heart; he was stricken by excessive grief on account of the evils that had arisen throughout England because of his brother and took steps to extinguish them in every way he could. And so after he had obtained the dignity of kingship he began to deprive each of those wicked people, as well as those who were accustomed to oppress others with unfair domination, of the power in which they gloried, and he saw to it that those who had been unjustly despoiled of their possessions recovered what they had lost. And peace and harmony arose for all the churches in England that were in his kingdom, and in accordance with what the divine voice had announced when this king was born, as I recounted earlier, they improved, increased, and strengthened as long as he remained in this present life. In addition to these things, he sent men to Flanders and restored Dunstan to his native land with great honour, and entrusted himself and all his possessions to be administered by his wisdom and counsel. And so that greater authority might be the companion of his deeds in all matters, he then asked Dunstan to take up the bishopric of the church at Worcester, and continued to petition him until he to his request for more information about Dunstan, Prior Nicolas of Worcester states that after this revolt Edgar reigned over the northern English for two years (*Memorials*, p. 422).

<sup>78</sup> See c. 21.

<sup>79</sup> For the construction, cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 3: 1: 'David proficiscens et semper seipso robustior, domus autem Saul decrescens cotidie.'

suscipere petiit, nec a precibus destitit quoad<sup>a</sup> eum suae uoluntati consentaneum fecit.<sup>80</sup> In summum igitur sacerdotium consecrandus ex more Cantuariam uenit.

34. [21 Stubbs] Regebat<sup>b</sup> eo tempore christianitatem in Anglia paulo superius nominatus Odo, ipsius ciuitatis archiepiscopus, uir equidem<sup>c</sup> sanctus et magnarum uirtutum praerogatiuis apprime ornatus. Hic Dunstanum in pontificatum Wiciorum consecraturus,<sup>81</sup> admirantibus qui astabant, eum, omisso ipsius aeccliesiae titulo, ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem titulauit, et quasi successorem seu consortem sibimet ipsi consecrauit. Vnde a praesentibus cur hoc faceret percunctatus, respondit: 'Non constringitur lege donum et uocatio Dei. Et utique uir iste scio quis sit, et ex dono gratiae Dei uideo ad quid eum Spiritus Sanctus<sup>d</sup> elegerit.' Ex quibus uerbis meritum utriusque turba quae circumstabat praeclarum esse coram Deo aduertit.

35. Inde<sup>e</sup> uir Dei<sup>f</sup> ad aeccliesiam ad quam primo electus fuerat regressus, et ab ea praeclare susceptus, summopere nitebatur opere perficere quod se ante exitum suum de Anglia meminerat, exultanti diabolo, spondisse. Omnes igitur in quorum moribus diabolum aliquid habere intelligebat arguere, monere, castigare, corrigere sategebat, nichil usquam a correctionis uoce uacuum relinquens, unde gauderet aduersarius qui circumit,<sup>g</sup> quaerens quem deuoret.<sup>82</sup> Nec ullius persona in istis ab eo considerabatur, sed quisque iuxta meritum suum, obseruata rationabili discretionem, tractabatur. In omnibus itaque et per omnia perquirebat Dei honorem et diaboli confusionem.

36. Interea<sup>h</sup> rex Edwius<sup>i</sup> uitae praesenti subtractus est,<sup>83</sup> et anima ipsius<sup>j</sup> Dunstano, orationibus occupato, a quibusdam teterrimis

<sup>a</sup> quousque DM    <sup>b</sup> New chapter in MRV    <sup>c</sup> quidem NeV    <sup>d</sup> Sanctus eum Spiritus RV    <sup>e</sup> New chapter in DMRV    <sup>f</sup> om. V    <sup>g</sup> circuit MRV    <sup>h</sup> New chapter in DMRV    <sup>i</sup> Ædwinus Ne; Edwinus MR    <sup>j</sup> illius V

<sup>80</sup> B. states that after Dunstan had been summoned back to England and Eadwig had died, Edgar made Dunstan a bishop (apparently without any specific see) at a council held at Brandanford, and that when Cenwald the bishop of Worcester died, Dunstan was then appointed to that see (B., c. 25). The council was discussed by D. Whitelock in *Councils*, pp. 86–8, who noted that B. was incorrect in placing this event after Eadwig's death, since Dunstan attested a charter as bishop along with Cenwald in 958 while Eadwig was still alive. See also the critical comment of McGurk in John of Worcester, ii. 407 n. 8; John recounts the death of Cenwald, 'a man of great humility and a professed monk', in 957.

had made him agree to his wishes.<sup>80</sup> And in order to be consecrated to the highest order of the priesthood he went to Canterbury, according to custom.

34. [21 Stubbs] At that time, Oda, whom I mentioned a little earlier above, was archbishop of Canterbury and the leader of the Christian church in England; he was indeed a holy man and endowed with very many signs of great virtue. And when he was about to consecrate Dunstan as bishop of the Hwicce,<sup>81</sup> to the amazement of those in attendance he left out the name of that church and gave him the title 'Archbishop of Canterbury', and consecrated him as if he were his successor or co-archbishop. When he was asked by those present why he had done this he responded: 'The gift and the calling of God are not constrained by the law. And of course I know who this man is, and by the gift of God's grace I see for what the Holy Spirit has chosen him.' From these words the crowd standing about recognized that the merits of each of these men were outstanding before the face of God.

35. From there the man of God returned to the church to which he had been first elected, and having been most honourably received by it he struggled as hard as he could to achieve by his deeds what he remembered he had promised the jubilant devil before his departure from England. He strove to reprove, warn, chastise, and correct all those in whose habits he recognized the devil having influence, and he did not leave untouched by words of reproof any matter from which his enemy might derive joy, he who goes about seeking someone to devour.<sup>82</sup> In these matters he did not consider anyone's status, but each was treated according to his merits, once reasoned judgement had been observed. And so in all things and through all things he sought continually to honour God and to confound the devil.

36. Meanwhile, King Eadwig was taken from this present life<sup>83</sup> and Dunstan, who was busy at prayer, saw his soul in that same moment being led quickly on its way by some most hideous men. Taking pity

<sup>81</sup> For discussion of the chronology of these events, see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 14 nn.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. 1 Pet. 5: 8.

<sup>83</sup> Eadwig's death is recorded in ASC (A) s.a. 958 on 1 Oct.; in ASC (BC) s.a. 959 and John of Worcester s.a. 959; John notes that he had reigned four years, and provides the extra information that he was buried in the New Minster at Winchester.



hominibus<sup>a</sup> cursim est e uestigio praesentata. Cuius miseriam miseratus, suarum iniuriarum immemor pro liberatione eius immensos omnipotenti Deo lacrimarum imbres effudit, nec ab eis destitit, donec se pro eo exauditum agnouit. Facto igitur non grandi interuallo, Mauri illi<sup>84</sup> ad Dunstanum sua praeda uacui redeunt, et quia ipsius iniurias superuacue ulcisci uenerint, calumniosa uoce furibundi depromunt.<sup>85</sup> Quorum ille furores nichili pendens, Deo super ineffabili misericordia eius ineffabiles gratias egit.

37. [22 Stubbs] Post<sup>b</sup> haec Eadgarus<sup>c</sup> partem regni, quam diximus Edwio<sup>d</sup> remansisse, obtinuit, regnumque<sup>e</sup> sui<sup>f</sup> unitatem recepit, bellis ac seditionibus quae ex eius diuisione emerserant quaquaersum sedatis.

38. Exin<sup>g</sup> defuncto episcopo Londoniensi, quaesitum<sup>h</sup> quis in episcopatu digne succedere posset.<sup>86</sup> Et cum in hoc aliquantum temporis expenderetur,<sup>i</sup> nec persona decens et idonea<sup>j</sup> reperiretur, tandem electio omnium super Dunstanum uersa est, et ipse pontificatum praedictae aecclesiae suscipere communi cunctorum acclamatione coactus est. Vtraque igitur aecclesia,<sup>k</sup> Vuigornensis<sup>l</sup> uidelicet et Londoniensis,<sup>m</sup> eo praesule gloriabatur, quandoquidem ipse, summa necessitate compulsus, utriusque pontifex per nonnullum temporis spatium erat, utriusque sollicitudinis suae curam impendens, utranque intus et extra sua defensione contra omnes emulos muniens, in utraque officium pontificale opportuno tempore sedulus exequens.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>a</sup> uiris R    <sup>b</sup> New chapter in MV    <sup>c</sup> Ædgarus Ne, adding rex; Edgarus DMRV  
<sup>d</sup> Æduino Ne; Edwino R    <sup>e</sup> regni Ne; regnique LaRV    <sup>f</sup> suum M    <sup>g</sup> New chapter in DMRV  
<sup>h</sup> MNeRV, Stubbs add est    <sup>i</sup> extenderetur DM    <sup>j</sup> idonea et decens RV  
<sup>k</sup> aecclesia igitur V    <sup>l</sup> Vuirgornensis DM    <sup>m</sup> Londoniensis M

<sup>84</sup> The demons are not described as Moors in Osbern's account (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 30), but B. describes the devil who rejoices at Edmund's approaching death as 'sub cuiusdam homuncii nigelli [Aethiopsis B, over erasure] specie' (B., c. 31). For another description by Eadmer of a devil as an African, see *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 21.

<sup>85</sup> Osbern makes the demons state explicitly that they have come to punish Eadwig on Dunstan's behalf, and that he has cheated them of their prey (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 30: 'ad ulciscendas iniurias tuas . . . uenimus, et ecce! aduersis imprecationibus tuis confusi redimus').

<sup>86</sup> For discussion of the bishops of London in the period immediately prior to Dunstan's appointment, see D. Whitelock, 'Some Anglo-Saxon bishops of London', in *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (Variorum Collected Studies Series, cxxviii; London, 1981), no. II, pp. 17-22.

<sup>87</sup> Dunstan held the sees of Worcester and London in plurality, which contravened

on his miserable state and overlooking injuries done to him in the past, Dunstan poured forth great floods of tears to almighty God so that he might be freed; and he continued to weep until he knew that he had been heard on his behalf. And then before too long an interval had elapsed, those Moors<sup>84</sup> returned to Dunstan deprived of their booty, and in their fury they uttered in vexatious words that they had come in vain to avenge the injuries done to Dunstan.<sup>85</sup> Paying no heed to their ravings, Dunstan gave bounteous thanks to God for his ineffable mercy.

37. [22 Stubbs] After this Edgar obtained that part of the kingdom which I had said remained in Eadwig's possession, and unity was restored to the kingdom once the wars and seditions that had risen out of its division had everywhere been put to rest.

38. Then the bishop of London died, and a search was undertaken to find who might worthily succeed him in the bishopric.<sup>86</sup> And when some time had been spent on this and no fitting and suitable person could be found, the choice of everyone finally turned towards Dunstan, and he was compelled by the common acclamation of the people to take on the bishopric of the church I have just mentioned. Thus each church, namely Worcester and London, was proud to have him as chief priest, seeing that he was compelled by the greatest necessity to be bishop of both churches for a considerable period of time; he lavished his care and concern on both, fortified each of them both inside and out with his protection against everyone who was envious, and assiduously carried out for as long as was necessary episcopal duties in both.<sup>87</sup>

church law; cf. Ælfric's 'First Old English Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan', c. 208, '[a priest] may never have two churches at once, for he cannot discharge the full service in both places together at one time' (*Councils*, p. 301 and n. 2). In 1070 Archbishop Stigand was deposed by the Normans, and the principal ground cited for this was that he held the see of Canterbury without relinquishing that of Winchester (John of Worcester s.a. 1070). Attitudes appear, however, to have been more flexible during Dunstan's period, particularly given the administrative problems caused by the Viking invasions, and Oswald and several of his successors at Worcester were to hold York in plurality (see *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 24 and note; further, Brooks, *The Early History*, p. 305). Nevertheless, Whitelock noted that Dunstan's name is omitted from pre-Conquest episcopal lists for London, and suggested that this may have been due to the problems raised by Dunstan holding these two sees together ('Some Anglo-Saxon bishops', p. 21). Osbern depicts Dunstan as hesitant to accept the rule of a second church, but finally accepting the arguments of the king and his *principes* that such plurality was common in the early church (Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 31); Eadmer, however, chose not to repeat this argument.

39. En<sup>a</sup> uisio quam supra descripsimus in gladii apostolorum partim impleta est,<sup>88</sup> cum in episcopatu Londoniensi<sup>b</sup> qui ex nomine beatissimi apostoli Pauli<sup>c</sup> celebris habetur<sup>d</sup> Dunstanus confirmatus est. Profecto nanque gladium ipsius apostoli ipsi aecclesiae praelatus accepit, quia uerbum Dei,<sup>89</sup> morem illius secutus, subditorum cordibus excellenter infudit, et potestate qua ille in uirtute Domini Christi gloriatus est ipse<sup>90</sup> ad terrendos<sup>e</sup> impios, ad demulcendum pios circumquaque usus est. Quod et in aecclesia Wigornensi<sup>f</sup> strenuus egit, quam in gladio beati Petri regendam suscepit. Siquidem episcopatus idem per id temporis in honorem ipsius gloriosi apostoli fundatus habebatur.<sup>91</sup> Sed Oswaldus, uir sanctus et religiosus, quem in regimen ipsius aecclesiae<sup>g</sup> beatus Dunstanus, antistes Cantuariensis effectus, sibi succedere fecit, quia clericos ibi degentes nec a prauitate sua conuertere nec inde eo, quod nobiles iuxta saeculum atque potentes erant, quibat eliminare, construxit poene contiguam ipsi aecclesiae aecclesiam beatae Dei genetrici<sup>h</sup> Mariae, in qua ipse cum monachis quos se proposuerat adunatum Christo seruiret. Quod et factum est. Religio itaque monachorum contemptum clericis peperit, et uulgi conuentum ab eis alienatum sibi assiduum fecit. Quid plura? Numerus clericorum passim<sup>i</sup> minuitur, monachorum conuentus in dies augetur. Quidam insuper ex ipsis clericis conuersi numero illorum additi sunt. Hoc modo sedes pontificalis mutata est in aecclesiam<sup>j</sup> beatae Mariae semper uirginis.<sup>92</sup>

40. [23 Stubbs] Memorato<sup>k</sup> Odone archiepiscopo Cantuariorum ad perennis uitae gaudia translato, immensum omnibus Anglorum aecclesiis<sup>l</sup> luctum suus transitus intulit, et innumeros populos acerbo merore percussit.<sup>93</sup> Postulatus Dunstanus Odoni<sup>m</sup> in patriarchatum sedis Anglorum succedere, abnegat suscepti regiminis onus satis graue sibi ad portandum, nedum maius superaddatur, esse protestans. Vnde Ælfsinus<sup>n</sup> Wentanae<sup>o</sup> urbis antistes per regni

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>b</sup> *Londoniensi M*    <sup>c</sup> *Pauli apostoli M*    <sup>d</sup> *RV add*  
<sup>e</sup> *beatissimus*    <sup>e</sup> *terrendum DMRV*    <sup>f</sup> *Vuirgornensi DM*    <sup>g</sup> *aecclesiae ipsius R*  
<sup>h</sup> *genetricis DMV*    <sup>i</sup> *om. M*    <sup>j</sup> *aecclesia RV*    <sup>k</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*  
<sup>l</sup> *aecclesiis Anglorum DM*    <sup>m</sup> *Odonis M*    <sup>n</sup> *Ælfsinus M*    <sup>o</sup> *Wentonia V*

<sup>88</sup> See c. 22.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Eph. 6: 17.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Ecclus. 24: 1-2.

<sup>91</sup> For Eadmer's objection to the statement of Osbern that the church at Worcester was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and not St Peter, see above, prol., and also p. lxxiv.

39. And behold, the vision of the swords of the apostles, which I described earlier,<sup>88</sup> was partly fulfilled when Dunstan was appointed to the episcopal see of London, which is highly regarded on account of being named after the most blessed apostle Paul. For certainly he accepted the sword of this apostle when he was put in charge of that church since he infused the hearts of his subjects with the word of God in most excellent fashion following Paul's example;<sup>89</sup> and Dunstan used the authority, through which Paul glorified himself in the power of Christ the Lord,<sup>90</sup> to terrify the unholy and to sweeten the lot of the pious everywhere. He also did this vigorously in the church at Worcester, for he had accepted rule over it when he took up the sword of blessed Peter. For in those days it used to be held that this same see had been founded in honour of that glorious apostle.<sup>91</sup> But since Oswald, a holy and religious man, whom blessed Dunstan appointed to succeed himself in the ruling of that church when he was made archbishop of Canterbury, was not able to convert the clerics living there from their depraved way of life nor drive them away from there because they were noble and powerful in this world, he built almost next to that church another church in honour of Mary, the blessed Mother of God, in which he could serve Christ with the monks whom he had determined to assemble there. And this he did. And the religious life of the monks bred contempt for the clerics; it alienated the congregation of the common people from them and made them constant followers of the monks. What more can I say? The number of clerics continually diminished and the gathering of monks increased daily. Furthermore, some of the clerics converted and were included among the number of the monks. In this way the episcopal see was transferred to the church of blessed Mary ever Virgin.<sup>92</sup>

40. [23 Stubbs] When Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, whom I have mentioned, was carried to the joys of eternal life, his death brought immense sorrow upon all the churches throughout England and countless people were struck with acute grief.<sup>93</sup> When Dunstan was asked to succeed Oda in the patriarchal see of the English, he refused, protesting that the burden of office that he had already taken upon himself was heavy enough for him to bear without adding more to it. And so with king's consent Ælfsige, the bishop of the city of

<sup>92</sup> See *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 21.

<sup>93</sup> Oda probably died on 2 June 958; for discussion, see note to *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 15.

principes quorum alios re praesentium, alios spe munerum futurorum ad hoc sibi fautores effecerat, archiepiscopatum, rege annuente, obtinuit.<sup>94</sup> Qui post aliquot adeptae dignitatis dies Romam pro archiepiscopatus stola petens, in Alpibus nimia frigoris asperitate correptus, ultimum flatum ibidem emisit. Post quem substitutus est in summum aecclisiae Dorobernensis pontificatum Birtelmus,<sup>a</sup> Dorsatensis<sup>b</sup> populi praesul, uir 'totus ex mansuetudine,<sup>c</sup> humilitate et modestia factus. Verum ubi compertum est nichil in corrigendis uitiiis, nichil in exercendis aecclasticis disciplinis, nichil denique uirtutis seu constantiae in eo esse ad tuendos bonos uel coercendos malos, ad aecclisiam suam iussus rediit, et ita sedes Cantuariensis a pontifice aliquantis diebus uacua sedit.<sup>95</sup> Itaque unanimis omnium electio Dunstanum inclamat, illum solum se nosse uociferans, quem tanta sedes digne ualeret habere rectorem, praesertim cum a primaeuo aetatis flore uitae sanctitas, morum grauitas et, cui nemo contraheret, eum perlustrauerit inuicta, constans,<sup>d</sup> et sequenda auctoritas. Hac ergo Dunstanus acclamatione, quasi uoce uere diuina constrictus, primatem totius Britanniae<sup>e</sup> sedem regendam suscepit, et eam immensa omnium adiacentium aecclisiarum ac populorum exultatione et gloria deductus ascendit.<sup>96</sup>

41. [24 Stubbs] Post<sup>f</sup> haec temporis oportunitate accepta, beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli limina petiit, et eum summae sedis<sup>g</sup> pontifex magno sincerae dilectionis affectu illo uenientem excepit.<sup>97</sup> Secunquē postea familiarius agens, et agendo templum Sancti Spiritus<sup>h</sup> esse indubitanter agnoscens, magnifice illum honorauit, ac stola sui apostolatus pro qua uenerat decentissime decorauit.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Byrchtelmus R; Brichtelmus V  
mansuetudinibus ex RV  
Britanniae s.l.  
<sup>d</sup> constantia R  
<sup>f</sup> New chapter in DMRV  
<sup>b</sup> Dorsetensis DMRV  
<sup>c</sup> Britanniae M; Anglie V, adding uel  
<sup>e</sup> sedis summae M  
<sup>h</sup> Spiritus Sancti  
<sup>cc</sup> totius  
M p. c.

<sup>94</sup> For Ælfsige, see c. 22 and note; further, *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 15 and notes, where Eadmer attributes his death to a divine curse brought about by his insolent behaviour towards Oda's remains. His death in the Alps probably occurred in the winter of 958/9.

<sup>95</sup> For discussion of the identity of Byrthelm, see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 15 note.

<sup>96</sup> Dunstan's accession seems to have occurred in 959 (cf. John of Worcester s.a. 959), and he received his pallium from Pope John XII (955–64) in the following year. ASC (A) s.a. 961 records that he succeeded Oda directly as archbishop, but this entry is a late interpolation dating to Eadmer's period (see notes to *Vita S. Odonis*, cc. 14 and 15). See also D. Whitelock, 'The appointment of Dunstan as archbishop of Canterbury', in *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England*, no. IV, where she noted that Dunstan begins to attest charters as archbishop in 960 (p. 237).

Winchester, received the archbishopric from the princes of the realm, some of whom he had secured as supporters in this matter with immediate gifts and others with the promise of future remuneration.<sup>94</sup> A few days after receiving this honour he set out for Rome, seeking the archiepiscopal stole, but he was seized by the intensely bitter cold in the Alps and there he breathed out his final breath. After him Byrthelm, the bishop of the people of Dorset, was appointed in his place as high priest of the church at Canterbury; he was a man wholly constituted of gentleness, humility, and modesty. But when it was discovered that he had in him neither the strength nor the stamina to correct vices, to impose ecclesiastical discipline, or, finally, to watch over the good and constrain the bad, he was ordered to return to his own church and so the see of Canterbury lacked a bishop for a number of days.<sup>95</sup> Therefore the unanimous choice of everyone cried out for Dunstan, proclaiming that they knew him to be the only man that such a great see might worthily have as its guide, especially since he had been illuminated from the very first flower of youth by holiness of life, seriousness of habit, and, what no one could deny, by an indomitable, constant, and admirable authority. Thus, constrained by popular acclaim as if by a truly divine calling, he took on the rule of the foremost see of all Britain and escorted by the immense joy of all the neighbouring churches and people he ascended the throne in glory.<sup>96</sup>

41. [24 Stubbs] After these things had happened, when a suitable time presented itself he sought the thresholds of the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and the bishop of the first see received him when he arrived there with a great display of sincere affection.<sup>97</sup> And afterwards, accepting him as a close friend, and in doing so without hesitation recognizing him to be a temple of the Holy Spirit, he honoured Dunstan magnificently and attired him most fittingly with the apostolic pallium for which he had come.<sup>98</sup> And thus, having

<sup>97</sup> John of Worcester s.a. 960 records that Dunstan set out for Rome in the third indiction (i.e. before 1 Sept. 960).

<sup>98</sup> John's privilege accompanying the grant of a pallium to Dunstan is printed in *Councils*, pp. 88–92. It is dated 21 Sept. in the fourth indiction (which began on 1 Sept. 960); the text also gives the year as the twelfth of John's pontificate, but this is an error (for general discussion of the authenticity of this document, see the comments of Whitelock, *Councils*, pp. 89–90). The earliest version of this privilege is included in the Pontifical of St Dunstan (Paris, BNF lat. 943), which, contrary to the prevailing opinion of the first half of the 20th c. (followed also by Whitelock), may in fact have belonged to Dunstan himself, or at least have been copied at Christ Church around 973 on his instructions (see the detailed discussion of J. Rosenthal, 'The Pontifical of St Dunstan', in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 143–63).

Sicque delata<sup>a</sup> ei legatione apostolicae sedis, genti Anglorum pastorem ac salutis eorum prouisorem<sup>b</sup> destinauit.

42. Itaque<sup>c</sup> uir dei Roma reuersus, et in patriarchatum primae sedis Britanniarum<sup>d</sup> receptus, in ipsum mundi principem quasi gigas surrexit, et armaturam uerbi Dei a dextris et a sinistris constanti uirtute in eum uibrare,<sup>99</sup> et membra eius circumquaque debellare, prosternere coepit et eneruare.

43. [25 Stubbs] Inter<sup>e</sup> haec uisionem, quam sibi in oblatione apostolicae armaturae dudum apparuisse descripsimus,<sup>100</sup> mente reuoluens, et eam iam in administratione regiminis duarum aecclesiarum, Wigornensis<sup>f</sup> uidelicet et Landoniensis,<sup>g</sup> ferme impletam conspiciens, dicendum existimo per quid archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis, qui hos dignitate praecedit, et in quo ipse<sup>h</sup> excellentius sedit, ei praesignatus sit. Nimirum per uerbum Dei quod scriptum suscepit in gladio beatissimi<sup>i</sup> Petri, secundum quod illud rex Edredus exposuit, quando ei uisionem ipsam ipse<sup>j</sup> Dunstanus, ut praediximus, retulit. Sicque gladius Petri aecclesiam Petri, et uerbum Dei aecclesiam uerbi Dei quae Cantuariae sita est significauit. Exin uidetur rationis dicere quid gladius beati Andreae cum caeteris oblatus praetenderit, quandoquidem ipse in nulla aecclesia quae sub nomine ipsius apostoli consecrata sit, sicut in praedictis tribus aecclesiis sederit. Quod quidem, quantum attinet ad nos Anglos, quibus quid hoc sit luce clarius patet, superfluum reor dicto commemorare uel scripto. Propter externos tamen, si forte aliquando aliquo casu ista inter eos ceciderint, breuiter dico,<sup>101</sup> illum merito cum gladio Petri uerbo Dei inscripto gladium suscepisse Andreae. Nam qui aecclesiae Cantuariensi per pontificatum praesidet, Rofensi aecclesiae quae sub patrocinio beati<sup>k</sup> Andreae subsistit per episcopi institutionem, per horum et horum intus et extra,<sup>l</sup> cum res exigit, dispositionem, utpote suo dominio praesidet.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>a</sup> delegata *DMRV*      <sup>b</sup> prouisorem eorum salutis *V*      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in MV*  
<sup>d</sup> Britanniarum *DM*      <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in MRV*      <sup>f</sup> Wirgornensis *DM*  
<sup>g</sup> Landoniensis *M*; et Landoniensis uidelicet *D*      <sup>h</sup> ille *V*      <sup>i</sup> beati *M*  
<sup>j</sup> *om. M*      <sup>k</sup> beatissimi *RV*

<sup>99</sup> Cf. I Macc. 3: 1–3. For the ‘princeps mundi’ as the opponent of Christ, see also John 12: 31, 14: 30, 16: 11.      <sup>100</sup> See c. 22.

<sup>101</sup> Eadmer’s remarks about the significance of the third sword derive from his source, Adelard, lect. vii, but his additional comments about ‘us English’ and foreigners suggest that he was conscious his work could be read by a foreign audience (see also above, c. 12 note).

appointed him a legate of the apostolic see, he sent him back to the English people as shepherd and provider of their safety.

42. And so when the man of God had returned from Rome and been received as patriarch of the first see of the Britons, he rose up like a giant against the prince of the world and began to brandish the arms of the word of God against him from both the right and the left with constant courage and to defeat,<sup>99</sup> lay low, and thwart his minions everywhere.

43. [25 Stubbs] While these things were happening, reflecting upon the vision which, as I have described,<sup>100</sup> he received at the offering of apostolic weapons some time earlier, and seeing that it was nearly fulfilled already with respect to the administration and rule of two churches, namely of Worcester and London, I think that something ought to be said about how the archbishopric of Canterbury, which exceeds these two in dignity, and in which Dunstan held tenure most excellently, was preordained for him. Without doubt it was through the word of God which he received engraved on the sword of most blessed Peter, according to King Eadred’s interpretation of that very vision when Dunstan himself, as I said earlier, recounted it to him. Thus the sword of Peter signified the church of Peter and the word of God the church of the Word of God, which is located in Canterbury. Next, it seems logical to relate what the sword of blessed Andrew which was offered to him with the others signified, since Dunstan was not enthroned in any church consecrated in the name of that apostle, as he was in the three other churches already mentioned. Indeed, as far as this pertains to us English, for whom what this signifies is as clear as the light of day, I consider it superfluous to recall either in speech or writing. For the sake of foreigners, however, if perchance at any time or for any reason this book should come into their hands, I shall explain it briefly.<sup>101</sup> Dunstan deservedly received together with the sword of Peter, which was inscribed with the word of God, the sword of Andrew. For he who rules over the church of Canterbury in the role of bishop also rules over the church of Rochester, which is under the protection of blessed Andrew, by appointing its bishop and managing its internal and external affairs when need arises, as if he were lord of it.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> For discussion of the close ties between Christ Church and Rochester, see M. Brett, ‘Gundulf and the cathedral communities of Canterbury and Rochester’, in Eales and

44. Quis igitur in cunctis quae religioni competunt Dunstanus fuerit, uidelicet cuius uirtutis ad omnes omnium personarum iniusticias deprimendas, ad bona quaeque opera fouenda et munienda extiterit, usque hodie tota Anglia canit, nec opus esse arbitror ut me in illis scribendis fatiget grandis<sup>b</sup> labor. Nonnulla tamen quae ab illis qui ex eius tempore usque ad nos per successus aetatum fluxere accepimus, compendioso relatu subiciam, quatinus inde percipiatur ueritas uerborum quae proposuimus.

45. [26 Stubbs] Comes<sup>c</sup> quidam praepotens cognatam suam illicito sibi matrimonio copulauerat, et a Dunstano semel, secundo et tertio redargutus, incestum suum diuortio piare nolebat. Quapropter gladio Spiritus Sancti a uiro percussus, a liminibus est sanctae aecclisiae separatus. Qui tipo attactus superbiae, regem adit, Dunstanum immoderatae et impiae seueritatis accusat, regia sanctione se ab eius tyrannide liberum constitui querelosa uoce precatur<sup>d</sup> et obsecrat. Cuius uerbis rex adquiescens, Dunstano mandat ut hominem cum ea quam duxerat in pace manere sinat, et a quibus suspenderat liminibus sacris ipsum<sup>e</sup> restituat. Miratur ille ad audita, et dolet religiosum regem per mendacem<sup>f</sup> hominis linguam ante rei inquisitionem et examinationem esse seductum. Ponit tamen hominem ad rationem, et tam pro commisso crimine, quam et propter iniustam sui criminationem apud principem terrae factam paulo durius increpat, cupiens eo modo ad poenitentiam et correctionem cor illius emollire. At ubi uidit ipsum non solum uerbis suis non consentire, sed insuper contumaci spiritu contra se furere minarique, supra id quod eum ab ingressu domus Dei suspenderat, ut dixi, omnem ei communionem fidelium donec a sua prauitate discederet interdixit. Tunc ille se ipso deterior effectus, immani est furore correptus. Et nichil eorum quae possidebat alicuius momenti reputans, ad hoc solum se totum<sup>g</sup> impendere, ut Dunstano scandalum, et christianae legis iugum quo a sua libidine coercebatur sibi faceret alienum. Legatos itaque suos<sup>h</sup>

44. Therefore, what sort of man Dunstan was in all matters pertaining to the religious life, namely with what virtue he excelled in suppressing all the injustices of all people and in nourishing and strengthening all good deeds, all England sings even up till this day, and I think that there is no need to weary myself with the heavy burden of writing those things out. A few matters, however, that I have heard from those who have flowed in a succession of generations from his time down to ours I shall append here in an abbreviated narrative, so that therein the truth of the words that I have declared here already will be perceived.

45. [26 Stubbs] A certain powerful count had joined himself illicitly to a relative in matrimony, and though he was reproved once, twice, and even a third time by Dunstan, he did not wish to rectify this incest by dissolution. Wherefore Dunstan struck him with the sword of the Holy Spirit and banished him from the threshold of the holy church. This man was seized by feverish pride and approached the king, accusing Dunstan of immoderate and unjust severity; he begged and pleaded with querulous voice that by royal sanction he be freed from Dunstan's tyranny. The king conceded to his wishes and ordered Dunstan to allow the man to remain in peace with the woman whom he had married and to restore him to the sacred threshold from which he had suspended him. Dunstan was amazed at what he was hearing and saddened that a pious king should be seduced by the lying tongue of the man before the matter had been looked into and weighed. Nevertheless, he engaged the man in discussion and reproved him somewhat severely about both the nature of the sin he had committed and the unjust charge he made against Dunstan to the king of that land, hoping in this way to soften the heart of the man towards penance and correction. When he saw, however, that not only did he not wish to consent to his words, but beyond this raged and threatened him with obstinate spirit, in addition to suspending him from entering the house of God, as I mentioned, he barred him from all communion with the faithful until he should cease from his depravity. Then the count became even worse than he was and was seized with uncontrollable rage. And thinking none of those things that he possessed to be of any value, he devoted himself entirely to this alone, that he should cause a scandal for Dunstan and remove from himself the yoke of Christian law by which he was being driven from his vice. And so he sent his envoys to

<sup>a</sup> exterius *M*    <sup>b</sup> grandis fatiget *DM*    <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in RMV*    <sup>d</sup> precatur querelosa uoce *D*    <sup>e</sup> ipsum suspenderat liminibus sacris *DM*; illum suspenderat liminibus sacris *RV*    <sup>f</sup> mendacis *V*    <sup>g</sup> totum se *RV*    <sup>h</sup> om. *DM*

Sharpe, *Canterbury*, pp. 15–25. Brett noted that in the pre-Conquest period the relationship of the two churches was very obscure, but following 1066 it blossomed due to the close collaboration of Lanfranc and the bishop of Rochester, Gundulf (c.1023–1108), who undertook many of the sacramental and administrative duties within the diocese of Canterbury during the archbishop's absences.

Romam destinat, et talibus assueta<sup>a</sup> quorundam Romanorum corda et ora in suam causam largo munere, largiori sponione permutat. Quid deinde? Praesul apostolicae sedis Dunstano peccatori homini condescendere uerbis ac litteris mandat, et<sup>b</sup> eum aecclesiae gremio integre conciliare monet, ortatur, imperat. Ad quae Dunstanus ita respondit: 'Equidem cum illum de quo agitur sui delicti poenitudinem gerere uidero, praeceptis domini papae libens parebo. Sed ut ipse<sup>c</sup> in peccato suo iaceat, et immunis ab aecclesiastica disciplina nobis insultet, et exinde gaudeat nolit Deus. Auertat etiam Deus a me ut ego causa alicuius mortalis hominis, uel pro redemptione capitis mei, postponam legem quam seruandam statuit in sua aecclesia idem dominus meus,<sup>d</sup> Christus filius Dei'.<sup>103</sup> Haec sibi relata ille audiens, et Dunstanum ab iis<sup>e</sup> quae certo diceret inflexibilem esse certissime sciens, excommunicationis suae poenam<sup>f</sup> cum pudore hominum constrictus, tum timore periculorum quae talibus nonnunquam accidere solent perterritus, obstinaciam suae mentis deposuit et, abdicato illicito coniugio, poenitentiae sibi cultum imposuit. Dunstano nanque generale totius regni concilium de obseruantia christianitatis celebrante,<sup>g</sup> ipse suimet oblitus, nudis pedibus, laneis indumentis corpus amictus, uirgas manu ferens,<sup>h</sup> concilio sese medium ingessit, et ante pedes Dunstani gemebundus et eiulans corruit. Quo uiso, moti sunt omnes qui aderant ad pietatem, et ipse pater omnium maiori prae caeteris pietate motus est.<sup>i</sup> In uultu tamen seruato disciplinae rigore, utpote hominem pleniter Deo reconciliare desiderans, lacrimas eius ad horam seuerus sustinuit, ac demum a toto concilio postulatus, lacrimans et ipse, culpam indulsit, itaque ab excommunicationis uinculo absolutum, communioni fidelium gaudentibus cunctis eum restituit.

46. [27 Stubbs] Alio<sup>j</sup> tempore monetarii tres qui in potestate uiri erant cum falsa moneta capti, ad subeundam poenam huiusmodi hominibus per totum regnum promulgatam sunt iudicati. Quae res Dunstano abscondi non potuit. Die ergo<sup>k</sup> Pentecostes idem pater missarum solennia celebraturus, percunctatur utrum Dei populo

<sup>a</sup> assueta C    <sup>b</sup> ut RV    <sup>c</sup> ille V    <sup>d</sup> DMR add Iesus    <sup>e</sup> his DMRV  
<sup>f</sup> poena D    <sup>g</sup> celebrante de obseruantia christianitatis DM    <sup>h</sup> gerens DM  
<sup>i</sup> motus est pietate M    <sup>j</sup> New chapter in MRV    <sup>k</sup> Die autem R; Dies autem V

<sup>103</sup> Eadmer expands on a brief account given at the conclusion of Adelard, lect. xii; the remaining part of the chapter is new in Eadmer, and may possibly derive from an oral source. The identity of the count and the pope are unknown; similarly it is not known to which council Eadmer refers here.

Rome and he converted the hearts and utterances of certain Romans, who were accustomed to such things, to his own cause by generous gifts and a promise of even greater things. What next? The bishop of the apostolic see ordered Dunstan with letters and messages to apologize to the sinful man and warned, urged, and commanded him to reconcile him completely to the bosom of the church. To which Dunstan replied thus: 'For my part, when I see that man who is at the centre of this undertake penance for his sin, I will willingly obey the commands of the lord pope. But God would not wish that he should wallow in this sinful state and immune from ecclesiastical discipline insult us and derive joy from that. Moreover, God forbid that I should set aside the law which that same lord of mine, Christ the Son of God, determined should be preserved in his church, for the sake of any mortal man or to preserve my safety.'<sup>103</sup> When those things had been related to him, he realized from what Dunstan had said with conviction that he was utterly inflexible, the count was constrained as much by shame before others because of the penalty of excommunication as he was terrified by the frightening dangers which often befall such people, and removed the obstinacy in his mind, abandoned his illegal wife, and took upon himself a regime of penance. For while Dunstan was holding a general council of the entire kingdom concerning Christian observances, unconcerned for his dignity the count walked into the midst of the council with bare feet, his body clad in woollen garments, and carrying switches in his hand, and groaning and moaning he fell at the feet of Dunstan. When they saw this all who were present were moved to piety, and the father of all himself was stirred by greater piety than all the rest. Nevertheless, he maintained a stern disciplined appearance since he desired to reconcile the man completely to God; he was firm and held back his tears for the time being until finally, begged by the entire council, he absolved his sin while weeping himself, freed him from the chains of excommunication, and restored him to the communion of the faithful with everyone rejoicing.

46. [27 Stubbs] On another occasion three minters who were under Dunstan's jurisdiction were caught with counterfeit money and were sentenced to undergo the penalty widely promulgated throughout the whole kingdom for this kind of people. This matter could not be kept from Dunstan. Therefore on the feast of Pentecost when Dunstan was about to celebrate the solemn rite of the mass he asked whether or

statuta iusticia de ipsis monetariis facta fuerit an non. Respondetur eam ob reuerentiam tanti diei in alium diem esse dilatam. 'Nequaquam', inquit, 'ita fiet. "Monetarii nempe qui falsos ex industria denarios faciunt"<sup>a</sup> fures sunt, et eorum furto nullum nocentius esse cognosco. Nam in falsa moneta quam faciunt totam terram spoliunt, seducunt, perturbant. Ipsi diuites, ipsi mediocres, ipsi pauperes in commune laedunt, et omnes, quantum sua interest, aut in opprobrium aut in egestatem aut in nichilum redigunt. Quapropter noueritis, quia ego hodie ad sacrificandum Deo non accedam, nisi primo illi qui deprehensi sunt eam quam in seductione totius populi promeruerunt subierint poenam. Si enim in ultione tanti mali, cum negotium me respiciat, Deum placare supersedeo, quomodo illum de manibus meis sacrificium suscepturum sperare queo? Sed haec licet crudelitati possint ascribi, Deo tamen patet intentio mea. Lacrimae, gemitus atque suspiria uiduarum ac pupillorum, clamor quoque uulgi totius<sup>b</sup> michi incumbit, et correctionem huius mali deprecatur. Quorum afflictionem si quantum in me est mitigare non intendo, et Deum qui gemitibus eorum compatitur nimis offendo,<sup>c</sup> et alios ad idem malum exercendum promptiores et audaciores facio.'<sup>104</sup> Dixerat, et pro poena illorum qui manus erant perdituri pietate motus, lacrimis manat, ut satis esset uidere de quo fonte procedebat edictum quod nonnullis uidebatur crudele. Vbi uero audiuit praestitutam iusticiam factam surrexit, ac, lota facie, ad oratorium exhilarato uultu abiens, ait: 'Quia Deum oboediendo statutis iusticiae legibus audiui hodie, confido quod et ipse per misericordiam suam sacrificium de manu mea suscipiet hodie.'<sup>105</sup> Cuius confidentiae effectu priuatus non est. Eo quippe inter sacrosancta missarum solennia sacras manus extendente, et Deum patrem omnipotentem ut ecclesiam suam catholicam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere dignaretur, toto orbe terrarum

<sup>a-a</sup> C writes in mg. and over an erased word at beginning of next line; faciunt is added s.l. <sup>b</sup> totius uulgi DM <sup>c</sup> offendo nimis RV

<sup>104</sup> Dunstan's refusal to say mass on Pentecost unless the sentence on the forgers had been carried out is mentioned in passing in Osborn, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 31, but Eadmer elaborates on the events greatly, and Stubbs commented that this account was 'a timely tale enough whilst Henry I was reforming the coinage' (*Memorials*, p. lxxviii). Following his accession in 1100, Henry immediately promised firm action against forgers, and at Christmas 1100 issued instructions to shire officials laying down the loss of a hand and castration as punishment; as noted by J. A. Green, 'False coining was considered to be a very serious offence: tampering with coins bearing the ruler's image was tantamount to treason' (*The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 89). Eadmer himself recounts Henry's severe actions against the forgers a little later in his reign in *HN*,

not the just statute made for the people of God had been carried out on these same minters. He was told that it had been deferred to another day out of respect for such a great feast day. To which he replied, 'It will not be so on any account. For these minters who have been purposely making false silver pennies are thieves, and I know of no theft more harmful than theirs. By the false coinage which they make they ruin, corrupt, and cause turmoil throughout the whole country. These men injure the very rich, those with moderate wealth, and the destitute equally, and out of concern for their own interest they lead everyone to shame or poverty or utter devastation. Therefore, know this, that I will not proceed today with making sacrifice to God unless those who have been arrested first undergo the penalty which they deserve for misleading all the people. For if I fail to please God in avenging such a great evil when it is my business to do so, how can I hope that he will receive a sacrifice from my hands? Though it is possible that these actions of mine might seem to be cruel, yet my intention is clear to God. The tears, the groans, and sighs of widows and orphans, the clamour of the entire population weighs upon me and demands redress for this evil. If for my part I make no effort to lessen their afflictions, I both greatly offend God who has pity on those suffering and I would make others more ready and willing to perform similar evil deeds.'<sup>104</sup> Thus he spoke; but moved by love for these men on account of their sentence, since they had to lose their hands, he was drenched with tears, so that it was evident from what source this edict, which seemed cruel to many, had come. But when he heard that the decreed sentence had been carried out, he rose, wiped his face and went off to the oratory with a happy countenance saying, 'Since today I listened to God by obeying his justly ordained laws, I trust that he for his part will receive through his mercy the sacrifice today from my hands.'<sup>105</sup> And his confidence was not misplaced in this. For while he was extending his blessed hands during the solemn rites of the mass and beseeching God the Father almighty that he deign to maintain the peace of his catholic church, and to guard, unite, and direct it, since the whole world sought this, a

p. 93, adding the information that they were blinded as well, and concludes a note of approbation ('Ex quo facto magnum bonum ad tempus toti regno creatum est').

<sup>105</sup> The story of Dunstan's vision of the dove over Oda's tomb is told in Osborn, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 32, where it occurs on the first occasion Dunstan says mass in Christ Church, but Eadmer, who also recounted it in *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 15, combines it with the story of the forgers, thus placing it on Pentecost Sunday, and adds the information that Dunstan's name for Oda was commonly used in English by the inhabitants of Canterbury.

interpellante, niuea columba, multis intuentibus, de caelo descendit, et donec sacrificium consumptum esset super caput eius expansis et quasi immotis alis sub silentio mansit. Inter haec quid animi gereret seruus Dei? Quo amore, qua dulcedine, quo desiderio (putas) in Deo pascebatur, qui ex praesenti gratia Dei tali uisitatione fouebatur? Consumpto sacrificio, columba eadem in australem altaris partem declinauit, et super tumbam beati Odonis, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, se reclinauit, alis suis illam hinc inde complexans, et quasi rostro deosculans. Quod beatus Dunstanus intuens, et exinde meritum iacentis appendens, in tanta eum deinceps reuerentia habuit ut quotiens coram sepulchro illius transibat, genua flecteret. Cognomine quoque boni in materna lingua post haec eum semper nominare consuevit, uidelicet 'Odo se<sup>a</sup> Gode', quod Latine sonat 'Odo Bonus'. Quo cognomine ex eo tempore usque ad hanc nostram aetatem solet ab Anglis, maxime tamen<sup>b</sup> a Cantuaritis,<sup>c</sup> nuncupari. Percantata missa, Dunstanus ab altari digreditur. Ministris autem eius pro signo quod acciderat his et illis innuentibus, et alios ex fratribus ministerio pontificis affuturos suspicantibus, ipsi se in diuersa tollunt, ac uirum immensis adhuc ex praesentia gratiae Dei lacrimarum imbribus madentem solum relinquunt. Et ecce dum casulam qua inter sacra uestiebatur deponeret, nec ullus adesset qui eam susci- peret, disponente Deo, suspensa pendit in aere, ne cadens in terram seruus Dei a sua turbaret intentione.<sup>106</sup>

47. [28 Stubbs] Per<sup>d</sup> id ferme temporis, rogatus a quodam uiro nobili<sup>e</sup> et religioso, dedicauit ei aecclesiam unam quam<sup>f</sup> ipse in suo fundo construxerat. Vbi ad ministerium aqua deficiente, et ob hoc hominem<sup>g</sup> nonnulla mestitudine corripiente,<sup>h</sup> famulus Dei, praemissa prece, terram baculo percussit, ilicoque fons limpidissimus erumpens, omnes qui praesentes erant 'non modicum<sup>i</sup> laetificauit. Qui fons usque hodie<sup>j</sup> manans, Dunstani nomen et meritum celebre facit.

48. Idem<sup>k</sup> pater a Cantuaria in remotiores uillas suas opportunis spatiis hospitia sua disponens, apud Magaueldam,<sup>l</sup> sicut et in aliis

<sup>a</sup> the R; erasure in V    <sup>b</sup> autem RV    <sup>c</sup> Cantuariis M    <sup>d</sup> New chapter in DMRV  
<sup>e</sup> nobili uiro M    <sup>f</sup> quam unam M    <sup>g</sup> C p. c.; homini DMRV    <sup>h</sup> C p. c., La;  
subripiente DMRV    <sup>i</sup> om. R    <sup>j</sup> hodie usque M    <sup>k</sup> New chapter in DMRV  
<sup>l</sup> Magdauldham RV

<sup>106</sup> The final anecdote in this chapter is perhaps related to Osbern's brief statement that Dunstan is said to have suspended his garment within a beam of light (Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 26).

snow-white dove descended from the heavens as many looked on and remained silently above his head with its wings spread and almost motionless until the sacrifice had been consumed. What would the servant of God have been thinking while these things were happening? With what love, with what sweetness, with what pleasure do you imagine he grazed in God's pasture who was favoured with the visible grace of God by such a visitation? When they had partaken of the sacrifice, that dove descended to the southern side of the altar and settled upon the tomb of blessed Oda, whom I mentioned earlier, enfolding it on all sides with its wings and appearing to kiss it with its beak. When blessed Dunstan saw this and judged from it the worthiness of the one lying there, he thereafter held him in such great respect that he would genuflect whenever he passed in front of his tomb. Moreover, after this he was accustomed to refer to him in his mother tongue by the epithet 'the good', namely 'Odo se Gode', which in Latin is 'Odo Bonus'. From that time right up until our own time today he is regularly called by that name by the English, especially those living in Canterbury. When he had finished chanting the mass, Dunstan left the altar. His assistants, however, were signalling to people here and there about the miracle which had happened, thinking that others among their brethren would be there to assist the bishop; but those men had taken themselves off in various directions, leaving Dunstan alone still dripping with an immense flood of tears on account of the presence of the grace of God. Lo and behold, when he took off the chasuble which he had been wearing during the mass, since no one was in attendance to take it, it hung suspended in the air as ordained by God, not falling to the ground so as to distract the servant of God from his thoughts.<sup>106</sup>

47. [28 Stubbs] At about this time he was asked by a certain noble and pious man to consecrate for him a church which he had built on his estate. Since there was no water there for the ritual and the man had been seized by great grief because of this, the servant of God said a prayer and struck the earth with his staff; straightaway a spring of the purest water gushed up, which made everyone present there very happy. This spring which still flows today makes known both the name and glory of Dunstan.

48. This same father, when setting up his hospices at suitable intervals in his villages which were far afield from Canterbury,



hospitiorum suorum locis, lineam aecclesiam fabricavit.<sup>107</sup> Quam ipsemet dedicans, dum ex more circumiret,<sup>a</sup> et eam ad aequinoctialem solis ortum minime uersam perciperet, fertur quod transiens humero suo illam aliquantulum pressit, moxque mutatam a proprio statu in medium orientis tramitem pro uoto conuertit.<sup>108</sup> Quod ipsum facile potuisse efficere nemo ambigit,<sup>b</sup> nisi qui uerbis Domini<sup>c</sup> Christi, quibus fidem sicut granum sinapsis habentibus promittit, quod etiam montem dicto transferant incredulus existit.<sup>109</sup>

49. Inter<sup>d</sup> huiusmodi opera Dunstanus Deum semper in mente habere, Deo quicquid boni faciebat, non sibi, ascribere, magnum humilitatis, minimum elationis cor per omnia et in omnibus possidere. Cum autem a saecularium negotiorum occupationibus ei quies aridebat, modo contemplationi diuinae et orationibus incumberebat, modo sacrarum scripturarum lectioni et earum expositionibus intendebat, modo fratrum exortationi seu librorum emendationi sedulus operam impendebat.<sup>110</sup> In compunctione uero lacrimarum tanta gratia praeditus erat, ut quotiens eum sacris altaribus sisti, uel aliquo officio pontificali fungi conspiceres, Spiritus Sancti feruore mentem eius

<sup>a</sup> circuiret *M*      <sup>b</sup> ambigit *RV*      <sup>c</sup> *R* adds Iesu      <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in MR*

<sup>107</sup> This story is not found in any of Eadmer's sources. Mayfield (East Sussex) appears to be mentioned in the Domesday Book under the name 'Mesewelle' (*DB Sussex*, 10.118). Eadmer's account states that it is a property of Dunstan, but in 1086 it belonged to Robert, Count of Mortain (d. c. 1091), the half-brother of King William I, and before the Conquest it had belonged to a certain Godwin. Furthermore, it is not mentioned as one of the archbishop's properties in the *Domesday Monachorum*, compiled roughly at the same time as the great Domesday survey (see *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas (RHS; London, 1944)). Count Robert was a major benefactor of Benedictine houses, particularly those in Normandy, and presented them with estates (B. Golding, 'The religious patronage of Robert and William of Mortain', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 211–30). However, Robert and his brother Odo of Bayeaux (cf. *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 20) were also leaders of the rebellion against William II in 1088 (John of Worcester s.a. 1088), and it is possible that Mayfield came into the hands of the archbishop at this stage; furthermore, in 1104 Henry I confiscated all the English lands belonging to Robert's son William (ASC (E) s.a. 1104, John of Worcester s.a. 1104; see also Green, *The Government of England under Henry I*, p. 115. If Eadmer's 'Magauelda' and the 'Mesewelle' of *DB* are indeed the same place, then his story of Dunstan's foundation of the church may be an attempt to substantiate claims to this estate by demonstrating ancient associations.

<sup>108</sup> The reference in this episode to the correct orientation of a church is very rare in the literature of the period, if not unique, although the archaeological record shows that Norman builders were usually concerned to obtain correct orientation, and that rebuilt Anglo-Norman churches were often aligned closer to true East–West than their pre-

built a wooden church at Mayfield, just as he had in the locations of his other hospices.<sup>107</sup> And while he was dedicating it and walking around it according to ritual he noticed that it was not aligned with the rising of the sun at the equinox; it is related that while passing near it he pushed it slightly with his shoulder and immediately changed it from its former orientation into direct alignment with the East where he wanted it.<sup>108</sup> No one doubts that he could do this easily unless there exists someone who doubts the words of Christ our Lord in which he promises to those who have faith like a mustard seed that they can move even a mountain with their words.<sup>109</sup>

49. Whenever he did these kinds of things Dunstan always had God in his mind; whatever good deeds he did he ascribed to God and not to himself, having a heart which was great with humility and most humble in pride in all matters and affairs. When rest from the activities of secular affairs favoured him, he would sometimes occupy himself in prayer and divine contemplation, sometimes be zealous in the reading of sacred scripture and expositions upon it, and sometimes set himself assiduously to exhorting his brothers or to correcting manuscripts.<sup>110</sup> But when moved by compunction, Dunstan was blessed with such a great gift of weeping that whenever you saw him standing before sacred altars or performing any sort of episcopal duty you could not doubt that his mind was enkindled with the fire of the Holy Spirit, and that what he was performing

deceutors. See J. R. Ali and P. Cunich, 'The orientation of churches: some new evidence', *Antiquaries Journal*, lxxxi (2001), 155–93; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 394 n, 416 n.

<sup>109</sup> Matt. 17: 19.

<sup>110</sup> Dunstan's involvement in copying and correcting manuscripts is remarked on in B., c. 37. 'St Dunstan's Classbook' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.4.32), a manuscript comprising miscellaneous texts in Latin (including Eutyclus and Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, i), Greek, and Old English, contains a frontispiece showing Dunstan humbled at the feet of Christ and a large number of glosses in Latin, English, Welsh, and Breton, some of them in a hand believed to be Dunstan's own; see M. Budny, "'St Dunstan's Classbook'" and its frontispiece: Dunstan's portrait and autograph', Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 103–42. Dunstan's definite contributions to this manuscript appear to be limited to his scribal additions, although he may have contributed to the design of the frontispiece; other scribal additions in a very similar hand from the same period have been detected in a number of manuscripts (*ibid.*, pp. 137–8). This manuscript was kept in the late Middle Ages at Glastonbury. For another book produced at Canterbury, probably under Dunstan's supervision, see Rosenthal, 'The Pontifical of St Dunstan', and for the school of illumination which flourished at Christ Church in the generation following Dunstan, R. Gameson, 'Manuscript art at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the generation after St Dunstan', in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 187–220.

accendi, et quae ille exterius administrabat ipsum interius operari per indices ex oculis illius<sup>a</sup> decurrentes lacrimas, non dubitares.

50. Haec<sup>b</sup> inter sibi et successoribus suis competentia tam infra muros urbis, quam in quibusque uillis ad archiepiscopatum pertinentibus, edificia constitui, uel constituta, si qua ex parte diruta essent, renouari faciebat, se scilicet in istis non modo sibi, sed et multorum utilitati natum uiuereque perpendens.<sup>111</sup> Praeterea cunctarum aecclesiarum totius Britanniae<sup>c</sup> adiacentiumque<sup>d</sup> insularum sollicitudinem strenuus gerebat, et earum causas quae ad eum sicut ad primatem et patriarcham cotidie ferebantur disponebat.<sup>112</sup> Et quia uigilanti studio Domino Christo per omnia famulabatur, sepe supernorum ciuium gaudiis atque concentibus ad quos anxie suspirabat miscebatur, aliquando corpore uigilans, aliquando sancto sopore quiescens. Quodque fortassis non minus stupeas, per uisum quaedam a beatis spiritibus didicit quae ipse postea<sup>e</sup> in seruitio Dei canenda suos edocuit.

51. [29 Stubbs] Quadam<sup>f</sup> etenim nocte cum membra quieti dedisset, per uisum in superna raptus est. Conspexit itaque, et ecce mater sua cuidam regi potentissimo<sup>g</sup> in coniugium sub immensa confluentium magnatorum laetitia et exultatione copulabatur, resonantibus undique ymnis ac laudibus in gloriam<sup>h</sup> eiusdem regis, organis quoque ac diuersis melodiis concrepantibus in his regalibus nuptiis. Quibus dum ipse magnifice delectatus intenderet, atque ad ea totum sui cordis affectum arrigeret,<sup>i</sup> accessit ad eum iuuenis quidam candidissimo tectus<sup>j</sup> amictu, dicens illi: 'Cum uideas et audias istos laetantium ac iubilantium choros, cur te illis non copulas? Cur laudibus eorum non commisces laudes tuas? Et quidem si in desponsatione matris tuae a uoce laudis et exultationis cuncti silerent, tu silere non deberes, nedum illis non tacentibus solus taceas.' Ad haec uerba quid in laudem tanti regis cantaret ignorare se respondit. Sciscitatur ergo an a se quod decenter canere posset<sup>k</sup> instrui uellet. Quod cum sibi

<sup>a</sup> eius DM    <sup>b</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>c</sup> Britanniae DM    <sup>d</sup> adiacentium M  
<sup>e</sup> postea ipse M    <sup>f</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>g</sup> potentissimo regi DM    <sup>h</sup> gloria M  
<sup>i</sup> dirigeret M    <sup>j</sup> om. M    <sup>k</sup> posset canere M

<sup>111</sup> For an overview of Canterbury at the time of Dunstan's arrival in 960, see T. Tatton-Brown, 'The city and diocese of Canterbury in St Dunstan's time', in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 75–87.

externally he was enacting within himself, as witnessed by the tears streaming down from his eyes.

50. While he was doing these things he caused buildings to be built which met his needs and those of his successors both within the walls of the city and in each of the villages lying within the archbishopric; or, if existing buildings were dilapidated in any way he restored them, since in these matters he thought himself to have been born and to exist not only for himself but for the advantage of many.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, he was diligent in his care of all the churches throughout the whole of Britain and its neighbouring islands, and he resolved all of their affairs which were brought before him daily in his capacity as primate and patriarch.<sup>112</sup> And since he served Christ the Lord in all matters with vigilant zeal he was often included in the joy and singing of the heavenly citizens, to which he aspired anxiously, sometimes while physically awake and at other times while resting in blessed repose. And perhaps something which would astonish you even more, he learnt certain things from the blessed spirits in a vision, which he subsequently taught to his own people for singing in the service of God.

51. [29 Stubbs] For on a certain night when he had given his limbs to rest he was swept up to heaven in a vision. And so he looked, and behold, his own mother was being joined in marriage to a certain most powerful king to the immense joy and exultation of a crowd of mighty persons, with hymns and praises in the glory of that same king resonating all about and with organs and diverse melodies also resounding in harmony for those royal nuptials. While Dunstan was gazing on these things wondrously enthralled and directing all the feeling of his own heart towards them, a certain young man clad in most brilliant raiment approached him and said to him: 'Since you can hear and see those choruses of people making merry and rejoicing, why do you not join in with them? Why do you not mix your praises with theirs? And indeed, if they were all silent in voicing joy and exultation at the marriage of your mother, you would have to sing out; much less should you alone be silent when they are not.' On hearing these words he said that he did not know what he ought to sing in praise of such a great king. Therefore the young man asked whether he would like to be taught by him what he might fittingly

<sup>112</sup> Eadmer's claim that Dunstan was primate over all Britain reflects the assertions of the archbishops of Canterbury in his own day; see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 14 and note.

acceptissimum fore profiteretur, docuit eum antiphonam istam: 'O rex gentium, dominator omnium, propter sedem maiestatis tuae da nobis indulgentiam, rex Christe, peccatorum. Alleluia.' Quam pater per uisum sepius repetens, et in laudem praefati regis frequentius canens, mira iocunditate pascebatur. Expergefactus autem a somno, surrexit gemens, eo quod a tantis gaudiis tam subito se in huius mundi erumnis inuenit. Antiphonam uero statim, ne obliuioni daretur,<sup>a</sup> scribi praecepit, eamque a suis postmodum cantari sepius in sui praesentia fecit. Ex qua etiam magnae suauitatis feruor ob recordationem gloriosae uisionis sibi generabatur, et grande desiderium pertingendi ad tantum bonum in animo illius multiplicabatur. Hanc uisionem quae praeter illam, qua olim patris sui et matris<sup>b</sup> animas inter choros angelicos<sup>c</sup> uidit,<sup>d</sup><sup>113</sup> ei apparuit, quidam qui ante me de istis scripsit uult mystice referri ad matrem aecclesiam quae Christo, summo regi, per bona opera desponsatur, et ex qua Dunstanus et quisque fidelium per sacri baptismatis undam renatus eius alimentis pascitur atque<sup>e</sup> nutritur.<sup>114</sup> Quod autem Dunstanum angelus docuit, a dominatore gentium petere indulgentiam peccatorum, ostendit quid pontifices agere debeant, quotiens ad exorandam maiestatem Dei pro suis populique delictis sancta sanctorum introeunt.<sup>f</sup>

52. [30 Stubbs] Alio<sup>g</sup> quodam tempore rex in die dominica mane uenatum iuit, et Dunstanum qui tunc forte secum erat missam suam, donec rediret, differre petiuit. Appropinquante igitur hora tertia, uir Dei ad aecclesiam procedit, et indutus sacris uestibus, regem, sicut ei<sup>h</sup> promiserat, expectabat. Stabat ergo cubitis innixus altari, orationi ac lacrimis deditus. Tum subito sopore leniter pressus, in caelum rapitur, et beatis angelorum agminibus<sup>i</sup> associatus, audit eos summae Trinitati in laudem modulatis uocibus decantantes atque dicentes: 'Kyrie eleyson, <sup>j</sup>Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson'.<sup>j</sup> Quorum melodiam caelestium contemplator edoctus, ad se reuersus est. Et conuersus ad suos, interrogat rexne uenerit an non. At ubi eum

<sup>a</sup> traderetur *M*    <sup>b</sup> et matris sui *M*    <sup>c</sup> angelicos choros *DMR*    <sup>d</sup> *RV* add et  
<sup>e</sup> et *RV*    <sup>f</sup> introeant *D*, corrected to -eunt; introeunt *M*, glossing -cant as alternative  
<sup>g</sup> om. *LaNe*; New chapter in *DMRV*    <sup>h</sup> om. *M*    <sup>i</sup> agminibus angelorum *DM*  
<sup>j</sup> *Christe Kyrie R*

<sup>113</sup> See c. 15.

<sup>114</sup> The 'someone' mentioned here is B., who interprets the vision as representing the marriage of the mother church with Christ the King, or else as Dunstan assuming the rule of his own church at Canterbury under Christ's guidance (B., c. 30).

sing. And when Dunstan declared that this would be most acceptable to him, he taught him this antiphon: 'O king of nations, ruler of all things, Christ the king, through the throne of your majesty bestow indulgence for our sins upon us. Alleluia.' The father recited that antiphon very often during the vision and repeatedly sang it in praise of the king whom I mentioned, and fed upon the wondrous happiness. When he awoke from that dream, however, he arose lamenting because he found himself so suddenly amidst the tribulations of this world after experiencing such great joys. He ordered the antiphon to be written down immediately, lest it be forgotten, and afterwards he made his people sing it frequently before him. Moreover, because of this the recollection of that glorious vision caused a warmth of great sweetness in him and redoubled in his mind an overwhelming desire to attain such goodness. Someone who wrote about these matters before me wishes for this vision, which appeared to Dunstan in addition to the earlier one in which he once saw the souls of his father and mother amongst the angelic choruses,<sup>113</sup> to refer mystically to the mother Church which is married by its good works to Christ the highest king, and by whose food Dunstan and anyone among the faithful who is reborn through the waters of sacred baptism are fed and nourished.<sup>114</sup> But that thing which the angel taught Dunstan—to seek indulgence for sins from the Lord of nations—reveals what bishops ought to do each time they enter the holy of holies in order to beseech God's majesty on account of both their sins and those of their people.

52. [30 Stubbs] On a certain other occasion the king had gone hunting on Sunday morning, and he asked if Dunstan, who by chance was then with him, would put off saying mass until he returned. And so when the third hour was approaching the man of God proceeded to the church and having put on the sacred vestments he waited for the king, just as he had promised him. He was leaning upon the altar with his elbows and had given himself over to prayer and weeping. Then suddenly a gentle sleep overcame him and he was taken up into heaven; he found himself among the blessed choruses of angels and heard them chanting in praise of the highest Trinity with sonorous voices and saying: 'Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy.' Having learnt this melody while listening to the heavenly citizens he returned to himself. And he turned to his companions and asked them whether or not the king had arrived. But when they told

nondum uenisse accepit, ad suas preces sese conuertit. Factoque non grandi interuallo, iterum extra se ductus, audiuit in caelis altisona uoce dici: 'Ite, missa est.' Ad quod cum 'Deo gratias' responderetur, accurrentes clerici regis regem adesse uociferantur,<sup>a</sup> sacerdotem ut festinantius missam celebret<sup>b</sup> obsecrant. At ille uersus ab altari, missam se habere pronunciat, et aliam se ea die celebraturum abnegat. Depositisque uestibus sacris, a suis de re inquiritur, quod latebat aperitur. Ex hoc itaque sumpto sermone, regem in diebus dominicorum deinceps a uenatu prohibuit. Kyrie eleyson uero quod in caelestibus didicit<sup>c</sup> suos docuit, idque multis in locis hodie sancta ecclesia inter<sup>d</sup> missarum solennia canit.

53. [31 Stubbs] Moris<sup>e</sup> erat uiro loca sancta, quando Cantuariæ morabatur, uno tantum fidei socio comitatus noctu peragrare, et se inibi per compunctionem et contritionem cordis Deo mactare. Quadam igitur uice ad monasterium beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quo beatus Augustinus et alii nonnulli de patribus ecclesiae Christi Cantuariensis tumulati sunt,<sup>115</sup> ex more circa mediae noctis silentia perrexit, ibique Deo se diutius<sup>f</sup> in oratione prostrauit. Egressus uero ad oratorium beatae Dei genitricis et perpetuae uirginis Mariae, quod in orientali ipsius monasterii parte situm fuerat, eadem factur<sup>g</sup> diuertit.<sup>116</sup> Cui appropinquans,<sup>g</sup> audiuit intus uoces<sup>h</sup> psallentium atque dicentium: 'Gaudent in caelis animae sanctorum qui Christi uestigia sunt secuti, et quia pro eius amore sanguinem suum fuderunt, ideo cum Christo gaudebunt in aeternum.'<sup>117</sup> Ad haec ille stupefactus,<sup>i</sup> astitit ostio, ac per rimas illius introspiciebat (erat enim obseratum) intuetur oratorium totum

<sup>a</sup> uociferant *DMRV*    <sup>b</sup> celebraret *NeV*    <sup>c</sup> audiuit *M*    <sup>d</sup> om. *M*    <sup>e</sup> *New*  
chapter in *DMRV*    <sup>f</sup> diutius Deo se *DM*; *D* adds diutius in *mg.*    <sup>g-g</sup> cum  
appropinquasset *M*    <sup>h</sup> uoces intus *D*    <sup>i</sup> obstupefactus *M*

<sup>115</sup> Soon after he arrived in England in 597, St Augustine founded Christ Church within the Roman walls of Canterbury and a monastery outside them for the monks he had brought to England with him; the main church of the monastery was initially dedicated to St Peter and St Paul (later renamed St Augustine's in honour of its founder). As noted by Eadmer, Augustine and a number of later archbishops and other saints were buried there. The archbishops were Augustine (597–604/10), Laurence (604/10–19), Mellitus (619–24), Justus (624–c.627), Honorius (c.627–53), Deusdedit (655–64), Theodore (668–90), Berhtwald (692–731), Tatwine (731–4), Nothhelm (735–9), and Jænberht (765–92); after Nothhelm's death, the archbishops (excepting Jænberht) were all buried in Christ Church (Brooks, *The Early History*, p. 81). In 1091 their bodies were raised in a major ceremony associated with the reconstruction of the abbey conducted by Bishop Gundulf of Rochester and Abbot Wido; the ceremonies, at which Eadmer may have been present, are

him that he had not yet arrived, Dunstan returned to his prayers. And after a short time had elapsed he once again was led outside himself and heard a voice on high in the heavens saying, 'Go, the mass is ended.' When 'Thanks be to God' had been replied to this, the clerics of the king rushed in and announced that the king had arrived and asked the priest to celebrate the mass straightaway. But turning from the altar Dunstan announced that he had said the mass and he refused to celebrate another on the same day. When he had taken off the sacred vestments he was questioned by his companions about that matter and he revealed to them what was hidden. And so after this the matter was discussed and he forbade the king to go hunting on Sundays in the future. But he taught [his companions] the 'Lord have mercy' which he had learnt in the celestial regions and today the holy church in many places sings it during the solemn rites of the mass.

53. [31 Stubbs] It was one of Dunstan's habits whenever he was staying in Canterbury to walk around the holy places at night in the company of a single faithful companion, and in those places to sacrifice himself to God through compunction of heart and contrition. Thus on a certain occasion according to this custom he came in midnight's silence to the monastery of the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, in which blessed Augustine and several other fathers of Christ Church Canterbury are buried,<sup>115</sup> and there prostrated himself in prayer to God for a long time. And leaving there he turned aside to the oratory of the blessed mother of God and perpetual Virgin Mary, which was located in the eastern section of that same monastery, planning to do the same thing.<sup>116</sup> While approaching it, he heard voices within singing and saying: 'The souls of the saints who have followed in the footsteps of Christ rejoice in heaven and since they have shed their blood for love of him, thus they will rejoice with Christ forever.'<sup>117</sup> He was stunned by these things and stood at the door; looking in through a crack in it, for it was closed, he saw the

recounted at length in works by the hagiographer Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (discussed in R. Sharpe, 'The setting of St Augustine's translation, 1091', in Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury*, pp. 1–13).

<sup>116</sup> A smaller church dedicated to St Mary was built east of the church of St Peter and St Paul (i.e. St Augustine's) within the monastery grounds; initially separate, it was finally joined to the main church in the major rebuilding begun by the Norman abbot Wido in 1091. For the history of the pre-Conquest church and discussion of the archaeological evidence, see R. Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the Anglo-Saxon period', Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 57–73.

<sup>117</sup> For this antiphon, see also above, c. 8.

immensa luce splendere, et quendam cuneum candidatarum personarum ipsam antiphonam laetis concentibus resonare.

54. Alio<sup>a</sup> item tempore praefata pastorum aecclesiae limina<sup>b</sup> simili hora, pari uoto requirens, ubi inde discessit, memoratam sacratissimae uirginis edem, preces illic Deo<sup>c</sup> fusurus adire coepit. Ecce autem ipsa beatissima uirginum uirgo, comitata numero uirginum choro, uenienti uiro occurrit, et summo cum honore susceptum, ad suam aecclesiam quo tendebat<sup>d</sup> ducere coepit, praecinentibus duabus de choro puellis illud Sedulii carmen<sup>118</sup> atque dicentibus:

Cantemus, sociae,<sup>119</sup> Domino cantemus honorem,  
dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio.

Quos uersus chorus uirginum resumendo percantans, praedictae binae cantrices<sup>e</sup> binos qui sequuntur in ordine uersus<sup>f</sup> subsecutae sunt:

Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus.  
Sic homo cum tumuit, primus ad ima ruit.

[32 Stubbs] Sicque donec uir Dei in oratorium perductus esset, uirgineus chorus primos, et uirgines binae binos, iuxta quod series ymni sese habet, uersus modulatae sunt.

55. Propter<sup>g</sup> haec et horum similia facta insignis pater Dunstanus quanti honoris, quantae reuerentiae, quantaeue magnificentiae apud omnes bonos extiterit, estimo quod qui talia Dei dona<sup>h</sup> amplecti nouit ex magna parte, et me silente, uidebit. At iis<sup>i</sup> qui potius in malitia quam in bonitate uitam agere satagebant horrorem atque terrorem uultus eius incutiebat, ut ab eo fugere quam ad eum accedere mallent.<sup>j</sup> Omnes uero qui peruersa acta sua deserere, et ad recta opera cupiebant transmigrare, uerae pietatis ac misericordiae uisceribus eum redundare sentiebant, et ultra humanam estimationem consilium simul et auxilium suae salutis<sup>k</sup> in eo reperiebant. A remotis itaque

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in R*    <sup>b</sup> *limina aecclesiae RV*    <sup>c</sup> *Deo illic DMRV*    <sup>d</sup> *quo tendebat aecclesiam RV*  
<sup>e</sup> *cantatrices RV*    <sup>f</sup> *uersus in ordine RV*    <sup>g</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*    <sup>h</sup> *dona Dei RV*    <sup>i</sup> *his DMRV*    <sup>j</sup> *uellent RV*    <sup>k</sup> *salutis suae DM*

<sup>118</sup> Coelius Sedulius (*fl.* 430–50); the two distichs cited by Eadmer correspond to Sedulius, *hymn.* i. 1–4 (pr. in *Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. J. Huemer (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, x; Vienna, 1885), p. 155).

entire oratory lit up by tremendous light, and a certain group of people clad in white garments singing this same antiphon in joyful harmony.

54. Likewise on another occasion, he returned to the threshold of the church of the shepherds Peter and Paul, from which he had set out, at the same time and with the same intention; after leaving there he began to walk towards the chapel of the sacred Virgin, which I mentioned above, in order to pour forth prayers there to God. And behold, the most blessed Virgin of virgins accompanied by a large chorus of virgins intercepted him as he approached, and having received him with great honour began to lead him into her church, where she was going, with two girls from the choir intoning the poem of Sedulius<sup>118</sup> and saying:

Let us sing, my companions,<sup>119</sup> let us sing honour to the Lord,  
Let the sweet love of Christ issue forth from pious mouths.

After the chorus of virgins had taken these verses up and sung them, the two female cantors I have mentioned added two further verses which follow in sequence:

The Proud one was the first to rush headlong to the depths from the  
great light—  
So too the man who swells with pride is the first to rush to the depths.

[32 Stubbs] And thus, until the man of God was led into the oratory, the virgin chorus intoned the first verses, and the pair of virgins sang the remaining pairs of verses of the hymn.

55. Because of these things and other deeds of similar nature I think that anyone who is able to understand such gifts of God will see for the most part without my having to say it with what great honour, reverence, and magnificence the great father Dunstan was received among all good people. But his countenance struck horror and terror in those who persisted in leading their lives in wickedness rather than goodness, so that they preferred to flee from him rather than approach him. But all who desired to abandon their evil ways and to move towards good deeds perceived him to overflow in his heart with true love and mercy and found in him counsel and at the same time help for their salvation beyond human reckoning. And so people rushed to him

<sup>119</sup> The original reading of 'socii' was altered to 'sociae' by Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 40, whom Eadmer follows here.

terrarum partibus ad eum passim currebatur, et quo illum praeminere notum erat Spiritus Sancti consilium ab ipso petebatur. Si ad ista diaboli odium et inuidia saeuiebat, nulli mirandum. Sed quia se in perturbatione uiri nichil posse, nisi quod uerecundiam sui et eius gloriam magnificaret, iam certo sciebat, ab ea qua illum sepe fatigare solebat impugnatione sese cohibuit. Verum ut eum redderet conturbatum,<sup>a</sup> Eadgaro<sup>b</sup> regi quem multum pro sua reuerentia diligebat laqueum gemebundae deceptionis tetendit, et irretitum grauis peccati neuo inuoluit.

56. [33 Stubbs] Quadam<sup>c</sup> enim uice idem rex in monasterium uirginum quod Wiltuniae situm habetur uenit, ibique captus<sup>d</sup> specie cuiusdam puellae, quae de nobilibus Anglorum nata inter sanctimoniales non uelata nutriebatur, custodiebatur,<sup>e</sup> eam suo colloquio adduci secretius iussit.<sup>120</sup> Illa cum duceretur, timens pudori suo, raptum ab una sanctimonialium capiti suo uelum imposuit, eo modo se protegi sperans, si forte rex quid inhonesti a se exigere uellet. Quam ipse uelatam intuens: 'Quam subito', inquit, 'sanctimonialis effecta es.' Arreptumque uelum detraxit capiti eius, illa conatu quo<sup>f</sup> poterat frustra obnitente.<sup>121</sup> Abusus siquidem ea est,

<sup>a</sup> conturbatum redderet *DMRV*      <sup>b</sup> Eadgaro *DMRV*      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in MRV*  
<sup>d</sup> *DMRV* add in      <sup>e</sup> om. R      <sup>f</sup> qua M

<sup>120</sup> This story is first found in Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 35, who, however, does not give the location of the incident and who states that the woman raped by King Edgar was a nun who eventually gave birth to King Edward. Eadmer took clear exception to these claims (see above, pro.). His rewriting of this story contains an important addition which suggests that it was written after 1100 (see following note), but it also includes other elements which connect it with works written by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin. In his life of St Edith, written probably on the commission of Wilton convent c. 1080 (cf. 'La légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', ed. A. Wilmart, *AB* lvi (1938), 5–101 and 265–307, at 8), Goscelin states that Wulfthryth was Edgar's mistress, and that she gave birth to Edith before retiring to Wilton nunnery and becoming abbess there. In his life of St Wulfhilda, later abbess of Barking, written after 1086 ('La vie de sainte Vulfhilde par Goscelin de Cantorbéry', ed. M. Esposito, *AB*, xxxii (1913), 10–26, at 8, he tells how Edgar fell in love with this woman, Wulfthryth's cousin, although she was a nun, and while at Wilton attempted to rape her, but was finally brought to his senses when she took refuge at the altar; he then turned to Wulfthryth, who was not a nun, but was being educated at the same convent, and by her became the father of St Edith. Another variant story is found in William of Malmesbury, who states that Wulfthryth was not a nun and follows Eadmer by stating that she had assumed the veil to protect herself from the king (*GP*, ii. 87). For the relationship of the various sources for this incident, see also the discussion of S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 37–44.

<sup>121</sup> These details and his setting of this incident at Wilton, just outside Salisbury, recall events which occurred in 1100 associated with the marriage of Henry I and Mathilda, daughter of the King of Scotland. In 1093 Mathilda had left the English convent where she

continually from distant parts of the country and sought from him the counsel of the Holy Spirit, which they knew Dunstan was distinguished in having. One ought not to be surprised that the devil raged with hatred and envy against these things. But since he already knew for certain that he was unable to do anything to disturb him, except something that would increase his own shame and magnify Dunstan's glory, he restrained himself from the kinds of attacks which usually left him exhausted. But so that he might create trouble for him, he cast a snare of lamentable deception for King Edgar, whom Dunstan loved greatly on account of his respect for him, and entangled him in his net so that he was stained with a grave sin.

56. [33 Stubbs] For on a certain occasion this same king came to a monastery of virgins, which is located at Wilton, and there, captivated by the beauty of a certain young girl, who took her lineage from the English nobility and was being raised and protected by the nuns, though she had not taken the veil, he ordered her to be brought to him secretly to speak with him.<sup>120</sup> While she was being led to him out of fear for her chastity she placed a veil snatched from one of the nuns on her own head, hoping in this way to protect herself should the king by chance wish to demand anything dishonourable from her. When Edgar saw her wearing the veil he said, 'How suddenly you have become a nun.' He grabbed and dragged the veil from her head, while she resisted in vain with whatever strength she had.<sup>121</sup> Thereupon he

was being educated; Anselm instructed Bishop Osmund of Salisbury to compel her to return (Anselm, *epist.* clxxvii), but she went back to Scotland with her father. When in 1100 Henry wished to marry her, objections were raised by members of the clergy that she had taken vows as a nun; Anselm was compelled to convene an enquiry into the matter, and at this enquiry Mathilda testified that she was being educated by the nuns at Wilton but she had only worn a veil in order to dissuade unwelcome suitors (*HN*, pp. 121–6); see also *Herimanni liber de restauratione S. Martini Tornacensis*, c. 15 (Monumenta Germanica Historica: Scriptorum, xiv, p. 281). As Eadmer was Anselm's secretary from 1093 onwards, he almost certainly knew something about the incident at this early stage; he even accompanied Anselm to a meeting in Hastings in Feb. 1094 where Anselm discussed the issue with King William II. The similarities between Eadmer's accounts of the two incidents, and other indications that the *Vita S. Dunstani* was written after 1100, suggest that Eadmer may have incorporated elements of the Queen's testimony into his retelling of the story of Edgar's rape inside the convent. For further historical discussion of the incident involving Mathilda, including the plans of her father to marry her to Count Alan Rufus and a similar incident involving Gunhilda, a daughter of King Harold, see R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 183–5; *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 260–4; E. Searle, 'Women and the legitimisation of succession at the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, iii (1980), 159–70, at 166–9.

et graui scandalo quique per Angliam religiosi ex hoc mente uulnerati sunt. Quod scandalum eo uehementius fuit, quo rex idem legitimam uxorem habebat, Ælflædam<sup>a</sup> uidelicet, cognomine Candidam, Ordmaræi præpotentis orientalium<sup>b</sup> Anglorum ducis filiam, de qua et sanctum Eadwardum<sup>d</sup> genuerat.<sup>122</sup> Vbi uero res Dunstano innotuit, acerbo merore percussus est. Igitur cum pro re non segnis ad regem ueniret, et ille uenienti pro more occurreret, eumque per manum ad solium suum perducere uellet, manum Dunstanus turbato uultu retraxit, nec eam ab homine contingi passus est.<sup>e</sup> Ad quod ille attonitus (non enim illum scire putabat quod clanculo a se factum existimabat), cur manum sibi non dimitteret inquisiuit. Ait: 'Tu, postposito omni pudore, adulterium commisisti, tu, despecto<sup>f</sup> Deo, signum castitatis non ueritus, uirgini suam integritatem præripuisti, et cur manum, summo patri uirginis filium immolantem, impuris manibus non tradam quaeris? Laua prius per poenitentiam manus tuas a sordibus suis, et tunc demum quo<sup>g</sup> gratiæ Dei reconcilieris honora et amplectere manum pontificis.' Territus ille ad hæc, terræ procumbit, pedes antistitis petit, se peccasse, gemitu uerba interrompente, contestans. Quod Dunstanus uidens, tantum in rege humilitatis uehementer amplectitur. Velocius ergo illum<sup>h</sup> erexit, et pacato uultu, cum eo familiariter quae<sup>i</sup> salutem animæ eius operarentur loquens, septennem ei poenitentiam iniunxit. At ille pontificali absolute potitus, omni studio iniunctæ sibi poenitentiae operam dare, et multa quibus Deum placaret<sup>j</sup> pietatis opera ipsi poenitentiae instinctu et consilio patris sui sollicitus coepit superaddere. Ipse præterea omni ordini hominum in suo regno consistentium legibus sibi in Christiana religione sancitis uti præcipiebat, ipse secus agentes indicta uindicta corripiebat, ipse in prauitate persistentes condigno examine puniebat.<sup>123</sup> Exempli causa.

<sup>a</sup> Ælflædam DM      <sup>b</sup> orientalium An-] C writes p. c. at end of line      <sup>c</sup> om. DM  
<sup>d</sup> Eduardum RV      <sup>e</sup> passus est ab homine contingi M      <sup>f</sup> despectu R      <sup>g</sup> qua R  
<sup>h</sup> illum ergo M      <sup>i</sup> M adds ad      <sup>j</sup> placaret Deum M

<sup>122</sup> This information appears to have been supplied to Eadmer in the letter from his friend Prior Nicholas of Worcester which he preserved in his personal manuscript (*Memorials*, p. 423). John of Worcester s.a. 964 records the name of Edward's mother as 'Ægelfleda Candida cognomento Enea'. However, in spite of Eadmer's rebuttal of Osbern and his assertion of Edward's legitimacy, there is some evidence which suggests that Edgar's marriage to Æthelflæd was not regarded as legal by contemporaries; see note to c. 59 below.

<sup>123</sup> Edgar's legislation dealing with ecclesiastical matters survives in two codes, his second and fourth (printed in *Councils*, pp. 95–109). In the fourth code, he ordains that 'I and the archbishop command that you do not anger God, nor merit either sudden death, or

abused her, and the grave scandal caused by this wounded the spirit of every religious person throughout England. This scandal was all the more serious because the king already had a lawful wife named Æthelflæd, known also as the 'White'; she was the daughter of Ordmar, the powerful ealdorman of the East Angles, and Edgar had also fathered saint Edward by her.<sup>122</sup> When this matter came to Dunstan's attention he was struck with extreme grief. And so when on account of this he came quickly to the king and Edgar advanced to greet him as was his habit and wished to lead him by the hand to his throne, Dunstan drew back his hand and with troubled countenance would not suffer it to be touched by that man. Edgar was dumb-founded by this, for he thought that Dunstan did not know about what he considered he had done in secret, and asked him why he would not extend his hand to him. He said, 'You have set aside all shame and committed adultery; disrespecting God you did not show respect to the sign of chastity, and you despoiled the virginity of a young girl; and you ask me why I will not present to your impure hands my hand which sacrifices the Son of the Virgin to the highest Father? First cleanse your hands of their filth through penance and only then honour and clasp the hand of the bishop so that you may be reconciled to the grace of God.' Edgar was terrified by these words; he threw himself to the ground and reached for the feet of the bishop, admitting that he had sinned, his words punctuated with groaning. When Dunstan saw this he fiercely embraced the degree of humility shown by the king. He lifted him quickly to his feet and now that his expression had calmed down, spoke in friendly fashion about the things that would effect the salvation of his soul, imposing seven years of penance upon him. And having gained absolution from the bishop, Edgar began to attend with great zeal to the penance imposed upon him, and at the prompting and advice of his father was concerned to add to this penance many deeds of piety with which he might appease God. Moreover, he personally ordered each class of men residing in his kingdom to observe the laws ordained by him concerning Christian religion, he personally apprehended and imposed a penalty on those acting otherwise, and he personally punished those who persisted in their evil ways with fitting ordeal.<sup>123</sup> For example:

indeed the future death in everlasting hell, by any withholding of God's dues', and as Whitelock commented, the singular form 'archbishop' strongly suggests that 'this must be Dunstan. It is easy to believe that he was responsible for drawing up this ecclesiastical code' (*Councils*, p. 107 n. 1).

57. Ordo<sup>a</sup> clericalis ea tempestate plurimum erat corruptus, et canonici cum presbiteris plebium uoluptatibus carnis plus aequo inseruiebant. Quod malum Dunstanus corrigere cupiens, fretus auctoritate Iohannis, apostolicae sedis antistitis, apud regem obtinuit quatinus canonici qui caste uiuere nollent aecclesiis quas tenebant depellerentur, et monachi loco eorum intromitterentur.<sup>124</sup> Praesidebat ea tempestate Wentanae aecclesiae praesul Atheluuoldus,<sup>b</sup> uir eximiae sanctitatis, et educatione patris Dunstani non parum insignis.<sup>125</sup> Hic praescita de canonicis aecclesiae suae qui nimium saeculares existebant uoluntate Dunstani monuit eos semel et sepius mores et actus mutare, correctioris uitae semitas, relictis feminis, arripere. At illi inpraesentiarum quidem id sibi possibile esse negantes, uoce coruina semper in crastinum correctionem sui pollicebantur.<sup>126</sup> Quod ipse gnarus non diu sustinuit. Paratis nempe quamplurimis monachorum cucullis, die quo communio 'Seruite Domino in timore' cantabatur chorum intrauit,<sup>127</sup> uestes quas parauerat secum deferri faciens. Et proiectis illis in medium, canonicis ait: 'Animaduertistis quid modo cantaueritis?' 'Animaduertimus', inquit. 'Igitur', inquit, 'si seruire Domino in timore, et ei uultis exultare cum tremore, apprehendite disciplinam, uestem uidelicet monachilem, ne pereatis, sicut cantastis, de uia iusta.' Ad quod illi obstupefacti, more solito inducias petunt, id se facturos in futuro promittunt. Tunc ille: 'Michi credite, amplius non credam huic uestrae sponsioni coruinae, sed aut disciplinam in praesenti<sup>c</sup> apprehendetis, aut loci istius beneficiis et conuersationi, hinc eliminati, iam iamque cedetis.'<sup>d</sup> Itaque nonnulli ex illis, statim abiecto clericali habitu, monachi facti sunt, caeteris iuxta uerba

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRV*      <sup>b</sup> Adeluoldus R; Ethelwoldus V      <sup>c</sup> in praesenti  
disciplinam DM      <sup>d</sup> caedetis C

<sup>124</sup> A letter supposedly from Pope John to Edgar, and dating to 963, which authorized the removal of canons from the church at Winchester and their replacement with monks, is printed in *Councils*, pp. 109–13. In her preamble, Whitelock argued that the traditional attribution of this letter to Pope John XIII (965–72) may be incorrect, and that it was probably the work of his predecessor, John XII (*Councils*, p. 110). It is generally accepted as genuine; for the relationship of this papal intervention to contemporary events on the Continent, see P. Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his continental counterparts: contact, comparison, contrast', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 13–42, at 34 and n. 87. For the view that it was a forgery made in Canterbury c.1120, see J. Barrow, 'English cathedral communities and reform in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 25–39, at 37–8.

<sup>125</sup> Æthelwold (c.905–84) was consecrated bishop of Winchester by Dunstan on 29 Nov. 963; see *Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 16 and p. 30 n. 2. At some earlier stage, perhaps prior to 27

57. At that time the clerical order was very corrupt, and the canons together with the priests of the people were given inordinately to the pleasures of the flesh. Wishing to rectify this evil, and relying on the authority of John, the bishop of the apostolic see, Dunstan obtained authority at the court to expel canons who did not wish to live in chastity from the churches which they possessed and to introduce monks in their stead.<sup>124</sup> Æthelwold was then reigning as bishop of the church at Winchester; he was a man of great sanctity and widely famed for the teaching he had received from father Dunstan.<sup>125</sup> Learning of this wish of Dunstan concerning the canons of his church who led a far too worldly life, he warned them time and again to change their ways and deeds and to take up the path of a better life and leave their women behind. But they said that it was not possible for them to do that at the moment, but promised repeatedly in a raven's voice that they would mend their ways tomorrow.<sup>126</sup> Æthelwold knew what was going on and did not tolerate it for long. And so, when an adequate number of monks' cowls had been prepared on the day on which 'Serve the Lord in fear' was sung at the communion,<sup>127</sup> he entered the choir and directed that the garments which had been prepared be brought in with him. He threw them into their midst and said to the canons, 'Did you notice what you have just sung?' 'We noticed', they said. 'Therefore', he said, 'if you wish to serve the Lord with fear and rejoice unto him with trembling, embrace discipline, namely the monastic garment, lest you perish from the just way, just as you have sung.' They were dumbstruck by this and in their usual manner sought a truce, promising that they would do it in the future. Then he said, 'Believe you me, I will no longer trust this raven's promise of yours, but you will either embrace the discipline right away or you will be expelled immediately from here and have to withdraw from the privileges and the way of life of your station.' And so several of them immediately cast aside the clerical habits and were made monks, while in keeping

Oct. 939, he went to Glastonbury and studied there under Dunstan (*Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 9 and p. 14 n. 4); for discussion of Æthelwold's literary learning and interests, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 89–117.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Augustine, *sermo* lxxxii on Matt. 18: 15–18 (*PL* xxxviii. 512): 'Cras, cras . . . Remansit foris cum uoce coruina, quia non habuit gemitum columbinum. Cras, cras corui uox.'

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Ps. 2: 11–12. This confrontation occurred, according to Wulfstan, on the Saturday at the start of Lent immediately after Æthelwold was appointed bishop, i.e. 19 Feb. 964. For the date, see *Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 17 and p. 31 n. 6; see also the discussion of whether this psalm was used in the service for this specific day, *ibid.*, p. 31 n. 7.



pontificis de aeclesia eliminatis. <sup>a</sup>Caeterum quia ipsi qui ita nouiter sunt conuersi regularis disciplinae normam sine aliorum magisterio docte seruare nequibant, monachi de Abendoniam illuc ab eodem pontifice adducti sunt,<sup>128</sup> qui monachicae institutionis tramitem inibi edocerent. Clerici uero qui eieci sunt<sup>a</sup> citato gressu<sup>b</sup> regem adeunt, iudicium atque iusticiam sibi de expulsionem sui fieri postulant.<sup>c</sup> Refertur<sup>d</sup> negotium ad audientiam Dunstani, et ipse eos aequa postulare pronunciat.<sup>e</sup> Igitur ex praecepto regis et archiepiscopi, coit Wintoniam<sup>f</sup> nobilitas regni totius, et rex cum sua coniuge adest, ad determinandum querelas negotii huius.<sup>129</sup> Surgunt hinc inde lites quas Dunstanus, propositis rationibus, destruit omnes. Rationabiliter quippe cunctis ostendit clericos, qui a sorte Dei incorrigibiliter per prauitatem uitae suae dissiliunt, nil per rectitudinem sibi uindicare<sup>g</sup> posse ex iis<sup>h</sup> quae aeclesiis data<sup>i</sup> sunt ad subsidium eorum qui in clericatu pura conuersatione sese custodiunt. Quibus auditis, omnia omni controuersia, rex et de principibus plures clericorum precibus ad pietatem usque permoti, Dunstanum interpellant, quatinus hac sola uice parcat, et clericos iam quid amodo, si se non correxerint, incursum sint re ipsa edoctos, de aeclesia sua reuestiat. Silet ille ad ista, quidque potissimum de negotio sit agendum, demisso capite, mente pertractat. Silentium ingens occupat omnes, et suspensi ad responsum pontificis erigunt aures. Tunc subito crucifixi Dei imago, signo crucis in edito domus affixa, audientibus cunctis, dixit: 'Non fiet, non fiet. Iudicatis bene, mutaretis non<sup>j</sup> bene.'<sup>130</sup> Tremefacto in his simul uniuerso conuentu,<sup>k</sup> intulit pater Dunstanus et ait: 'Quid amplius uultis, fratres mei? Diuina sententia definitum audistis negotium praesens.' Aiunt: 'Audiuimus uere.' Resederunt igitur monachi Wintoniae deinceps securi, et quoad clericos ipsi uixerunt, qui eos super causa ista<sup>l</sup> inquietaret nemo fuit. [34 Stubbs] Illis

<sup>a-a</sup> om. C, inserting in mg; om. La <sup>b</sup> cursu RV <sup>c</sup> postulabant V <sup>d</sup> Refert RV  
<sup>e</sup> pronuntians RV <sup>f</sup> Wentoniam DMRV <sup>g</sup> uendicare R <sup>h</sup> his DMRV  
<sup>i</sup> Stubbs; datae CDLaMRV <sup>j</sup> non mutaretis M <sup>k</sup> comitatu M <sup>l</sup> C inserts s.l.

<sup>128</sup> Æthelwold was appointed abbot at Abingdon (Oxfordshire) c.955. Wulfstan claims that at this stage it was greatly impoverished, and he depicts Æthelwold as obtaining large grants of land from King Eadred and also establishing monastic discipline and learning through close links with Fleury (*Life of St Æthelwold*, cc. 11–14). For discussion of the historical background, see A. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 43–64.

<sup>129</sup> Eadmer's account of the council at Winchester derives largely from Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 36; however, Osbern makes the council come in response to complaints about Dunstan's reforms, whereas in Eadmer's version the complaints are specifically linked

with the bishop's words the rest were expelled from the church. And since those who were so recently converted were not able to observe the routine of the regular discipline knowledgeably without being instructed by others, monks who could teach them the path of monastic life there were brought there from Abingdon by Æthelwold.<sup>128</sup> But the clerics who had been ejected approached the king hastily and asked that judgement and justice be done with regard to their expulsion. The matter was referred to the attention of Dunstan and he decreed that they were petitioning on just grounds. And so on the instruction of the king and the archbishop the nobility of the entire kingdom came together at Winchester to resolve the disputes in this matter, and the king was in attendance with his wife.<sup>129</sup> Accusations were raised on this side and that, but Dunstan refuted them with reasoned arguments. For he showed everyone in a reasonable way that clerics who abandon the fortune allotted by God by the incorrigible depravity of their lives, cannot justly claim anything for themselves from those things which have been given to churches for the support of those who maintain themselves in a pure manner of living in their clerical office. When these things had been heard and their case had been completely lost, the king and many of the princes who were moved so far as to feel compassion by the prayers of the clerics petitioned Dunstan that in this case only he might be merciful and reinvest the clerics with their church since they had now learned by brute fact what they would incur henceforth if they would not mend their ways. Dunstan was silent in response to these things and with his head bowed he considered in his mind what in particular ought to be done in this matter. A great silence fell upon them all and they pricked their ears in anticipation of the bishop's response. Then suddenly the image of the crucified God, affixed to the sign of the cross high up in the building, said with everyone listening, 'It will not be so, it will not be so. You have judged well; it would have been bad to change it.'<sup>130</sup> The whole gathering was simultaneously struck with fear, and father Dunstan interjected and said: 'What more do you want, my brothers? You have heard divine judgement decide on this present business.' They replied, 'That we have truly heard.' And so the monks thereafter resided once again securely at Winchester and as long as the clerics lived, there was no one who would trouble them in this matter. [34 Stubbs] When these men

to Æthelwold's reform at Winchester, and Dunstan is the impartial judge who decides in favour of Æthelwold.

<sup>130</sup> For the dissemination of this story, which appears to have originated with Osbern, see the comment of Whitelock in *Councils*, p. 116.

autem huic uitae subtractis, filii eorum, cupientes recuperare quae perdiderant in parentibus suis, Scottiam miserunt, et inde quandam praegrandis, ut fama ferebat, eloquentiae uirum, Bernelnium<sup>a</sup> nomine, magno conductum pretio, in tuitionem suae causae contra Dunstanum adduxerunt. Conglobati ergo sub uno, clericorum filii regem atque Dunstanum apud uillam quae dicitur Kalne<sup>b</sup> in quodam coenaculo consistentes reperiunt, et armati rethore illo qui suae uictoriae spes maxima erat, antiquae calumniae coram eis iurgia promunt.<sup>131</sup> Ad quae Dunstanus his uerbis breui respondit: 'Calumniam istam quam mouetis, diuino ore iam olim definitam nouimus, nec eam nouo conflictu amplius in medium reuocandam existimamus. Ego quoque grandaeuus sum, et uitae meae residuum, quod pauci temporis esse non nescio, in pace, si licuerit, transigere cupio. Laboraui dum potui. Amodo totius laboris impatiens, Domino Deo causam aecclesiae suae contra insurgentes hostes tuendam committo.' Dixit, et ecce solarium sub pedibus eorum qui aduersus uirum conuenerant e uestigio cecidit, omnesque pariter praecipitatos in suo casu non modicum lesit. Vbi uero Dunstanus cum suis consistebat, nulla ruina domus, nullius emerserat casus. Hoc igitur modo calumnia clericorum est sopita, et usque hodie monachorum conuersatio in ipsa aecclesia stabilita. Eiecti nichilo minus per id temporis et alii quamplures clerici horum similes de suis aecclesiis sunt, et monachi in locum<sup>c</sup> ipsorum substituti. Aucta<sup>d</sup> est igitur religio per Angliam in tantum, ut quadraginta octo monasteria monachis uel sanctimonialibus instituerentur, cooperantibus beato Dunstano in hoc<sup>e</sup> uiris uenerabilibus, Oswaldo uidelicet,<sup>f</sup> qui primo Wigornensis,<sup>g</sup> postea fuit episcopus Eboracensis, et Athelwoldo<sup>h</sup> Wintoniensi, quorum supra meminimus. Vitam itaque beati Dunstani et actus formidabant omnes qui incedere uolebant iuxta uias adinventionum suarum.<sup>132</sup>

58. [35 Stubbs] Inter<sup>i</sup> haec sopito negotio, quod regem Eadgarum<sup>j</sup> ne regio more coronaretur detinuerat, Dunstanus, adunatis episcopis, abbatibus, et caeteris principibus cum tota regni ingenuitate, coram

<sup>a</sup> Bernelnium *DM*; Bernelium *RV*      <sup>b</sup> Kalne quae dicitur *M*      <sup>c</sup> loco *RV*  
<sup>d</sup> Acta *M p. c.*      <sup>e</sup> his *RV*      <sup>f</sup> om. *DM*      <sup>g</sup> Wirgornensis *DM*      <sup>h</sup> Æthelwoldo  
*RV*; *DMRV add* episcopo      <sup>i</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>j</sup> Eadgarum *DMRV*

<sup>131</sup> Eadmer's account derives from Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 36. The council at Calne (Wiltshire) and the collapse of the floor there are recorded during the reign of King Edward in ASC (DEF) s.a. 978 and John of Worcester s.a. 977. In John's account, which is the

had departed from this life, however, their children, desiring to recover what they had lost through their parents, sent messengers to Scotland and hired there at great cost a certain man of magnificent eloquence, as rumour had it, called Beornhelm, and brought him back from there to defend their case against Dunstan. Thus the sons of the clerics assembled as one and found the king and Dunstan staying together in a certain dining-hall in the town called Calne, and fortified by that spokesman, who was the greatest hope for their victory, they pressed arguments concerning that ancient conflict upon them.<sup>131</sup> To those things Dunstan responded briefly with these words: 'I know that the charge which you are raising was settled long ago by divine utterance, and I do not think that it ought to be raised again in our midst in a fresh dispute. Also, I am of great age, and if possible I wish to spend the rest of my life, which I know to be but a short period of time, in peace. I laboured as long as I could. Since I am unable to bear the full load of work, I entrust to the Lord God the cause of his church's protection against insurgent enemies.' Thus he spoke, and behold, the floor beneath the feet of those who had gathered to oppose Dunstan immediately collapsed and they were all badly injured in their precipitous headlong fall together. But where Dunstan was standing with his followers there was no damage to the house, nor did anyone fall. Thus in this way the claim of the clerics was laid to rest and even to this day monastic life remains stable in that church. Moreover, throughout that period many other clerics of the same sort were also ejected from their churches and monks were substituted in their places. Thus religious life was augmented to such an extent throughout England that forty-eight monasteries for either monks or nuns were founded, with venerable men working with blessed Dunstan in this enterprise, namely Oswald, who was first bishop of Worcester and afterwards of York, and Æthelwold of Winchester, both of whom I mentioned earlier. And so everyone who wished to proceed according to the ways of his devising was in awe of the life and deeds of blessed Dunstan.<sup>132</sup>

58. [35 Stubbs] While these things were happening the business which had kept king Edgar from being crowned in royal fashion was resolved; with the bishops, abbots, other leaders, and all the nobility

fullest, it is stated that a council of all the English nobility was being held there, but he does not give any indication of the topics discussed.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Ezek. 24: 14.

eis astante innumera populorum multitudine, imposuit illi coronam regni, gaudentibus cunctis, et iubulantibus Deo in uoce laudis et exultationis.<sup>133</sup> Ipso autem post biennium, quo haec facta sunt, immatura morte praeuento,<sup>134</sup> Eadwardo<sup>a</sup> filio suo totum regnum haereditario iure reliquit.

59. Qui<sup>b</sup> Edwardus<sup>c</sup> cum in regem consecrari deberet, nonnulli de principibus terrae contraire ne rex fieret nisi sunt, cum quia morum illius seueritatem qua in suorum excessus acriter saeuire consueuerat suspectam habebant, tum quia matrem eius,<sup>d</sup> licet legaliter nuptam, in regnum tamen non magis quam patrem eius, dum eum genuit,<sup>135</sup> sacratam fuisse sciebant. Sed Dunstanus, discretionem et industria confisus adolescentis, unum non metuens, et, obseruato paternae haereditatis et testamenti iure,<sup>e</sup> aliud contemnens, arrepto sanctae crucis uexillo, medius constitit, et per rationem cunctis quae obiciebantur elisis, Edwardum<sup>f</sup> regem constituit, et constituto paternum affectum, consilium et auxilium in omni negotio, dum uixit, exhibere curauit. Rex quoque ita mores suos in omnibus et per omnia componebat, ita totum regnum sanctis legibus disponebat, ut et actus eius Deo placerent, et eo quod in suscipiendo regno ei contradixerant quique sibimet ipsis displicerent. Sed illo post aliquot annos per fraudem nouercae suae interfecto,<sup>136</sup> Æthelredus filius ipsius malae mulieris in regnum substitutus est, matris ignominia magis quam Edgari patris sui sollertia praeditus. Cuius proeuctio non usquequaque

<sup>a</sup> Edwardo *LaRV*    <sup>b</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>c</sup> Eadwardus *DM*    <sup>d</sup> illius *RV*  
<sup>e</sup> iure et testamenti *D*    <sup>f</sup> Eadwardum *DM*

<sup>133</sup> Edgar's coronation took place at Bath on 11 May 973; see ASC s.a. 973, John of Worcester s.a. 973, and McGurk's comment in John of Worcester, ii. 423 n. 8.

<sup>134</sup> Edgar died on 8 July 975, and was buried at Glastonbury; see John of Worcester s.a. 975 and McGurk's comment in John of Worcester, ii. 425 nn. 7 and 8.

<sup>135</sup> Eadmer makes a particular point that Edward was the son of Edgar's first wife Æthelflæd, to whom he was legitimately married (see c. 56 above). In 964, however, Edgar was remarried to Ælfthryth, the daughter of the ealdorman of Devon Ordgar, and widow of the ealdorman of East Anglia Æthelwold (see John of Worcester s.a. 964, ASC (DF) s.a. 965; for charter evidence showing Ælfthryth as queen in 964, see Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, p. 164). Ælfthryth bore Edgar two sons, Edmund (who died c. 971; cf. ASC (A) s.a. 971, (DE) s.a. 970, John of Worcester s.a. 971), and Æthelred. There is some evidence to show that despite Eadmer's claims to the contrary, there were many doubts about the legitimacy of Edward; the evidence was set out by Keynes, who noted that there are no charters attested by Æthelflæd as queen, that Ælfthryth is cited in a witness list of 966 (Sawyer, 745) as 'legitima prefati regis coniunx', and that before his untimely death during Edgar's lifetime, Edmund (and not his half-brother Edward) was regarded as the heir apparent (*The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 164–5). Regarding Edward's reputation

of the kingdom brought together, and with a countless multitude of people in attendance, Dunstan placed the crown of the kingdom on his head before them, and everyone rejoiced and shouted out with words of praise and exaltation to God.<sup>133</sup> Two years after these things were done, however, Edgar was taken away by an untimely death<sup>134</sup> and left the entire kingdom to his son Edward by hereditary right.

59. When this Edward ought to have been consecrated as king, many of the princes of the land sought to oppose that he should be made king, on the one hand because they were wary of the severity of his character with which he had customarily criticized the excesses of his men fiercely and on the other because they knew that his mother, though legally married, had not, however, been consecrated to the kingdom—just as his father had not—when she gave birth to him.<sup>135</sup> But Dunstan, not fearing the one argument, since he trusted in the discretion and industry of the young man, and despising the other, since the law of paternal inheritance and Edgar's will had been observed, seized the banner of the holy cross and stood in their midst, and when all the things which had been raised in objection were refuted by reason he made Edward king and he took care to offer paternal affection, counsel, and assistance to the one thus appointed in every matter for as long as he lived. The king also adjusted his customs in all matters and ways, and managed the entire kingdom with sacred laws in such a way that his deeds were pleasing to God, and all who had opposed him when he was assuming the kingdom were troubled in their minds for having done that. But after a few years he was killed through the treachery of his stepmother,<sup>136</sup> and Æthelred, the son of that evil woman, took his place in the kingdom; he was endowed more with the ignominy of his mother than with the astuteness of his father, Edgar. His promotion did not at all sit well

for moral severity, see Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 449; Byrhtferth portrays the council discussing the succession as divided between Æthelred, who appealed to some because he was gentler in his speech and deeds, and Edward, who struck terror into all because of his severity.

<sup>136</sup> Edward was murdered at Corfe (Dorset). Byrhtferth states that his murder occurred ten months after he was made king (Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 449), and it is recorded in ASC (AC) s.a. 978, John of Worcester s.a. 978, ASC (DEF) s.a. 979, where the day is given as 18 Mar. Byrhtferth does not blame Ælfthryth for this crime, but supporters of Æthelred ('sui fratris zelantes . . . ministri'), and the tradition that Ælfthryth was the wicked stepmother behind the whole plot, which Eadmer derives from Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 37, appears to have begun with the *Passio Sancti Eadwardi Regis et Martyris*; see the detailed discussion of Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 166–74.

sedit Dunstano. Ideo tamen, quod proximus regni haeres existebat, compleuit ei ius regium,<sup>137</sup> sciens se, inoffensis legibus terrae atque principibus, id non posse transferre in quenquam alium. At tamen illum solio regali potitum, seuero quodam uerborum tonitruo quia per sanguinem fratris regnum obtinuerit<sup>a</sup> increpauit, et quod in sanguine uicturus ac posterī illius crudeli barbarorum incurso deuastandi, tota etiam terra per plurima saecula saeuo<sup>b</sup> illorum dominatu foret depopulanda praedixit. Quae licet, se uiuente, euentura negarit, euentura tamen omnimodo esse nimis ueraci, ut et<sup>c</sup> in<sup>d</sup> cronicis legimus, et hodie<sup>e</sup> uidemus, prophetia asseruit.<sup>138</sup> Accelerabit, cum sibi placuerit, omnipotens Deus quam subsecuturam promisit liberationem, per tanti uatis sui merita et intercessionem. Et quidem illum spiritu prophetiae claruisse, non tantum hinc, sed et ex nonnullis aliis quae constat eum ueraciter praedixisse confirmamus, et id subiecto exemplo probamus.

60. [36 Stubbs] Quodam<sup>f</sup> tempore uenit Cantuariam supra memoratus Athelwoldus,<sup>g</sup> Wentanus episcopus, et aliquot diebus ibi<sup>h</sup> detentus est. Detentus est etiam Rofensis episcopus qui illo simul uenerat,<sup>139</sup> detinente utrosque patre Dunstano caritatiua affectione, dulciflua uitae perennis contemplatione, diuini uerbi collatione, et sacrorum morum exortatione et instructione. Cum autem ipse pontificum pater comitatus ipsis duobus episcopis Cantuaria decederet, et pariter longius ab urbe remotos, quenque ab altero destinati hospitii uia dirimeret, ambo pontifices a Dunstano benedici petentes, ab eo diuertere, et suum iter cupiebant accelerare. Verum ipso

<sup>a</sup> obtinuerat *RV*    <sup>b</sup> saeuo *M*    <sup>c</sup> et ut *RV*    <sup>d</sup> om. *V*    <sup>e</sup> hodie et *RV*  
<sup>f</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>g</sup> Etheluuodus *M*; Etheluuoldus *RV*    <sup>h</sup> illic *R*

<sup>137</sup> Æthelred was consecrated by Dunstan and Oswald at Kingston; see John of Worcester s.a. 978, ASC (CDE) s.a. 979. For a date in 978, possibly 14 Apr., see the comment of McGurk in John of Worcester, ii., p. 430 n. 2; for 979, Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, p. 233 n. 7. Keynes noted that 'Æthelred would have been a boy not more than twelve years old when he became king' (p. 174).

<sup>138</sup> Eadmer repeats this story in *HN*, p. 3, where Dunstan's prophecy foretells a period of great troubles and moral decline in English society which form the background to Anselm's appointment as archbishop. By chronicles, Eadmer almost certainly refers, *inter alia*, to the ASC; the A version of this was brought to Canterbury sometime in the early 11th c., and contains alterations made there which bring its chronology into line with that of the *Vita S. Odonis* (see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 14 note).

<sup>139</sup> This incident is derived from Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 38, where the other bishop mentioned by Eadmer is not named. Æthelwold died in 984, and there is no record of any

with Dunstan. In so far as he was the nearest heir to the throne, however, Dunstan fulfilled the laws of kingship in favour of Æthelred,<sup>137</sup> knowing that he could not transfer the kingship to anyone else without breaking the laws of the land and offending its leaders. Nevertheless, when he had gained the royal throne Dunstan attacked him with a thunderous and savage storm of words because he had obtained the throne by his brother's blood, and predicted that he would live in blood and that his descendants would be destroyed by a cruel invasion of barbarians and, moreover, that the whole country would be depopulated for many centuries by the fierce domination of those men. Though he said that these things would not happen while he was alive, nevertheless, he asserted in a very accurate prophecy that these things would eventually come to pass in every detail, just as we read in chronicles and see today.<sup>138</sup> When it pleases him, almighty God will quickly bring to pass the freedom which he promised will follow, through the merits and intercession of such a mighty seer of his. Moreover, I can confirm that Dunstan was renowned for his spirit of prophecy not just from this incident alone, but also from several other events which it is agreed he foreshadowed truly, and I will demonstrate this from the following example.

60. [36 Stubbs] On a certain occasion that Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, mentioned earlier, came to Canterbury and was occupied there for several days. The bishop of Rochester, who had come there at the same time, was also occupied,<sup>139</sup> father Dunstan occupied them both with his loving affection, mellifluous contemplation of the eternal life, by his exposition of the divine word, and by his exhortation and teaching of the holy way of life. When that father of bishops had departed from Canterbury with those two bishops as companions and they had travelled together for a distance from the city until the road which would take them to their destinations was about to divide each one from the other, both bishops sought to be

bishop of Rochester dying at this time; on the contrary, evidence from charters indicates that Bishop Ælfstan was the bishop of Rochester from the beginning of Æthelred's reign until 994 (cf. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, tables 2 and 3, and p. 179 n. 99). However, it also appears from charter evidence that Ælfstan fell out of favour soon after the death of Æthelwold, and did not return to court until 988. This disfavour seems to be linked directly to a campaign undertaken by Æthelred against Rochester in 986 which is mentioned in ASC (CDEF) s.a. 986, John of Worcester s.a. 986, and in Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 39; for discussion, see Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 176–9. Osbern's account of the Bishop of Rochester's death may thus preserve some memory of Ælfstan's disgrace in the wake of Æthelwold's death.

manum extendente ad benedicendum, subito in<sup>a</sup> lacrimas<sup>b</sup> acerbas erupit, coeptaque benedictionis uerba singultus subsequens interrupit. Illis uero ad rem grandi stupore perterritis, quidnam haberet quod tam anxie fleret sciscitati sunt. Respondit: 'Fleo, quia uos quos modo sanos et alacres uideo<sup>c</sup> in hac uita me nequaquam amplius uisurum admodum doleo. Nam in proximo estis morituri,<sup>d</sup> et ad gaudia regni caelestis transeuntes, me in huius uitae miseriis relicturi.' Cui cum ipsi dicerent, 'Ne, pater, oramus de nostra morte ita loquaris', 'Fixum', ait, 'quod dixi, tenete, quoniam sic est et omnino immutabile.' In his dato altrinsecus osculo pacis, ab inuicem diuisi sunt.

61. Igitur<sup>e</sup> antistes Rofensis<sup>f</sup> mox ubi sui pontificatus ciuitatem ingressus est elanguit, et euolutis in infirmitate paucis diebus, defunctus est. Wintoniensis uero priusquam ad sedem suam<sup>g</sup> uenire posset,<sup>h</sup> languore corripitur, et iuxta uerbum uiri Dei, non longa mora interueniente, finitur.<sup>140</sup> Ex cuius obitu grauis meror Dunstanum corripuit, cum quia tanti uiri ingens solatium amiserat, tum quia cui potissimum tenerae adhuc statum aecclesiae regendum committeret dubius fluctuabat. Quos fluctus ingerebant animo eius hinc monachi nuper intromissi, hinc clerici ab aecclesia illa eiecti. Monachi quippe suae professionis uirum habere episcopum praeoptabant, clerici uero sui ordinis hominem sibi praefici desiderabant; illi uidelicet per monachum in aecclesia sibi collata cupientes solidari, isti per clericum aecclesiae sibi ablatae sperantes reformari. Sed haec prouidens sapientia et sapiens prouidentia Dei citius determinauit. Nam per beatum Andream apostolum cui speciali quodam dilectionis affectu Dunstanum adhaerere Deus<sup>h</sup> concesserat<sup>i</sup> Dunstano mandauit, quatinus nichil haesitans Ælfegum<sup>j</sup><sup>141</sup> abbatem Bathoniensem constitueret Wentanae aecclesiae summum sacerdotem. Laetatus est Dunstanus in istis, et reddita Deo gratiarum actione pro beneficiis suis, in Ælfego perfecit quod ei per apostolum suum Deus ipse praecepit.

<sup>a</sup> om M    <sup>b</sup> lacrimas in RV    <sup>c</sup> uideo sanos et alacres RV    <sup>d</sup> morituri estis M  
<sup>e</sup> New chapter in DMRV    <sup>f</sup> RV add aecclesiae    <sup>g</sup> ueniret RV    <sup>h</sup> Deus  
adhaerere DM    <sup>i</sup> concesserat Deus adherere RV    <sup>j</sup> Elfigum R

<sup>140</sup> Æthelwold's death occurred on 1 Aug. 984 (*Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 41). Wulfstan states that he died at the town of Beddington (Surrey), but not that he was returning to Winchester from Canterbury; this element is introduced by Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 38.

<sup>141</sup> Ælfheah was consecrated Bishop of Winchester on 19 Oct. 984 according to ASC (A) s.a. 984 (see also John of Worcester s.a. 984). In 1006 he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was captured and murdered by Vikings in 1012.

blessed by Dunstan and desired then to depart from him and hasten on their way. But when he raised his hand in order to bless them he suddenly burst into bitter weeping and the sobbing which followed interrupted the words of the blessing he had begun to speak. They, indeed, were utterly terrified and greatly amazed at what was happening and asked what was it he was considering, which caused him to weep with such anxiety. He replied, 'I weep because I am very much grieved that I shall never again see you, who are now both alive and vigorous, in this life at all. For you will very soon both be dead and, crossing over to the joys of the heavenly kingdom, will leave me amidst the miseries of this life.' And when they said to him, 'Do not, father, we beg you, speak to us thus about our deaths', he said, 'Accept what I have said as fixed, since it is thus and is utterly unchangeable.' With these words they exchanged the kiss of peace and departed from each other.

61. And so the bishop of Rochester fell sick as soon as he had entered his pontifical city and died after lying stricken for a few days. But the bishop of Winchester was seized by illness before he could reach his see and met his end according to the prediction of the man of God before much time had elapsed.<sup>140</sup> His death caused deep grief to seize Dunstan, not only in that he had lost the immense consolation of such a great man, but also because he was very much in doubt as to whom he should entrust the task of governing a church which was still extremely unsettled. The doubts in his mind were caused on the one hand by the monks recently introduced and on the other by the clerics ejected from that church. For the monks preferred to have a man of their own calling as bishop, whereas the clerics wanted a person of their rank to be put in charge of them, that is, the former desired to be strengthened by a monk from the church bestowed upon them and the latter hoped to be reformed by a cleric of the church taken from them. But the provident wisdom and the wise providence of God determined this matter quite swiftly. For God ordered Dunstan, through the blessed apostle Andrew to whom he allowed Dunstan to devote himself with a special degree of love, to install Ælfheah,<sup>141</sup> abbot of Bath, without any hesitation as the highest priest of the church of Winchester. Dunstan rejoiced in these matters, and after he had rendered a prayer of thanks to God for his blessings he achieved by means of Ælfheah what God himself had commanded of him through his apostle.

62. [37 Stubbs] Multa<sup>a</sup> de hoc uiro iuxta quod multorum non spernenda testimonia ferunt adhuc litterarum memoriae ueraci stilo commendare possemus. Verum ne incultae narrationis prolixitate quemlibet grauemus, praetermissis illis, ad sacrum transitum eius<sup>b</sup> enarrandum cor et linguam praeparemus. Quod praeparare quia nostrae opis<sup>c</sup> non est, oremus ut, ipso de quo agimus interueniente, perficiatur ab eo cuius hoc donum et gratiam scimus esse.

63. Dies<sup>d</sup> igitur quo Dominus, Dei filius, deus noster, deuicta morte, caelum uictor ascendit celebris illucescebat,<sup>142</sup> et Dunstanus, expleto noctis officio, solus in aecclesia Saluatoris Cantuariae pro tanti gaudii consideratione Christo totus inhaerebat.<sup>e</sup> Interea conspexit, et ecce innumera candidatorum multitudo uirorum coronas aureas in capite gestantium, inestimabili fulgore micantium, per aecclesiae ianuas irrumpens coram se sub uno conglobata constitit, et una uoce sibi<sup>f</sup> huiusmodi salutationis alloquium persoluit: ‘Salue, Dunstane noster, salue. Mandat tibi quem pie desideras filius Dei, quatinus, si paratus es, uenias, et diem hanc ad cuius gaudium unica dilectione suspiras, nobis associatus, in sua curia gratiosus<sup>g</sup> et hilaris celebres.’ Ad quorum uultus et uoces ille imperterritus manens, sciscitatus est quinam essent. ‘Cherubin’, inquit, ‘ac seraphin sumus, quidque uelis ad haec respondeas uolumus.’ Tunc ille sacro cordis ac mentis affectu cum supplici uoce pro tanta gratia grates debitas agens, ‘Hac’, inquit, ‘die, qui honor, quae spes, quod gaudium in ascensione<sup>h</sup> Iesu Christi, dei et domini<sup>i</sup> omnium generi humano prouenerit, o sancti ac beati spiritus,<sup>i</sup> nostis. Nostis nichilo minus officii mei esse, oues ipsius Domini mei michi commendatas hac die uitae aeternae pane reficere, et eas quo tramite illum sequi debeant, quo praecessit, informare. Cuius etiam rei<sup>j</sup> gratia plurimi conuenere, nec meum est in tali negotio illos decipere. Propter haec quo me inuitatis non possum hodie uenire.’ Dixerunt: ‘Eia, prouide, ut die sabbati praesto sis, hinc nobiscum Romam transire, et coram summo pontifice “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus”<sup>143</sup> aeternaliter canere.’ Annuit ipse dicto, et illi in inuisibilia ab oculis eius dilapsi sunt.

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in DMV*    <sup>b</sup> eius transitum *DM*    <sup>c</sup> nostri operis *R*; nostrae operis *V*  
<sup>d</sup> *New chapter in MRV*    <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in V*    <sup>f</sup> *C p. c., LaNe; ei DMRV*  
<sup>g</sup> gloriosus *V*    <sup>h</sup> domini Iesu Christi dei *RV*    <sup>i</sup> *RV add dei*    <sup>j</sup> rei etiam *LaNe*

<sup>142</sup> In 988 Ascension Thursday occurred on 17 May.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Isa. 6: 1–3.

62. [37 Stubbs] I could have set down many further things concerning this man in a true narration for the literary record, following what the testimonies of many people, which ought not to be doubted, say. But lest I burden anyone with an abundance of rustic narration, let me pass over those things and prepare my heart and tongue to recount Dunstan's holy death. Since I lack the ability to prepare the narrative, let me pray by the intervention of the one with whom I am concerned here that it be completed by God; I know that this work is his gift and grace.

63. And so the festive day began to break on which the Lord, the Son of God, our God, victoriously ascended to heaven after conquering death,<sup>142</sup> and Dunstan, having finished the night Office, was alone in the church of our Saviour at Canterbury and was fixed in total concentration on Christ as he reflected upon such a joyous event. While he was doing this he looked up and, behold, a countless multitude of men in white, wearing golden crowns upon their heads and gleaming with unimaginable brightness, burst in through the doors of the church and stood gathered together in a group all around Dunstan and with one voice they rendered words of greeting to him in this way: ‘Greetings, beloved Dunstan, greetings. The Son of God, whom you piously desire, orders, if you are prepared, that you should come with us and celebrate this day, whose joys you yearn for with undivided love, thankfully and joyously in his court.’ Dunstan was not at all disturbed by their faces and voices, and asked who they might be. ‘We are the Cherubim and Seraphim’, they said, ‘and we would like to know how you wish to respond to these things.’ Then Dunstan, in a devout state of heart and mind, and rendering due thanks for such great favour with suppliant voice, said: ‘You know, O holy and blessed spirits, what honour, what hope, what joy occurred on this day for the human race though the ascension of Jesus Christ, Lord and God of everyone. You know, none the less, that it is my duty on this day to refresh the sheep of that same Lord of mine, who have been entrusted to me, with the bread of eternal life and to tell them by what path they ought to follow him, where he has gone before. Moreover, many people have assembled on this account and I must not let them down in such an important matter. For this reason I cannot come today to where you have invited me.’ They replied: ‘Well then, ensure that on the sabbath you are ready to travel with us from here to Rome and to sing “Holy, holy, holy”<sup>143</sup> forever before the supreme pontiff.’ He agreed with what they had proposed, and they floated off and disappeared from his view.

64. [38 Stubbs] Huius<sup>a</sup> admirandae uisionis presbiter quidam, Ælfgarus nomine, qui in excubiis domus Dei assiduus esse solebat, quique postmodum, sicut scriptura referente, accepimus insignis in Elmham<sup>b</sup> episcopus claruit,<sup>144</sup> conscius esse promeruit. Nam nocte eadem peruigil sacris meditationibus deditus, illucescente aurora, supra se ipsum per uisum raptus est, uiditque beatum Dunstanum cathedrae pontificali praesidere, et ei canonica iura clero dictanti formosorum iuuenum immensum agmen assistere. Audiuit etiam ea, quae proxime digessimus, eosdem iuuenes ei dixisse, quaeque retulimus ab eo illis responsa fuisse. Quod, ut reor, ea re uiro illi Dominus pateferi uoluit, quatinus et gloriam transituri fideli testimonio commendaret, et ipse ad eandem gloriam tanto indicio uehementius anhelaret, necnon antistes quandoque futurus eam suis utpote cognitam certius praedicaret.

65. Dunstanus<sup>c</sup> itaque de gaudio Domini sui ac de imminente sibi aeterna felicitate securus, gratus in Domino laetabatur, et spirituali ad omnes iocunditate replebatur. Iam diurni officii hora instabat, et pontifex illud celebraturus, festius ad altare processit. Populorum turba, quasi deitatis instinctu ad aliquid noui audiendum solito numerosior aduolans, aeclesiae parietes, uix multitudini sufficientes, undique complet. Lecto igitur ad missam euangelio, procedit episcopus populo praedicaturus, et regente cor eius et linguam Spiritu Sancto, locutus est qualiter antea nunquam fuit<sup>d</sup> locutus. Reuersus deinde ad altare, panem et uinum in corpus et sanguinem Iesu Christi immaculata benedictione conuertit. Vbi uero ad benedictionem super populum uentum est, iterum populo praedicaturus, ab altari digreditur, et debriatus Spiritu Dei, sic de ueritate corporis Christi, sic de futura resurrectione et uita perenni tractauit, ut ipsius perpetis uitae ciuem loqui putares, si personam loquentis agnitam prius non haberes. [39 Stubbs] De obitu tamen suo<sup>e</sup> mentionem nullam<sup>f</sup> fecit inter loquendum, pia uidelicet animi teneritudine et tenera pietate perunctus, nolens eis tristitiae malum duplicatum ingerere quibus diem mortis suae iudicabat in simplici tristitiae malo posse sufficere.

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*      <sup>b</sup> *Helmham R; Helmham V*      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in M*  
<sup>d</sup> *fuerit V*      <sup>e</sup> *tamen suo obitu M*      <sup>f</sup> *nullam mentionem DMRV*

<sup>144</sup> Ælfgar begins attesting charters as bishop of Elmham (Norfolk) in 1001 (Kcynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, table 3), and his death is recorded in ASC (D) s.a. 1021, John of Worcester s.a. 1021.

64. [38 Stubbs] A certain priest by the name of Ælfgar, who used to attend assiduously to the night services in the house of God and who afterwards, as writings tell us, was renowned as the distinguished bishop of Elmham,<sup>144</sup> was honoured to witness this wondrous vision. For on that same night he had stayed awake and devoted himself to sacred meditation; but as dawn broke he was swept up above himself in a vision and saw blessed Dunstan sitting on the bishop's throne, and a huge crowd of beautiful young men stood about him as he dictated canon laws to the clergy. Moreover, he heard these same young men say these things, which we have just recounted, to Dunstan, and the things we recorded that he replied to them. And I believe that the Lord wished for this to be revealed to that man so that he might both commit the glory of the one about to depart to faithful testimony and aspire the more ardently himself for that same glory because of this revelation, and also so that later when he would become bishop he might preach about it more certainly to his people since it was known to him.

65. And so secure in the joy of his Lord and eternal felicity that was imminent for him, Dunstan rejoiced with thanks in the Lord and was filled with spiritual happiness towards everyone. Now the time for the daily office was upon him and the bishop advanced towards the altar in festive manner intending to celebrate it. As if inspired by God to come together in a larger number than usual in order to hear something special, a crowd of people filled the church so that its walls were scarcely able to contain the multitude on every side. And when the Gospel for the mass had been read the bishop came forward to preach to the people and with the Holy Spirit controlling his heart and tongue he spoke as he had never spoken before. Then, returning to the altar, by the immaculate blessing he changed the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. But when the time came for the blessing of the people he departed from the altar to preach again to the people, and inebriated with the spirit of God he expounded concerning the real existence of the body of Christ and about the future resurrection and eternal life, so that you might have thought that it was a citizen of that same perpetual life speaking, had you not known the speaker earlier. [39 Stubbs] He made no mention of his own death, however, among the things he was saying, because he was infused with holy tenderness of spirit and gentle holiness and did not wish to heap a double blow of sadness upon them, for whom he deemed the day of his death would be a sufficiently sad blow on its

Sermone finito, altare repetiit, et pontificalem benedictionem super populum edidit. Interea nimium mente uulnerabatur,<sup>145</sup> metuens uidelicet ne carissimi sui quos deserebat improuiso mortis suae iaculo percussi atrocius dolerent, quam si, antequam ad ictum ueniret, illud praeuiderent. Vnde data benedictione, tertio populum cunctis stupentibus adiit. Mox autem ut ad loquendum os aperuit, tanta claritate uultus eius resplenduit, ut in toto illo conuentu nemo esset qui radios oculorum irreuerberata acie in eum figere posset. [40 Stubbs] Quae ergo dulcedo, quae suauitas, quae iocunditas repleuerit corda et ora cunctorum qui praesentes quae dicebantur meruerunt intelligere, uerbo uel<sup>a</sup> scripto exponere scio nulli esse possibile. Sed ubi seruus Dei instantem sui obitus diem detegere coepit, omnis exultatio merore concutitur, et tali merore, ut ipse pater, qui iam gaudiis perennibus inserebatur, motus admiranda pietate qua praeditus erat unus de merentibus esse uideretur. Veruntamen iniecta ui spiritui suo, lacrimans lacrimantes consolabatur, dicens inter alia eos<sup>b</sup> nequaquam debere de transitu illius dolere quem non labor aut poena,<sup>c</sup> sed quies et gloria perpes exciperet. Dicebat etiam neminem uerae caritatis radice fundatum<sup>146</sup> qui magis suum temporale commodum quam proximi perpetuum diligeret emolumentum. Ad firmiter quoque consolationis ipsorum promisit in spe gratiae misericordis Dei, quod licet illis corpore absens fieret, nunquam tamen eis praesentia spiritus sui abesset.<sup>147</sup> Finitis huiusce modi dictis, commendauit omnes Christo, et demum illis adhuc gloriosum uultum eius desiderantibus, ad mensam Domini, uitam suam epulaturus, ascendit.<sup>148</sup>

66. Ipsa<sup>d</sup> die cum a mensa, sumpto cibo, surrexisset, uenerando suorum coetu stipatus, oratorium petiit, designatoque loco in quo sepeliri uolebat, sepulchrum sibi praeparari praecepit. Inde iam languor sacri corporis artus inuadit, et sua Dunstanus inualida membra quieti contradit. Itaque sexta sequenti<sup>e</sup> feria<sup>149</sup> lecto decumbit, et incessabili mentis deuotione Deo intentus, omnes aduentantes

own. When the sermon was finished he returned to the altar and bestowed his pontifical blessing upon the people. At the same time he was acutely wounded in his mind<sup>145</sup> because he feared that his dearest friends, whom he was leaving behind, would suffer more grievously if pierced by the unforeseen lance of his death than if they had been aware of it before the blow befell them. Then when he had given the blessing, to everyone's amazement he advanced towards the people for a third time. As soon as he opened his mouth to speak to them, however, his face was resplendent with such great radiance that there was no one in that whole congregation who was able to look directly at him without having to turn their eyes aside. [40 Stubbs] I know that it is impossible for anyone to describe either with voice or in writing what sweetness, what delight, what happiness filled the hearts and mouths of everyone present there who merited to understand what was being said. But when the servant of God began to reveal that the day of his death was upon him, all the exultation was shattered by grief, and with such great grief that the father, who was now being admitted to the eternal joys, was moved with admirable compassion—for which he was renowned—and himself seemed to be one of the mourners. Yet with strength filling his spirit, though weeping he consoled those weeping, and said to them among other things that they ought not to mourn over the death of one who would not be received by either pain or punishment, but rather by rest and eternal glory. He said, moreover, that there was no one firmly grounded in true love<sup>146</sup> who cherished his own temporal comfort more than the eternal profit of one close to him. And in order to console them more, in the hope of God's grace and mercy he promised them that though he might be absent from them in body, his spiritual presence would never be absent from among them.<sup>147</sup> And when he had finished speaking in this manner he commended them all to Christ, and finally with them still longing for his glorious countenance he ascended to the table of the Lord where he would feast upon his life.<sup>148</sup>

66. On that same day when he had finished his meal and risen from the table he went to the oratory, flanked by a dignified gathering of his friends, and when he had indicated the place in which he wished to be buried he ordered a tomb to be prepared for himself. Thereupon languor immediately began to fill the limbs of his blessed person and Dunstan handed his weakened body over to rest. And so on the next day, Friday,<sup>149</sup> he lay down on his bed and intent on God with unceasing devotion of spirit he urged all those coming to see him to

<sup>a</sup> *C p. c., LaNe;* seu *DMRV*    <sup>b</sup> *eo R*    <sup>c</sup> *gemitus RV*    <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in MRV*  
<sup>e</sup> *sequenti sexta R*

<sup>145</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. 3: 16.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Eph. 3: 17.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 5: 3; Col. 2: 5.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 21.

<sup>149</sup> 18 May.



ad sectanda uestigia Iesu Christi incitabat. [41 Stubbs] Sic dies ille defluxit, et laboris Dunstani ultimus beataeque quietis primus dies illuxit. Confluit clerus et populus omnis, trepidi praestolantes euentum quem de se praedixerat pastor communis.

67. Et<sup>a</sup> iam Dunstanus, gaudium Domini sui intrare auidus, horam angelica sibi uisitacione praedictam corpore Christi saginatus et sanguine laetus expectabat. Tunc subito inuisibili quadam deitatis uirtute cum lecto in quo iacebat usque ad domus superiora leuatus est, sed trabibus ne ultra ueheretur obsistentibus, leniter est ad terram demissus. Pauore percussi,<sup>b</sup> nonnulli circumsedentium in diuersa dissiliunt. Sed illo iam demisso, cum quasi ad quiescentem reuerterentur, iterum sicut prius ad trabes rapitur, eisque offensis ad solum demittitur. Hoc et tercio factum est. Tunc pius pater congregatos circa se conspiciens filios suos, dixit: 'Fratres mei dilectissimi, oues pascuae Dei,<sup>150</sup> uos ipsi oculis uestris intuiti estis quo uocor, quo uadam. Nostis uiam qua inessi, nostis opera quibus insudau, dum uixi, et ecce consummatio illorum in superna me tollit. Quapropter breuiter moneo, ortor, et consulo, quatinus si, quo uado uultis uenire, uia qua inessi non pigeat uos ire. Ipse benignus Deus, qui direxit iter meum ad se, dirigat ad omnem uoluntatem suam corda et corpora uestra in pace.'<sup>151</sup> Et responso a cunctis 'Amen', transiit, et angelicis eum choris ducentibus, migravit ad Christum qui ei factus est corona et perenne praemium.<sup>152</sup> [42 Stubbs] Sepultus sane est<sup>c</sup> in loco quo ipse disposuerat, loco scilicet ubi cotidie diuinum officium a fratribus celebrabatur, qui fuit ante gradus quibus ad altare Domini Christi ascendebatur.<sup>153</sup> Quod ab eo grandi pietatis affectu dispositum non dubitamus. Volebat etenim benignissimus pater filiis suis quos ueraciter<sup>d</sup> diligebat, quosque in mundi turbine post se relinquebat,

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRV*

<sup>b</sup> *conculsi RV*

<sup>c</sup> *est sane DM*

<sup>d</sup> *om. DM*

<sup>150</sup> Cf. John 21: 17.

<sup>152</sup> Dunstan died on 19 May 988. The day of his death is not mentioned in ASC (CDEF) s.a. 988, but is in John of Worcester s.a. 988 ('xiiii kalend. Iunii'). 19 May is also given as Dunstan's feast day in the calendar which precedes a psalter written at Christ Church c.1020 (London, BL, MS Arundel 155; for the text see *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (London, 1934), p. 174, and for the date T. A. Heslop, 'The Canterbury calendars and the Norman Conquest', in Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury*, pp. 53–85, at 54), and in the calendar of a pre-Conquest prayer book from Winchester written c.1029–46 (now contained in London, BL, Cotton MS Nero A. ii; see *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, ed. B. J. Muir (Henry Bradshaw Society, ciii; London, 1988), p. 7, and for the date, *ibid.*, pp. xiv–xvi).

<sup>151</sup> Cf. 2 Thess. 3: 5.

follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. [41 Stubbs] And thus that day ebbed away and the final day of Dunstan's labour and the first day of his blessed rest dawned. The clergy and all the people streamed together and fearfully awaited the event which their common shepherd had predicted for himself.

67. And now Dunstan, who was keen to enter into the joy of his Lord and had partaken of the body and blood of Christ, joyfully awaited the moment predicted by the angelic visitation. Then suddenly, by some unseen power of the Deity, he was raised to the ceiling of the house together with the bed upon which he was lying, but because the beams were in the way and he could not be carried any further he was gently returned to the earth. Some of those sitting around him were struck by terror and leapt up and scattered. But when he was once again on the ground and they had returned to him, now apparently at rest, he was a second time swept up to the beams as before, and then returned to the floor because they barred the way. And this happened again a third time. Then looking upon his sons gathered about him the holy father said: 'My most beloved brothers, sheep of God's pasture,<sup>150</sup> you have seen with your very own eyes whence I am called, whither I am going. You know the road which I have trod, you know the works over which I have toiled during my lifetime, and behold, the sum of these things lifts me to the heavens. Wherefore I briefly advise, urge, and counsel you that, if you wish to come where I am going, you do not hesitate to travel upon the road which I have trod. May loving God himself, who directed my path to him, steer your hearts and bodies to his every wish peacefully.'<sup>151</sup> And when they all responded 'Amen', he died and with angelic choirs leading him he passed over to Christ, who became his crown and eternal reward.<sup>152</sup> [42 Stubbs] And he was buried in the place he had chosen, namely in the place where the divine office used to be celebrated daily by the brothers, which was in front of the steps by which you ascend to the altar of Christ the Lord.<sup>153</sup> I do not doubt that he made this arrangement from a sense of great love. For this most kindly father wished even in bodily death to be constantly present there in the midst of the sons whom he truly loved and was leaving behind him in

<sup>153</sup> For a plan of the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral showing the location of Dunstan's tomb, see Brooks, *The Early History*, p. 38 (fig. 2); for discussion of the original tomb, p. 43, and also N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, 'The cult of St Dunstan at Christ Church, Canterbury', in Ramsay et al., *St Dunstan*, pp. 311–23, at 311–12.

etiam defunctus corpore iugiter interesse, quatinus quae uellent, sicut uiuo fiducialiter<sup>a</sup> coram eo depromere possent, cuius spiritum ex promissione quam ipsis fecerat sibi<sup>b</sup> semper affuturum non dubitent. Et hoc quidem ita dixerim secundum quod ex eo tempore factum scimus, et usque hodie fieri a monachis ipsius aecclisiae<sup>c</sup> circa sacratissimum corpus eius conspicimus. Cotidie nanque de suis necessitatibus tam corporis, quam animae leuamen desiderantes, illuc currunt, et sicut a piissimo patre inter eos corporaliter conuersante suffragia petunt. Vt autem iustae petitiones alicuius coram eo fusae inefficaces existant, et miracula quae post haec de multis pauca scribemus,<sup>d</sup> et ipsi qui eius beneficia<sup>e</sup> experiuntur singulis diebus penitus negant. Non ergo dubitandum haec illum ante obitum suum praescisse, et iccirco se suis spiritu affuturum promisisse, hisque de causis corpus suum inter eos pietate plenus uoluisse potissimum poni.

68. Miseriam<sup>f</sup> praeterea quae post decessum eius Angliam totam inuoluit, et inuoluendo pessumdedit, satis est in cronicis et in nostris tribulationibus, me tacente, uidere. Vnde cur quid inde scribam non uideo, quoniam sine omni littera res ipsa tam euidentis est, ut ueras miserias non possit ibi cernere nemo. Finis illarum quis, uel quando sit euenturus ignoro, sed tantum procul dubio ignorare non queo quod omnia quae fecit nobis Deus in uero iudicio fecit, quia peccauimus ei et mandatis eius non oboediuimus. Quapropter quid aliud dicatur aut agatur, uis enim humana et consilium omne sublatum est, non intelligo, nisi ut humiliato corde rogetur Deus qui nos contriuit quatinus det gloriam nomini suo, et faciat nobiscum secundum multitudinem misericordiae suae, ac per merita et intercessionem beatissimi patris nostri Dunstani qui haec euentura<sup>g</sup> praedixit eruat nos in mirabilibus suis.<sup>154</sup> Quod siue tu, bone Domine, et pie omnipotens Deus, aliquando propter immensam misericordiam tuam feceris, siue propter inscrutabilem iusticiam tuam minime feceris, sit nomen tuum, Deus Israel, benedictum in saecula. AMEN.

EXPLICIT VITA <sup>h</sup>BEATI DVNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI  
CANTVARIENSIS<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> om. DM    <sup>b</sup> om. M    <sup>c</sup> aecclisiae ipsius DM    <sup>d</sup> dicemus M, glossing scribemus s.l.    <sup>e</sup> beneficia eius DM    <sup>f</sup> New chapter in MRV    <sup>g</sup> uentura DM  
<sup>h-h</sup> SANCTI DVNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI DOROBERNENSIS D; SANCTI DVNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI MR; SANCTI DVNSTANI CANTVARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI V

this troubled world, so that they would be able to declare confidently in his presence whatever they wanted, as if he were alive, and not doubting that his spirit would always be with them, in keeping with the promise he had made them. And indeed I may say this, from what I know happened since that time and from what I see still being done today around his most sacred body by monks of this church. For those who desire solace in their needs, whether of body or soul, hasten there every day and plead for assistance as if from a most blessed father living among them physically. Both the miracles—and I shall describe a few of the many of them after these things—and the people themselves who experience his benefits every day openly proclaim that every just petition poured forth by any person before him has been addressed. Therefore it should not be doubted that Dunstan knew these things before his death and so promised that he would be amongst his people in spirit, and for these reasons and being full of love he desired most of all for his body to be placed in their midst.

68. Furthermore, it is clear enough from the chronicles and from our own tribulations without my saying anything what misery has enveloped all of England since his death, and by enveloping it has ruined it. Wherefore I do not see why I should write anything about it since those events are so clearly evident without a single word being written that there is no one who could not see the real misery there. I do not know what the outcome of these things might be or when it will occur, but I have no doubt at all that everything which he has done, God has done in true judgement of us because we have sinned against him and not obeyed his commandments. Wherefore, since I do not have the physical strength and have no one to advise me, I do not know what might be said or done, except that God, who has ground us down, should be begged with humbled heart that he give glory to his own name and deal with us according to the bounty of his mercy and the merits and intercession of our most blessed father, Dunstan, who predicted these things would happen, and that he deliver us according to his wondrous works.<sup>154</sup> O good Lord and loving omnipotent God, whether you do this at some stage because of your bountiful mercy or do not do it on account of your inscrutable justice, may your name be blessed forever, O God of Israel. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE LIFE OF BLESSED DUNSTAN,  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Dan. 3: 42-3.

INCIPIVNT <sup>a</sup>QVAEDAM DE MIRACVLIS  
QVAE IDEM PATER MVNDO EXEMPTVS  
FECIT IN MVNDO <sup>a</sup>

1. NONNVLLA <sup>b</sup> quae de uita beati<sup>c</sup> Dunstani uitaeque decessu aut<sup>d</sup> scripto, aut ab iis<sup>e</sup> qui ab eius tempore usque ad nos per successus aetatum<sup>f</sup> fluxere accepimus, in<sup>g</sup> quantum Deus, illius interuenientibus meritis,<sup>h</sup> concedere dignatus est, succincte digessimus. Nichilo igitur minus<sup>i</sup> succincte<sup>j</sup> digerere placuit quae uel<sup>k</sup> ad sacratissimum corpus eius, uel ad beatam memoriam beati<sup>l</sup> nominis eius partim scripto, partim ueracium uirorum relatu, partim proprio uisu gesta didicimus.

2. Caecus<sup>m</sup> quidam prope ciuitatem Cantuariam habitabat.<sup>1</sup> Hic admonitus in somno, ad tumbam beati Dunstani a suis perductus est. Vbi eo in oratione pernoctante, a tumulo ipso mira suauiissimi odoris fragrantia prodiuit. Interea amissorum luminum loca pruritus uehemens<sup>n</sup> subit, et ad defricationem<sup>o</sup> illorum caecus statim lumen perditum laetus recepit. Hoc factum in breui circumquaque innotuit, et Dunstanum iam<sup>p</sup> mundo reuixisse discurrens fama personuit.<sup>2</sup>

3. Erant<sup>q</sup> quoque tres pauperulae mulieres quae uisum et uitae subsidium iuxta perdiderant, et pariter in una mansione degebant. Harum curam beatus Dunstanus, dum uixit,<sup>r</sup> habebat, et eas inter alios aecclesiae praebendarios uitae necessariis sustentabat. Hae igitur, audito miraculo de caeci illuminatione, communi consilio ductae, ad aecclesiam<sup>s</sup> Saluatoris properant, sperantes se a beato uiro lumen perditum recuperaturas per quem<sup>t</sup> se meminerant<sup>u</sup> diu ab omni

<sup>a-a</sup> MIRACVLA EIVSDEM *DW*; QVAEDAM EIVS MIRACVLA *M*; PAVCA DE MIRACVLIS QVAE BEATVS DVNSTANVS DE HOC MVNDO TRANSLATVS PEREGIT *RV* <sup>b</sup> SVPERIORI OPERE NONNVLLA *W* <sup>c</sup> sancti *W*  
<sup>d</sup> que *W* <sup>e</sup> his *DMRV*; hiis *AbW* <sup>f</sup> temporum *M*, glossing etatum *s.l.*; etatis *W*  
<sup>g</sup> om. *W* <sup>h</sup> *M* adds et intercessionem eius <sup>i</sup> Nichilominus igitur *MRVj*  
<sup>j</sup> om. *W* <sup>k</sup> uel quae *RV* <sup>l</sup> om. *RV* <sup>m</sup> *New chapter in MRVW* <sup>n</sup> *C*  
*writes partly in mg.* <sup>o</sup> fricationem *W* <sup>p</sup> *W* adds iam <sup>q</sup> *New chapter in DMRVW* <sup>r</sup> dum uixit beatus Dunstanus *RV* <sup>s</sup> *RV* add sancti <sup>t</sup> om. *W*  
<sup>u</sup> meminerant se *W*

HERE BEGINS AN ACCOUNT OF SOME  
MIRACLES WHICH THE SAME FATHER  
WORKED IN THE WORLD AFTER HE  
HAD BEEN TAKEN FROM THIS WORLD

1. A number of things concerning the life of blessed Dunstan and his departure from life, which I learnt either from written records or from those who have handed down accounts through successive generations from his time right up to our day, I have recounted succinctly to the extent that God has deigned to permit me because of Dunstan's intercession and merit. And so it now pleases me no less to relate concisely what deeds I have learnt either from writings, from the accounts of truthful men, or by my own sight, were brought about in proximity to his most sacred body or through the blessed memory of his holy name.

2. A certain blind man lived near the city of Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> After having a visitation in a dream, he was led by his relatives to the tomb of blessed Dunstan. As he passed the night there in prayer a wondrous fragrance and most sweet odour came forth from that tomb. While this was happening the sockets which had been deprived of light began to itch strongly, and upon rubbing them the blind man at once happily received back the sight which he had lost. In no time at all this deed became known far and wide and fleet-footed rumour announced that Dunstan now lived again in this world.<sup>2</sup>

3. There were also three impoverished women who had lost both their sight and their means of living; they dwelt together in one house. While he was alive blessed Dunstan looked after them, sustaining them with life's necessities amongst the other poor people supported by the church. And therefore when these women heard about the miraculous restoration of sight to the blind man, drawn by common intention they hastened to the church of the Saviour, hoping to recover their lost sight by the intercession of the blessed man, through whom, they recalled,

<sup>1</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 2, states that the blind man came from Lenham (Kent). <sup>2</sup> Cf. Lucan iv. 574: 'discurrens fama per orbem'.

corporis egestate protectas. Procedunt ergo ad sepulchrum sancti, et inter orandum lucem quam petebant una recipiunt, magnumque gaudium in populos exinde spargunt.

4. Praediues<sup>a</sup> quidam presbiter et inter<sup>b</sup> suos nobilis paralitico morbo<sup>c</sup> percussus, totius corporis usum amiserat.<sup>3</sup> Hic ab amicis suasus, ut se ad requiem patris Dunstani transferri permetteret, renuit primo, indignum uidelicet<sup>d</sup> sibi fore superba mente existimans, si ipse, nobilis ac diues ‘turbae admixtus,’<sup>e</sup> Dunstanum pro adipiscenda sanitate<sup>f</sup> requireret. Verum cum, ingrauescente languore, seipsum ferre non posset, adqueiuit uoluntati suorum, atque<sup>g</sup> ad corpus sancti delatus est. Vbi die postera graui molestia defatigatus, sensit quendam per corpus suum quasi manum<sup>h</sup> hac et<sup>i</sup> illac ducere, ac<sup>j</sup> singulas membrorum suorum iuncturas consolidare. Confestim sanatus exiliens stetit, sullimi uoce Dei filium in famulo suo Dunstano, et Dunstanum in domino suo, Dei filio, benedicens. Exinde in sua gaudens hilarisque reuersus, post aliquot dies grande conuiuium fecit, uolens uicinos et amicos de reddita sibi sanitate congratulari. At ipsis inter epulas exultantibus, ac<sup>k</sup> Deum potentem<sup>l</sup> potentes non abicientem, sed cum mitibus atque pauperibus eis quoque suam misericordiam<sup>m</sup> conferentem, in uoce laudis simplici spiritu exultantibus, turbatus ille an se pauperibus annumerarent tumide quaerit. Et subdens, ‘Si me’, inquit, ‘per Dunstanum more pauperum<sup>n</sup> sanatum putatis, non est uerum, propterea quod pari modo michi sanitas prouenisset, si Dunstanus non fuisset.’ Necdum plene dicendi finem fecerat, et ecce pristino languore acerrime percussus, in uoces miserandas miser erupit, et infelix ultimum continuo flatum<sup>o</sup> emisit. Metus igitur et ueneratio multorum erga locum famuli Dei excreuit, et ex remotis partibus multi illuc confluebant, cum gratia recuperandae corporeae sanitatis, tum ut per eius merita mererentur liberari a suis peccatis.

5. [4 Stubbs] Inter<sup>p</sup> hos iuuenis quidam<sup>q</sup> uultu formaque decorus suorum humeris aduehitur, pedum quidem<sup>r</sup> officio penitus carens, atque a natiuitate mutus existens, incuruis scapulis, iam undecim

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*    <sup>b</sup> *in W*    <sup>c</sup> *morbo paralitico W*    <sup>d</sup> *scilicet W*  
<sup>e</sup> *turba mixtus W*    <sup>f</sup> *salute W*    <sup>g</sup> *et W*    <sup>h</sup> *quasi manum per corpus suum W*  
<sup>i</sup> *atque RV*    <sup>j</sup> *et WC*    <sup>k</sup> *et Wg*    <sup>l</sup> *omnipotentem W*    <sup>m</sup> *misericordiam suam V*  
<sup>n</sup> *more pauperum per Dunstanum W*    <sup>o</sup> *flatum continuo RV*    <sup>p</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*  
<sup>q</sup> *quidam iuuenis M*    <sup>r</sup> *quidem pedum V*

<sup>3</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 4, names the priest Ceowulf, and states that he came from Folkestone.

they had for a long time been protected from every bodily want. And so they went to the tomb of the saint and while they were praying they each received the sight that they were seeking, and because of that they spread great joy among the people.

4. A certain very wealthy priest of noble family had been stricken by paralysis and had lost the use of his whole body.<sup>3</sup> When urged by his friends to allow himself to be carried to the resting-place of father Dunstan he at first refused, obviously thinking in his pride that it would be unbecoming for him, a rich and noble man, to ask Dunstan to restore his health while intermingling with commoners. But when his sickness worsened so that he was no longer able to endure his existence, he acquiesced in the will of his friends and was carried to the body of the saint. When on the following day he lay exhausted and in great pain he sensed someone drawing as it were a hand here and there over his body, and making whole all the joints of his limbs. He was immediately cured and leapt up, and standing there with uplifted voice he blessed the Son of God in his servant Dunstan and Dunstan in his Lord, the Son of God. Returning from there happy and rejoicing to his own estates, after a few days he threw a grand feast, wanting his neighbours and friends to congratulate him on his return to health. But while they were enjoying themselves in the midst of the feasting and praising mighty God in simple spirit and voice of praise for not casting down the powerful, but for granting his mercy to them along with the meek and poor, the rich man was stirred up and asked in his pride if they were numbering him among the poor. And, moreover, he said, ‘If you think that I have been cured by Dunstan like poor people are, it is not true, because health would have been restored to me in any event, had Dunstan never existed.’ He had not yet finished uttering these words when, behold, he was severely stricken by his earlier illness; the wretch broke out in woeful cries and immediately that unhappy soul breathed his final breath. Thus fear and veneration increased in many people for the dwelling-place of the servant of God, and a multitude gathered there from distant regions, both to restore the health of their bodies and in order that they might deserve to be liberated from their sins through his merits.

5. [4 Stubbs] A certain young man, handsome in face and appearance, was carried forward through the crowds on the shoulders of his friends; he was completely unable to walk, had been mute since birth,

annis sursum nequibat aspicere. Hic itaque mox ubi sepulchrum <sup>a</sup>uiri sanctissimi<sup>a</sup> attigit, in<sup>b</sup> pedibus constitit, et erecto capite, linguam in laudem Dei laxauit, excelsa uoce clamans:<sup>c</sup> ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo, Alleluia.’<sup>4</sup> Sicque ex integro sanus sua laetus reuisit.

6. [5 Stubbs] Turbae<sup>d</sup> ad sepulchrum beati pontificis confluenti miscuit se quaedam pauperula mulier, ferens in ulnis paruulam filiam quam in lucem huius mundi profuderat caecam.<sup>5</sup> Incubuit ergo precibus pro filiae sospitate, et plures dies in hoc, quasi uane, consumpti sunt. Implorat fratres ecclesiae, et eos precum suarum adiutores efficit.<sup>e</sup> Orant sanctum in commune quatinus solita benignitate subueniat afflictae feminae. Tandem decima die coepit puella uidere, et in gremio matris recubans dixit ei: ‘Mater, mater, quaenam sunt ista quae conspicio?’ Ait:<sup>f</sup> ‘Vides, filia?’ Respondit: ‘Homo quidam forma decorus michi astitit, et ut haec speciosa<sup>g</sup> quae coram uideo considerare praecipit.’ Res itaque per totam ecclesiam<sup>h</sup> statim innotuit,<sup>h</sup> ac per magnum Dunstanum sua opera Christum renouasse in<sup>i</sup> illuminata caeca nata confluens multitudo innotuit.<sup>j</sup> Huius facti puram<sup>l</sup> ueritatem quidam addiscere cupientes, poma per pauimentum iaciunt, experiri uolentes, an ea more paruulorum puellula<sup>l</sup> insequens, directo<sup>m</sup> gressu, comprehendere posset. Illa post rotantia poma<sup>n</sup> materno gremio desilit, et arreptis illis, ad matrem alacris redit. Patuit ergo quod oculi qui prius sine luce patebant, iam luce perfusi, quae coram erant clare uidebant.

7. [6 Stubbs] Anus<sup>o</sup> quaedam uisum quem perdiderat in iuuentute,<sup>p</sup> recuperare desiderans in senectute, perducta est ad memoriam praeclari<sup>q</sup> Dunstani. Ibi precibus dedita, sed nil<sup>r</sup> remedii consecuta, ad sua unde uenerat regredi coepit. Et ecce, ascenso fluminis ponte,<sup>6</sup> ductor ipsius,<sup>s</sup> ab ea diffugiens, solam reliquit. Anxiata itaque spiritu exclamauit,<sup>t</sup> dicens: ‘Ah Dunstane, Dunstane, quam uane, immo quam malo meo ad te ueni. Quaesitum a te lumen nequaquam

<sup>a-a</sup> beatissimi uiri *W*    <sup>b</sup> om. *DM*    <sup>c</sup> proclamans *W*    <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in DMRV*  
<sup>e</sup> effecit *RV*    <sup>f</sup> *W* adds illa    <sup>g</sup> om. *W*    <sup>h-h</sup> patuit *W*    <sup>i</sup> om. *W*  
<sup>j</sup> innotuit *W*    <sup>k</sup> om. *W*    <sup>l</sup> puella *MW*    <sup>m</sup> recto *W*    <sup>n</sup> mala *W*    <sup>o</sup> *New chapter in DMRVW*  
<sup>p</sup> *RV* add sua    <sup>q</sup> beati *RV*    <sup>r</sup> nihil *W*    <sup>s</sup> illius *V*; eius *W*  
<sup>t</sup> clamauit *W*

<sup>4</sup> Luke 2: 14.

<sup>5</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 6, states that the girl was three years old.

<sup>6</sup> The river Stour, which flows through Canterbury (cf. Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 7).

and because he had curved shoulder blades he had not been able to look upwards for the past eleven years. But as soon as he had touched the tomb of that most holy man he stood on his feet, and holding his head upright he loosed his tongue in praise of God, crying out with voice raised on high: ‘Glory to God in the highest, Alleluia.’<sup>4</sup> And so, being completely restored to health, he returned home a happy man.

6. [5 Stubbs] A certain impoverished woman mixed in with the crowd surging towards the tomb of the blessed bishop, bearing in her arms a tiny young girl whom she had brought into the light of this world blind.<sup>5</sup> She prostrated herself in prayer for the health of her daughter, and many days were passed thus, apparently in vain. She pleaded with the brothers of that church and got them to assist her in her prayers. Together they prayed to the saint that he might come to the assistance of the afflicted woman with his accustomed kindness. Finally on the tenth day the girl began to see and lying back on her mother’s lap she said: ‘O mother, mother, what are those things that I can see?’ She asked: ‘Can you see, my daughter?’ And the daughter replied: ‘Some man, handsome in appearance, stood before me and ordered me to look upon these beautiful things which I see around me.’ And that incident quickly became known throughout the whole church, and the crowd assembling together cried out in thunderous tones that through mighty Dunstan Christ has renewed his miracles by curing the blind child. Certain people seeking to verify the truth of this deed threw apples onto the paving stones hoping to determine if the little girl could chase after them as children do, and running straight at them, grab them. She leapt from her mother’s lap, chased the rolling apples, and grabbing them she quickly returned to her mother. And thus it became clear that the eyes which had earlier been open but unseeing now were filled with light and that she could see the things around her clearly.

7. [6 Stubbs] A certain old woman seeking in her advanced age to recover the sight that she had lost in her youth was led before the tomb of illustrious Dunstan. After she had spent time in prayer there but had found no cure, she began to retrace her steps towards the house from which she had come. But behold, when she had walked up to the centre of the bridge over the river<sup>6</sup> her guide departed and left her alone. And distressed in spirit she cried out saying: ‘Alas Dunstan, O Dunstan, how vain, how injurious was my coming to you. Not only did I not

obtinui, et uae miserae,<sup>a</sup> lumen quo in meo ductore fruebar, per te amisi.' Dixit et e uestigio quosdam homines, per pontem ligna gestantes, apertis oculis uidit. Hos comitata, redit qua uenerat, et quae secum Dei pietas per <sup>b</sup>beatum uirum sit <sup>b</sup>operata <sup>c</sup>cunctis edixit.

8. [7 Stubbs] Teuto<sup>d</sup> quidam, Clemens nomine,<sup>e</sup> demens actione, ab episcopo suo pro crimine prauae uoluptatis et immanis arrogantiae sententia excommunicationis multatus fuerat. In interitum ergo carnis Sathanae traditus, per septem annos, siue loco manens, seu per diuersa terrarum spatia perditio sensu discurrens, corpore toto tremebat. Hic tandem ad sepulchrum patris Dunstani pertractus, in nocte purificationis sanctae<sup>f</sup> Mariae<sup>7</sup> ad inceptionem responsorii 'Videte miraculum' subito exiliit, demonem quo tenebatur multo cum<sup>g</sup> cruore euomuit, ac sic sanissimus effectus, ab omni laesione tanti flagelli, dum uixit, immunis permansit.

9. Ælfordus<sup>h</sup> nomine uir erat, cognomine Longus, per triginta annorum spatia, contractis membris, per terram reptans.<sup>8</sup> Hic a piissimo patre Dunstano mirabiliter curatus omnium ora in Dei laudem, et ex insolita sui proceritate uultus et uoces quorumque uertit in admirationem.

10. [8 Stubbs] Vnus<sup>i</sup> alter homo, carens unius pedis officio, loro astrictum ligneum sibi crus et pedem creauerat. Huic Dei amicus Dunstanus per uisum apprensus, suadet ad locum suae quietis accedere, pollicens eum illic sanitatem recuperare.<sup>j</sup> Ille uisioni credens, locum petiit, pro pollicita sibi sanitate precibus institit. Sicque per plures dies orans, sed nichil remedii sentiens, tedio simul ac<sup>k</sup> desperatione affectus, loco discessit,<sup>l</sup> ad locum de quo uenerat reuertim<sup>m</sup> desiderans. Iam medium uiae peregerat, et ecce beatus Dunstanus homini occurrens, inquit unde uenerit, uel quo uadat. Refert ille se ad

<sup>a</sup> *W* adds mihi <sup>b-b</sup> Dunstanum est *W* <sup>c</sup> *W* adds palam <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in MRVW* <sup>e</sup> Clemens nomine quidam *W* <sup>f</sup> beatae *W* <sup>g</sup> cum multo *V*  
<sup>h</sup> Ælfordus *RV*; Alwardus *W*; *New chapter in RVW* <sup>i</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*  
<sup>j</sup> recuperaturum *W* <sup>k</sup> et *W* <sup>l</sup> decessit *W* <sup>m</sup> conuertit *RV*

<sup>7</sup> 2 Feb.

<sup>8</sup> This story derives from Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 9. In his *Translatio S. Elphegi* Osbern also mentions that a monk named Ælward the Long, who had been permitted to serve Dunstan, was one of the two monks who broke open Ælfheah's tomb in London on 8 June 1023; see A. R. Rumble, 'Translatio S. Ælfeagi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martiris',

receive the illumination that I sought from you, but, woe is me, on account of you I have lost the sight that I enjoyed through my guide.' Thus she spoke, and straightaway with eyes now opened she saw men carrying wood over the bridge. She returned from whence she had come with them as companions and revealed to everyone what things the love of God had worked within her through that blessed man.

8. [7 Stubbs] A certain German, Clement by name and mad in his behaviour, had been punished with the sentence of excommunication by his own bishop for the crimes of depraved lust and immense arrogance. For seven years he had been in Satan's hands, to the detriment of his flesh, and his body trembled all over, whether he was staying in one place or wandering senselessly through diverse lands over the earth. At length he was drawn to the tomb of father Dunstan on the eve of the Purification of Blessed Mary,<sup>7</sup> at the beginning of the responsory 'Behold the miracle' he suddenly leapt up and vomited out the demon by which he was possessed with an abundance of blood, and thus, being thoroughly cleansed, he remained immune to every harm of such a great scourge for as long as he lived.

9. There was a man named Ælfward, also known as 'the Long', who for thirty years crawled along the ground on deformed limbs.<sup>8</sup> This man, when miraculously cured by the most loving father Dunstan, turned the mouths of everyone to the praise of God and his unexpected tallness filled their faces and voices with wonder.

10. [8 Stubbs] There was another man lacking one of his feet who had made a wooden leg and foot for himself, which was strapped to him by a thong. Dunstan, the friend of God, appeared to this man in a dream and persuaded him to go to his resting-place, where he promised that he would recover his health. Having faith in that vision, he sought out that place and began to pray there for the health which had been promised to him. And so he prayed for many days, but could sense no remedy; weighed down at once by both weariness and lack of hope he departed from that place, desiring to return to the place from which he had come. He had already gone half way there when behold, blessed Dunstan appeared before the man and asked him whence he had come and where he was going. He replied that he

in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 283-315, at 304.

tumbam<sup>a</sup> Dunstani causa recuperandae sanitatis perrexisse, sed quia exaudiri non meruit, spe frustrata domum redire. Ait: 'Ego sum Dunstanus qui tibi per uisum dixi<sup>b</sup> quod in basilica Saluatoris, ubi quiesco, fieres sanus. Verum te ibi in oratione prostrato, adesse nequii, necessariis quibusdam filiorum meorum inibi michi obsequentium negotiis<sup>c</sup> alibi detentus. Siquidem Ælfricus,<sup>d</sup> qui Bata cognominatur, aecclesiam Christi uoluit exhaerere, sed me obsistente,<sup>e</sup> malam uoluntatem suam<sup>f</sup> non potuit<sup>f</sup> ad effectum perducere.<sup>9</sup> Nunc igitur redi, et illa die et hora experieris praesentiam mei,<sup>g</sup> recepta sospitate quam promisi.' Regreditur ille, praedictoquo sibi<sup>h</sup> tempore sanus effectus, magnum gaudium intulit clero et ciuibus.<sup>i</sup>

11. [9 Stubbs] Dies<sup>j</sup> qui est nono kalendas Septembris festiuus<sup>k</sup> habebatur Cantuariae in honorem beati Audoeni confessoris Christi, nec non<sup>l</sup> aliorum sanctorum quorum reliquiae requiescunt in ipsa aecclesia eiusdem domini<sup>m</sup> Christi.<sup>10</sup> Ad hanc itaque<sup>n</sup> festiuitatem inter alios quaedam<sup>o</sup> mente et corpore uirgo quam maternus uterus caecam ediderat huic mundo orandi gratia uenit. Haec ad nocturnas uigilias tumbae gloriosi Dunstani praesens, dum responsorium 'Sint lumbi uestri praecincti'<sup>11</sup> in choro cantaretur, defricare<sup>p</sup> sibi oculorum sedes<sup>p</sup> graui pruritu titillantes acrius coepit, et defluente undatim sanguine, statim ex insperato uisum<sup>q</sup> gratiosa<sup>r</sup> recepit.<sup>12</sup> Hinc populorum concursus in fletum prae gaudio, monachorum chorus concitatur ad Deum glorificandum in uoce laudis ac iubilo.

12. [10 Stubbs] Gloriosa<sup>s</sup> gloriosorum apostolorum<sup>t</sup> Petri et Pauli dies passionis instabat,<sup>13</sup> et mulier una filiam suam iam pene adultam ad

<sup>a</sup> R adds beati <sup>b</sup> apparui dicens RV <sup>c</sup> negotiis filiorum meorum inibi michi obsequentium DM (D writes negotiis partly in mg). <sup>d</sup> Elfricus W <sup>e</sup> obstante W; RV add nequibat <sup>f</sup> om. RV <sup>g</sup> meam VW <sup>h</sup> om. M <sup>i</sup> populo RV <sup>j</sup> New chapter in MRVW <sup>k</sup> festus W <sup>l</sup> MRV add et <sup>m</sup> R adds Iesu <sup>n</sup> igitur W <sup>o</sup> quae W <sup>p</sup> sibi oculos M p. c. <sup>q</sup> uisum ex insperato DMRVW <sup>r</sup> om. R <sup>s</sup> New chapter in MRV <sup>t</sup> om. W

<sup>9</sup> This controversy involving Ælfric Bata is also alluded to by Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 10, but any further details are unknown. For discussion, see N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), p. 266; the monastic schoolmaster Ælfric Bata, who composed scholastic colloquies, was active in England in the early 11th c., and Brooks speculated that Osbern's account might be his revenge for mistreatment as a boy.

<sup>10</sup> Osbern had stated that this event occurred on the joint feast of SS. Bartholomew and Ouen, but Eadmer only names Ouen specifically. In the early Christ Church calendar contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 260, the feast of St Ouen is altered to

had travelled to the tomb of Dunstan in order to recover his health, but since he had not deserved to be heard he was returning home with shattered hope. The other one said: 'I am Dunstan, who said to you in a vision that you would be made healthy in the basilica of our Saviour, where I rest. But I was not able to be there while you prostrated yourself in prayer, for I was held up elsewhere with certain urgent business on behalf of my obedient sons who reside therein. For Ælfric, who is also called 'Bata', wished to rob Christ Church, but because I resisted him he was not able to bring his evil desire to fruition.<sup>9</sup> Now therefore return and you will recover your health and experience my presence on that day and at that hour, just as I had promised.' The man returned and became whole again at the very moment foretold to him; this brought great joy to the clergy and the townspeople.

11. [9 Stubbs] The feast day in honour of blessed Ouen, the confessor of Christ, and several other saints whose relics rest in the church of that same Lord Christ, used to be celebrated in Canterbury on 24 August.<sup>10</sup> A young girl, pure of mind and body, who was brought forth into this world from her mother's womb blind, went to that festival with others in order to pray. She was present at the nocturnal vigils at the tomb of glorious Dunstan, and when the responsory 'Let your loins be girt'<sup>11</sup> was sung in the choir she began to rub the sockets of her eyes fiercely, because they were tingling with great itchiness, and as copious amounts of blood flowed forth, she unexpectedly received her sight back at once and was grateful.<sup>12</sup> As a result of this the assembly of people was moved to tears of joy and the chorus of monks to the glorification of God in strains of praise and jubilation.

12. [10 Stubbs] The glorious day of the passion of the glorious apostles Peter and Paul was at hand,<sup>13</sup> and a woman led her daughter,

25 Aug.; for the possible significance of this for Eadmer's rewriting of Osbern, see above, p. lxxv.

<sup>11</sup> Luke 12: 35.

<sup>12</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 11, states that he was one of the boys singing in the choir when the miracle occurred, and that he witnessed the girl's cure. Eadmer, however, omits any mention of Osbern in his retelling of the miracles; see the discussion above, p. lxxvii. For discussion of Osbern's early life and career at Christ Church (knowledge of which is virtually limited to information derived from these miracles), see J. Rubenstein, 'The life and writings of Osbern of Canterbury', Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury*, pp. 27-40, at 27-8.

<sup>13</sup> 29 June.

aecclesiam Iesu Christi<sup>a</sup> Cantuariae secum<sup>b</sup> adduxerat.<sup>14</sup> Ipsa nanque puella,<sup>c</sup> contractis et deflexis a ceruice in gibbum humeris, digitis quoque in uolam reflexis ita ut unguis crescendo transita cute et carne neruis haerent,<sup>d</sup> sibi uix tolerabilis,<sup>e</sup> praestabat se pie intuentibus magnam materiam compassionis et affectuosae pietatis. Hanc mater sepulchro boni Dunstani applicuit,<sup>f</sup> et utraeque procidentis, unanimiter sibi sanctum<sup>g</sup> misereri postulauere. Dictis uesperis in uigilia ipsius festiuitatis, precibus<sup>h</sup> incubuerunt, et ante solis occubitus sanitatem iuuenulae anus et ipsa perfecte obtinuerunt. Quid laudum, quid gratiarum, quid uotorum domino Christo eiusque<sup>i</sup> Dunstano hinc a confluenti multitudine persolutum sit quis describet?

13. [11 Stubbs] Item<sup>j</sup> matrona<sup>k</sup> quaedam nobilis oratum ueniens ad memoriam sepe nominati<sup>l</sup> pontificis, paruulum<sup>m</sup> quem stupentibus neruis claudum genuerat coram se fecit deferri. Illa igitur circa sepulchrum sancti prostrata orationi, paruulus longiuscule in pauimento aecclesiae<sup>n</sup> situs, pomo quod ludens inter manus uersabat intendebat. Et ecce subito de manibus infantis pomum dilabitur, et usque ad tumulum uiri Dei rotando peruehitur. Quod puer aspiciens, et pomum perdere nolens, sese in pedes, ac si prius in nullo lesus fuisset, continuo<sup>o</sup> misit; directo gressu, pomum insequens apprehendit, itaque matrem laetabundus et incolumis adit, amplectitur et alludit. In quas ergo lacrimarum inundationes matrona prae nimio gaudio cordis eruperit, quas uoces concurrens<sup>p</sup> ad rem tam mirabilem<sup>q</sup> turba in gratiarum actiones emisit, pietas facti intelligere quenque docebit.

14. [12 Stubbs] Huic<sup>r</sup> facto pie in puerulo facto aliud pietatis opus ipsius piissimi patris in pueris aecclesiae factum annectere placuit. Instabat festa<sup>s</sup> dies<sup>t</sup> natiuitatis Christi. Moris autem antiquitus fuerat in monasterio ipso<sup>u</sup> quinto die ante festum pueros qui in scolis sub disciplina coercebantur grauibus et immoderatis uerberibus cruciari.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Christi Iesu *M*      <sup>b</sup> secum Cantuariam *W*      <sup>c</sup> om. *M*      <sup>d</sup> inhaerent *R*  
<sup>e</sup> intolerabilis *DM*      <sup>f</sup> boni Dunstani applicuit sepulchro *W*      <sup>g</sup> sanctum sibi *RV*  
<sup>h</sup> om. *W*      <sup>i</sup> eius *R*; *DM* add famulo      <sup>j</sup> New chapter in *MRVW*      <sup>k</sup> om. *W*  
<sup>l</sup> memorati *W*      <sup>m</sup> *M* adds quendam      <sup>n</sup> in pauimento aecclesiae longiuscule *DM*  
<sup>o</sup> om. *W*      <sup>p</sup> om. *W*      <sup>q</sup> *W* adds accurrens      <sup>r</sup> New chapter in *MRVW*      <sup>s</sup> om. *M*  
<sup>t</sup> dies festi *RV*      <sup>u</sup> ipso monasterio *W*

<sup>14</sup> As with the incident described in c. 11, Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 12 depicts himself as a witness to this event: the woman first approached him and another boy, and they directed her to Dunstan's tomb, where the girl was presently cured. Eadmer again omits any mention of Osbern in his retelling of the incident.

who was nearly an adult, with her to the church of Jesus Christ at Canterbury.<sup>14</sup> And this same girl—whose shoulders were deformed and bent from her neck in a hump and whose fingers were curved inwards towards her palms so that when her nails grew they pierced the skin and flesh and stuck to her sinews—was scarcely able to live with herself; for those looking on lovingly she presented occasion for great compassion and affectionate love. Her mother placed the girl next to the tomb of noble Dunstan; then they both prostrated themselves and with one voice begged the saint to have mercy on them. When vespers had been said at the vigil of that feast they lay prostrate in prayer and before the setting of the sun the old woman and the young girl had obtained perfect health for her. Who could describe what praise, thanks, and vows the assembling crowd rendered to the Lord Christ and his servant Dunstan because of this?

13. [11 Stubbs] As well, a certain noble matron, coming to pray at the shrine of the oft-mentioned bishop, had had her little boy brought along with her—he had been born lame with paralysis. And while she was prostrate in prayer before the saint's tomb, the little boy, who had been set down on the pavement of the church a short distance from her, was preoccupied with a game, tossing an apple from hand to hand. And behold, suddenly the apple slipped from the hands of the infant and rolled over to the tomb of the man of God. The boy saw this and not wanting to lose his apple he immediately got to his feet as if he had no former affliction and running straight to it seized the apple; rapt with joy and safe and sound he went to his mother, hugged her, and danced about. This loving gesture will make everyone appreciate what floods of tears erupted from the mother because of the excessive joy in her heart and what words of thanks were uttered by the crowd which assembled because of this marvellous event.

14. [12 Stubbs] It pleases me to add to this pious deed performed on behalf of a little boy another act of love of this most loving father carried out for the boys of the church. The feast day of the birth of Christ was approaching. It was an ancient custom in that same monastery on the fifth day before this feast that the boys who were subject to discipline within the schools be beaten with severe and excessive lashes.<sup>15</sup> This punishment of the wretched boys was

<sup>15</sup> This incident is based on Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 15; Osbern states that when he wrote his work the boy to whom Dunstan appeared was still alive and was then of advanced years ('nunc uero reuerendae aetatis senior'); Rubenstein noted that he probably



Qui cruciatus miseris non pro commissis culpis,<sup>a</sup> sed pro usu inferebatur,<sup>b</sup> et ea re nullo pacto<sup>c</sup> euadere poterant, nisi saeuitiam magistrorum deliniret irrefragabilis intercessio aduocatorum. Igitur uice quadam in tantam iracundiam magistri contra pueros uno assensu exarserunt, ut omnis aduocatorum supplicatio, omnis omnium fusa pro eis<sup>d</sup> intercessio nichil ad sedandum conceptum furorem<sup>e</sup> proficere posset. Quid miseri agerent, quo se uerterent, ignorabant. Vnicum refugium supererat, pietatem pii<sup>f</sup> Dunstani interpellare. Iam praeuia nefandae crudelitatis nox inhorruerat, cum ecce pius pater uni pueros in somno<sup>g</sup> assistens, blanda affabilitate cur ipse et socii eius tanto merore affligerentur interrogat. Ipse quis esset qui secum loquebatur ignorans, perfusus lacrimis, in quo<sup>h</sup> magistrorum furor in se sine ullo respectu misericordiae conspirauerit enarrat. At ille, 'Ne timeatis' ait. 'Ego enim sum Dunstanus, pater uester, quem uobis auxiliari postulastis.<sup>i</sup> Consideraui<sup>j</sup> magistrorum uestrorum indiscretam et impiam iram, et intuitus sum grandem necessitatem uestram. Ne formidatis,<sup>k</sup> quia adero<sup>k</sup> uobis, et nichil mali habebitis. Hodierna itaque<sup>l</sup> liberatio uestra sit tibi pro signo, ut ex mea parte dicas custodibus aecclesiae quatinus auferant<sup>m</sup> foetidum cadauer<sup>n</sup> filii Haroldi,<sup>16</sup> quod quorundam odiosa michi adulatio iuxta me sepeliuit. Et hoc quidem eo<sup>o</sup> molestius fero, quo<sup>p</sup> animam ipsius pueri, quoniam<sup>q</sup> renata non fuit, damnatam esse non nescio. Si ergo ablatum in proximo non fuerit, nouerint quia post non multum temporis graue dispendium pro hoc aecclesia tota subibit.'<sup>r</sup> Ad haec puer euigilans, et quid audierit mente pertractans, inter spem et formidinem medius fluctuabat. Iam aurora, id est hora tremenda, aduenerat, cum magistri, flagris taureis et nodatis corrigiis armati, locis sibi opportunitis pueros illo transituros praestolabantur. Sed

<sup>a</sup> om. W; culpis commissis M    <sup>b</sup> inferebantur W    <sup>c</sup> modo W    <sup>d</sup> pro eis fusa W  
<sup>e</sup> furorem conceptum W    <sup>f</sup> om. DM    <sup>g</sup> somnis W    <sup>h</sup> quomodo W in mg.  
<sup>i</sup> postulatis RV    <sup>j</sup> RV add enim    <sup>k-k</sup> om. W    <sup>l</sup> om. W    <sup>m</sup> om. RV  
<sup>n</sup> om. W    <sup>o</sup> om. MR    <sup>p</sup> quod M, perhaps p. c.    <sup>q</sup> quae M    <sup>r</sup> tota aecclesia subibit V; tota subibit aecclesia W

wrote the *Miracula* between 1089 and 1093 ('The life and writings of Osbern', p. 38). Osbern states that the miracle occurred on the day before the vigils for Christmas Day (i.e. 23 Dec.); he does not, however, state that the schoolmasters' punishment of the boys traditionally happened on the same day, but implies elsewhere that it was a constant threat to them (see Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 11, where he describes a beating immediately following the feast of St Ouen on 24 Aug., which he escaped himself due to Dunstan's intervention). Eadmer provides the information that the punishment was a yearly event (unless intervention could come from some source), and states that it occurred on 21 Dec.

inflicted not for any sins committed but out of custom, and for that reason they were in no way able to escape it, except when the strenuous intercession of advocates might reduce the viciousness of the schoolmasters. And so on a certain occasion the teachers were of one mind and inflamed with such great wrath against the boys that no prayer by their advocates, no intercession poured forth by anyone on their behalf could at all succeed in calming the madness which had seized them. The wretched boys knew not what to do nor where to turn. Only one refuge remained, to invoke the love of loving Dunstan. Already on the night before this unspeakably cruel event the boys were trembling with fear when behold, the loving father, appearing before one of the boys in a dream, asked in a gentle manner why he and his companions were afflicted with such grief. And he, unaware of who it was that spoke to him, broke out in tears and explained how the rage of the teachers had conspired against them without a thought for mercy. But he replied, 'Have no fear; for I am your father Dunstan whom you have asked for help. I have considered the boundless and unholy wrath of your teachers and I have seen your great need. Do not be afraid, for I will be present with you and you shall suffer no harm. So let your liberation today serve as a signal for you to speak on my behalf to the custodians of the church so that they remove the stinking corpse of the son of Harold,<sup>16</sup> which out of adulation—something I abhor—certain men have buried next to me. Moreover, I am all the more troubled by this because I know that the soul of this boy is damned because it has not been reborn. So if the body is not removed immediately, let them know that before too long the whole church will suffer a grave loss on this account.' Hearing these things the boy awoke and turning over what he had heard in his mind he vacillated between hope and fear. And now, dawn, that is, the dreaded hour, had arrived; armed with bull-hide whips and knotted lashes the teachers stood waiting in opportune places for

<sup>16</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 15 describes this man as 'Comes Harold', so that he appears to be referring to Harold II Godwinson (c. 1022–66), Earl of East Anglia from c. 1045, of Wessex from 1053 and the last Anglo-Saxon king of England (r. Jan.–Oct. 1066). Harold had a number of children, particularly from his relationship with Edith Swannehal; for discussion of his marriages and children, see I. W. Walker, *Harold: The Last Anglo-Saxon King* (Thrupp, 1997), pp. 127–31. However, Jean Mabillon suggested that a son of Harold I was in fact meant here (*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668–1701), v. 694 note c). Harold I (r. 1035–40), the son of Cnut and Elfyfu, was depicted in later literature as a pagan and greatly hostile to the see of Canterbury; cf. *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell (RHS Camden, 3rd ser., lxxii, 1949), iii. 1, and pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

maliuolos illos subito grauissimus sopor simul<sup>a</sup> inuoluit, et qui pueros per medium illorum<sup>b</sup> transeuntes retineret, uel in aliquo lederet, nullus<sup>c</sup> fuit. Hinc magistros non seuitia qua feruebant contra innocentes, sed ipsorum innocentum cantus et congratulatio a somno excitauit,<sup>d</sup> et alta<sup>e</sup> dies. Confusi ergo, quod effectum saeuitiae suae a qua nullius prece discedere passi sunt dormiendo perdidierant, sero doluerunt. Puer igitur cui pius pater apparuerat re ipsa sciens beatum<sup>f</sup> Dunstanum esse quem uiderat, custodibus aecclesiae de asportando foetenti cadauere<sup>g</sup> innotuit quae audierat. At illi paruipendentes dicta adolescentis, monita et minas beati pontificis aequae spreuerunt. Vnde post haec<sup>h</sup> a quibusdam religiosis ipsius aecclesiae monachis 'ipse pater' nonnunquam loco decedere<sup>i</sup> uisus est. A quibus cum detineretur, et quam ob rem discederet<sup>k</sup> interrogaretur, se foetorem paganae carnis et quorundam nequam hominum iniquitates illo in loco diutius tolerare non posse respondebat. 'Sed haec', inquit, 'si citius emendata non fuerint, praedico contestans quod tota ciuitas simul<sup>l</sup> et aecclesia meritas exinde<sup>m</sup> poenas in proximo soluet.' Quae uerba rei ueritas subsequuta declarauit esse uera. Nam non multis post haec diebus elapsis, ciuitas et tota aecclesia cum officinis seruorum Dei igne consumpta<sup>n</sup> est.<sup>17</sup> In qua tamen conflagratione magna misericordia Dei<sup>o</sup> et intercessione pii Dunstani actum est, ut duae domus sine quibus fratres esse non poterant illesae ab incendio remanerent; refectorium uidelicet<sup>p</sup> ac dormitorium cum claustris quae appendebant. Dehinc edificata est domus non adeo grandis super locum quietis beati uiri, et in ea circa sacrum corpus eius missae cum reliquo<sup>q</sup> seruitio Dei cotidie fiebant. Ipse uero pater suae pietatis non immemor, eis qui sua ope sibi<sup>r</sup> subuentum iri<sup>s</sup> postulabant clemens aderat,<sup>t</sup> quam petebant opem largiter tribuebat.

<sup>a</sup> om. M    <sup>b</sup> eorum R; om. W    <sup>c</sup> nemo RV    <sup>d</sup> excitabat W    <sup>e</sup> M adds iam  
<sup>f</sup> om. W    <sup>g</sup> cadauere foetenti DMV    <sup>h</sup> W adds ipse pater    <sup>i-i</sup> om. W  
<sup>j</sup> discedere RV    <sup>k</sup> decederet W    <sup>l</sup> om. W    <sup>m</sup> inde W    <sup>n</sup> concremata M  
<sup>o</sup> om. W    <sup>p</sup> om. W    <sup>q</sup> M adds officio    <sup>r</sup> om. W    <sup>s</sup> ire W    <sup>t</sup> W adds et

<sup>17</sup> Christ Church was burned in a fire which occurred in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest; ASC (DE) s.a. 1067 record that the fire occurred on 6 Dec. 1067, the day that

the boys to pass by there. But suddenly all at once a most deep sleep enveloped those malevolent men, so that none of them was able to stop the boys passing through their midst, nor to inflict injury upon anyone. It was not the viciousness which they bore against the innocent children that roused the teachers from their slumber, but the singing and rejoicing of these innocents, and the high feast itself. They were confused, and regretted too late that by falling asleep they had lost the chance to indulge their savagery, from which they had allowed the boys to escape without anyone interceding on their behalf. But the boy to whom the holy father had appeared, knowing for certain that it was blessed Dunstan whom he had seen, related to the custodians of the church what he had been told about removing the stinking cadaver. Those men considered the words of the youth to be of little consequence, and likewise spurned the warnings and threats of the blessed bishop. Wherefore afterwards that same father was sometimes seen leaving that place by certain pious monks of the church. Whenever he was stopped by them and asked why he was leaving he would reply that he was no longer able to tolerate the stench of pagan flesh in that place, nor the iniquities of certain evil men. And he said, 'But if these things are not rectified swiftly, mark my words I predict that the entire city as well as the church will very soon pay a well-deserved penalty for that.' What in fact happened afterwards proved this premonition to be true. For only a few days after these things had happened the city, together with the whole church and the workplaces of the servants of God, was consumed by fire.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless it transpired through the great mercy of God and the intercession of holy Dunstan that two buildings, without which the brothers could not have existed, remained unscathed by the conflagration, namely the refectory and the dormitory with the cloisters which adjoined it. Afterwards a not very large building was erected above the resting-place of the blessed man, and masses and the other services of God were performed there daily around his sacred body. But that father was not unmindful of his loving duty and in his mercy was present to those who asked to be helped through his power, and he generously provided the help which they sought.

William I returned to England from Normandy. For discussion of the cathedral buildings before the fire, see Brooks, *The Early History*, pp. 37-49 and Brooks, 'The Anglo-Saxon cathedral community', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), pp. 1-37, at 33-7.

15. [13 Stubbs] Nam<sup>a</sup> quidam sibi ipsi a renibus et deorsum paene inutilis duobus baculis pro pedibus utebatur.<sup>18</sup> Hic ad<sup>b</sup> tumbam uiri Dei sexta feria<sup>c</sup> ante diem paschae perueniens, humi stratus<sup>d</sup> sanctum sibi misereri intenta mente, lacrimosa uoce poposcit. Quid moror? Subsequenti nocte dominicae resurrectionis, dum sub specie trium mulierum in sepulchro quaereretur corpus domini Saluatoris,<sup>19</sup> idem claudus personantibus neruis suis extendit se, et erectus in pedibus constitit sanus et rectus. <sup>e</sup>Metus ac ueneratio inuasit nos hoc uidentes,<sup>e</sup> ac ut dignum fuit pro tali facto, dignas Deo persoluimus laudes.

16. [14 Stubbs] Inter<sup>f</sup> huiusmodi ueneranda uenerandi pontificis facta Lanfrancus Cadomensis coenobii abbas, uir praestanti sapientia pollens, Cantuariensem pontificatum regendum suscepit.<sup>20</sup> Qui more electi antistitis<sup>g</sup> Cantuariam xviii kalendas Septembris ueniens,<sup>21</sup> susceptus est a clero et populo, sicut patrem tantae sedis et uirum ingentis famae suscipi aequum erat.<sup>h</sup> Hic, adepta pontificali benedictione quam quarto kalendas Septembris Cantuarie suscepit, aecclesiam Saluatoris quam cum praefatum incendium, tum uetustas inutilem fecerat funditus destruere et<sup>i</sup> augustiorem construere cupiens, iussit corpora sanctorum quae in orientali parte ipsius aecclesiae humata erant in occidentalem partem, ubi memoria beatae Dei genitricis<sup>j</sup> et perpetuae uirginis<sup>j</sup> Mariae celebris habebatur, demutari.<sup>22</sup> Quam ob rem celebrato triduo ieiunio, sub innumera hominum multitudine<sup>k</sup> leuata sunt corpora pretiosissimorum pontificum Christi Dunstani atque

<sup>a</sup> New chapter in MRVW; W adds non s.l.      <sup>b</sup> om. W      <sup>c</sup> feria sexta W  
<sup>d</sup> prostratus W      <sup>e</sup> om. W      <sup>f</sup> New chapter in MRVW      <sup>g</sup> antistitis electi R  
<sup>h</sup> est W      <sup>i</sup> W adds in      <sup>j</sup> om. W      <sup>k</sup> multitudine hominum W

<sup>18</sup> This incident is narrated by Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 13, but prior to his account of the fire; Eadmer retells it in the setting of the ruined church, and for the first time presents himself as the eyewitness of a miraculous cure. For discussion of Eadmer's restructuring of events taken from Osbern, see above, p. lxxvii.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Mary the mother of James according to Luke 24: 10; two Marys and Salome according to Mark 16: 1. See also Matt. 28: 1, mentioning Mary Magdalene and the 'other' Mary, and John 20: 1, where only Mary Magdalene is named as being present. The *Regularis concordia*, a document which was most probably compiled by Æthelwold in association with a synod at Winchester c.964/5 and which regulated liturgical and other practices within monasteries and nunneries, sets out a ritual on Easter day in which three brothers would dress in women's clothing and a fourth as an angel, and enact the discovery of the empty tomb. For the text, see *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, ed. L. Kornexl (Munich, 1993), pp. 104–7.

<sup>20</sup> Lanfranc (c. 1005–89), who was born in Pavia, became prior of Bec in Normandy in

15. [13 Stubbs] There was a certain man, who was almost completely paralysed from the waist down, and who used two crutches for walking.<sup>18</sup> Coming to the tomb of the man of God on the Friday before Easter he prostrated himself on the ground and with firm resolve and tearful voice he asked the saint to have mercy upon him. Why do I delay telling this? On the night following the Lord's resurrection, when in the guise of three women a search was being conducted for the body of our Lord and Saviour in the tomb,<sup>19</sup> the same lame man stretched himself so that his sinews resounded and he stood straight up on his feet, healthy and upright. Fear and awe overcame us as we witnessed this, and we gave fitting thanks to God as befitted such a great deed.

16. [14 Stubbs] While venerable deeds of this sort were being performed by the venerable bishop, Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery at Caen and a man possessed of outstanding wisdom, took control of the episcopal see of Canterbury.<sup>20</sup> Coming to Canterbury on 15 August,<sup>21</sup> as was the custom for a bishop-elect, he was received by the clergy and the people as was fitting for the father of such a great see and a man of such great fame to be received. After he had obtained the blessing due to a bishop, which he received at Canterbury on 29 August, he sought to demolish completely the church of our Saviour, which the fire mentioned previously as well as its great age had rendered useless, and to build a more noble edifice; and so he ordered the bodies of the saints buried in the eastern part of that church to be moved to the western part where the much-visited monument of the blessed mother of God and eternal virgin Mary was located.<sup>22</sup> Wherefore, after a three-day fast had been observed, in the midst of a vast multitude of people the most precious bodies of the

1045, and abbot of Caen under the patronage of Duke William c. 1063. He was appointed to Canterbury following the deposition of Archbishop Stigand, the last Anglo-Saxon archbishop, which was formalized at a council held at Winchester on 7 or 11 Apr. 1070 (see John of Worcester s.a. 1070 and other texts in *Councils*, pp. 565–76). For discussion of the sources for Lanfranc's election, see *Councils*, p. 585, and for the main reforms instituted during his administration of Canterbury, M. Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins, 1070–1220', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 38–45.

<sup>21</sup> In 1070.

<sup>22</sup> This translation may not have taken place immediately after Lanfranc's arrival at Canterbury in 1070, if Eadmer's account of the incident involving Abbot Scotland in the following chapter is accurate, since Scotland was probably not appointed to his abbacy until 1072. Eadmer was himself a witness of this ceremony, as he later explained in *De reliquiis S. Audoeni*, p. 366: 'propriis oculis omnia . . . intuitus sum'.

Ælfegi.<sup>23</sup> Iam transferebantur ad destinatum locum sepulturae, et omnium ora personabant in Domini laude.<sup>a</sup>

17. Interea<sup>b</sup> duo milites archiepiscopi, rupta constipatione consertae multitudinis, coram feretro beati Dunstani terrae procumbunt,<sup>24</sup> misericordiam et<sup>c</sup> indulgentiam per merita eius sibi ab abbate sancti Augustini, Scotlando<sup>d</sup> nomine,<sup>25</sup> de morte nepotis eius quem nuper occiderant dari postulantes.<sup>26</sup> Denegat abbas, denegat quoque fratres defuncti qui astabant. Iungunt alii preces suas precibus militum, sed in unum. Nec<sup>e</sup> enim illos aut reuerentia sancti aut supplicans multitudo ad miserendum<sup>f</sup> flectere<sup>g</sup> potuit. At pius<sup>h</sup> Dunstanus non sic<sup>h</sup> auditu difficilis, surdam ab infantia<sup>i</sup> mulierem ipsa hora se requirentem<sup>j</sup> exaudiuit, et ei coram omnibus auditum integerrimum reddidit. Itaque sacratissima corpora decentissime tumulata sunt, et dies totus festivus, ac excepta obstinatione abbatis gaudio plenus, effulsit. Sed gaudium quod ipsa dies diminutum habuit, crastina duplicatum obtinuit. Siquidem abbas idem in sua pertinacia rigidus, nocte sequenti cum suis nepotibus coram se quendam reuerendi habitus sacerdotem irato uultu stare conspexit, et quibusdam teterrimis hominibus<sup>k</sup> in medio camerae in qua iacebant mirae magnitudinis cacabum, supposito igne, succendentibus, praecipere audiuit quatinus illos simul ligatos in candentem cacabum sine ulla<sup>l</sup> miseratione comburendos praecipitent. Percunctantibus autem<sup>m</sup> quare tam

<sup>a</sup> laudem *W*      <sup>b</sup> *New chapter in MVW*      <sup>c</sup> ac *DM*      <sup>d</sup> *Scollando DMRW*  
<sup>e</sup> *Neque W*      <sup>f</sup> *miserandum R*      <sup>g</sup> *inflectere M*      <sup>h-h</sup> *om. W*      <sup>i</sup> *W adds puellam*  
<sup>j</sup> *requirentem se RV; querentem W*      <sup>k</sup> *uiris RV*      <sup>l</sup> *om. W*      <sup>m</sup> *om. W*

<sup>23</sup> For Ælfheah's career and murder, see c. 19 below and *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 61 and note. His body was translated to Canterbury by King Cnut in 1023; for the account of this by Osbern, see Rumble, 'Translatio S. Ælfegi'. In *Vita S. Anselmi*, i. 30 Eadmer depicts Lanfranc as expressing some initial doubts about the claim that Ælfheah was a martyr, but then being convinced by Anselm's reasonable arguments. This equivocation about his status may explain why the feast of his translation (8 June) appears to have been omitted from the Christ Church calendar written at the beginning of Lanfranc's pontificate, and was only later added by a 12th-c. hand (Dunstan's feast day on 19 May is included amongst the original entries), and why his proper mass in the missal for St Augustine's from c.1095 occurs out of sequence at the end of the book (see T. A. Heslop, 'The Canterbury calendars and the Norman Conquest', in Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury*, pp. 53–85, at 74 and 64 n. 30).

<sup>24</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury possessed a force of knights provided to him by his principal tenants as part of their feudal obligations; these sixty-six tenants and their liabilities as they existed c.1093–6 are listed in the *Domesday Monachorum*. The Bishop of Rochester was the chief contributor in this list, being obliged to provide the archbishop with ten knights; the others provided far fewer, and often appear to have served themselves. Many of these knights can be identified as coming from Normandy, but others appear to

bishops of Christ, Dunstan and Ælfheah,<sup>23</sup> were elevated. They were then translated to the place of burial which had been determined and the voices of all resounded with the Lord's praise.

17. Meanwhile, two knights of the archbishop burst through the crowded ranks of the assembled multitude and fell to the ground before the bier of blessed Dunstan;<sup>24</sup> they asked by his merits to be given mercy and to receive indulgence from the abbot of Saint Augustine's, who was called Scotland,<sup>25</sup> in the matter of the death of his nephew, whom they had recently killed.<sup>26</sup> The abbot refused, as did the dead man's brothers, who were standing alongside him. Others added their petitions to the prayers of the knights, but in vain. For neither reverence for the saint nor the beseeching multitude was able to bend them to have mercy. But loving Dunstan was not so hard of hearing: at that very moment he heard a woman who had been deaf from birth imploring him and he restored the most perfect hearing to her in front of them all. And so the most sacred bodies were interred with great decorum and, with the exception of the obstinate behaviour of the abbot, the whole festive day was radiant and full of joy. But the joy that had been diminished on that day was doubled on the next. For on the following night that same abbot, who remained inflexible and obstinate, with his nephews gathered around him saw a certain venerable priest clothed in his vestments standing before them with an angry look upon his face; he heard him ordering some most foul-looking men, who were stoking up a fire arranged beneath a cauldron of wondrous size in the midst of the room in which they were lying, to bind them and without a grain of mercy to throw them all into the glowing cauldron so that they might be incinerated. When they asked, however, why they

have been of native English birth; for discussion, *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas (RHS; London, 1944), pp. 36–63.

<sup>25</sup> Scotland was probably appointed abbot of St Augustine's in 1072 (for the date, see M. Brett, 'Gundulf and the cathedral communities of Canterbury and Rochester', in Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury*, pp. 15–25, at 23 and n. 37), and died on 3 Sept. 1087. He was originally a monk of Mont-St-Michel, and was active there as a scribe; he appears to have brought books with him from there when he came to St Augustine's (see R. Gameson, 'English manuscript art in the late eleventh century: Canterbury and its context', in *ibid.*, pp. 95–144, at 106 and 110). His period as abbot also saw large-scale rebuilding of the church of St Augustine's and the translation of the relics of Anglo-Saxon saints into new tombs, a process completed by his successor (see R. Sharpe, 'The setting of St Augustine's translation, 1091', in *ibid.*, pp. 1–13).

<sup>26</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 17 tells that two nephews of Scotland, both knights, were killed by these men.

crudeli poenae subici deberent responderetur: 'Propterea quod uos furoris igne succensi, mortem uestri germani nolulistis perdonare<sup>a</sup> propter amorem ac<sup>b</sup> reuerentiam domni<sup>c</sup> Dunstani.' His dictis, rapiuntur ad ignem. At illi nimia anxietate constricti, miserandas uoces emittunt, et se quam citius possent ad requiem sancti uenturos, eumque super illata iniuria digna satisfactione honoraturus deuouent, solummodo eos ab imminente miseria 'sua gratia<sup>d</sup> liberet. Ad haec tetri ministri nutu sacerdotis exterriti,<sup>e</sup> cum<sup>f</sup> suis ignibus<sup>g</sup> disparuerunt. Necdum splendor solis abegerat tenebras noctis, cum ecce abbas stipatus suis,<sup>h</sup> sepulchro patris assistens, monachos aecclisiae citato accurrere sibi succurrere flebilis orat. Accurrunt illi, et audita serie rei, dignis laudibus extollunt Deum<sup>i</sup> in meritis gloriosi famuli sui. Indulgetur ergo reis militibus mors defuncti, et redeunt in sua laetantes, primo<sup>j</sup> tamen homines pii patris Dunstani effecti.

18. [15 Stubbs] Alio<sup>k</sup> tempore idem abbas in uigilia festiuitatis<sup>l</sup> eiusdem nobilissimi patris<sup>27</sup> forte in uiridario suo uespertina hora sedebat. Dum itaque<sup>m</sup> considentibus fabularetur,<sup>n</sup> in aecclisia domini Saluatoris<sup>o</sup> in qua<sup>o</sup> quiescit uenerabile corpus ipsius beati sacerdotis ad nocturnas uigilias omnes campanae pro usu loci simul pulsari coepere. Tunc abbas, erectis ad<sup>p</sup> caelum oculis, uidit ingentem splendorem inde super aecclisiam<sup>q</sup> ipsam descendere, eamque de superioribus penetrare. Quo uiso, et suis qui hoc secum uidere merebantur<sup>r</sup> ostenso, pio affectu suspirans ait: 'Vere pius pater Dunstanus iam ad suam festiuitatem uadit, interesse uolens obsequio quod sui filii hac in<sup>r</sup> nocte Deo et sibi exhibituri sunt.' Quod ita, sicut dixerat, actum esse,<sup>t</sup> experti sunt fratres qui ipsi festo<sup>u</sup> meruerunt interesse.<sup>v</sup> Nam ex dulci sanctoque affectu quo in Deum et famulum eius iocundati sunt, sanctam praesentiam eius<sup>w</sup> sibi adesse persenserunt.

<sup>a</sup> remittere *W*    <sup>b</sup> et *W*    <sup>c</sup> domini *MW*    <sup>d-d</sup> *om. W*    <sup>e</sup> deterriti *W*    <sup>f</sup> *C*  
*adds in mg.*    <sup>g</sup> ignibus suis *W*    <sup>h</sup> stipatus suis abbas *DM*; *D* inserts correction marks  
*s.l.*    <sup>i</sup> Deum extollunt *W*    <sup>j</sup> prius *W*    <sup>k</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*    <sup>l</sup> *om. R*  
<sup>m</sup> *W* *adds cum*    <sup>n</sup> confabularetur *W*    <sup>o-o</sup> *W* wrote in, then corrected to ubi *s.l.*  
<sup>p</sup> in *RW*    <sup>q</sup> *om. M*    <sup>r</sup> uidere merebantur secum *W*    <sup>s</sup> *om. W*; *D* *adds s.l.*  
<sup>t</sup> est *W*    <sup>u</sup> festo ipsi *W*    <sup>v</sup> interesse meruerunt *W*    <sup>w</sup> eius praesentiam *W*

<sup>27</sup> 19 May.

ought to be subjected to such a cruel penalty, he responded: 'Because you were inflamed with the fire of your fury and refused to pardon the death of your brother for the sake of love and respect for your master Dunstan.' When these things had been said they were dragged to the fire. But they were overwrought with great anxiety and they cried out in pitiful voices; they promised that they would come to the resting-place of the saint as quickly as possible and would honour him with fitting recompense because of the injuries they had done him, provided only that by his grace he might free them from the misery confronting them. When the priest nodded in agreement to these things, the hellish servants became terrified and disappeared with their fires. The splendour of the sun had not yet dispelled the shadows of the night when behold, the abbot, accompanied by his relatives, stood by the tomb of the father and begged tearfully that the monks of the church quickly assemble and assist him. They hastened forward and having learnt what had transpired they raised up fitting praise to God because of the merits of his glorious servant. And then the soldiers charged with the slaying of the dead man were forgiven and they returned happily to their homes, but not before they had been made followers of the holy father Dunstan.

18. [15 Stubbs] On another occasion the same abbot was by chance sitting in his private garden at the hour for vespers on the vigil of the feast of this same most noble father.<sup>27</sup> And while he was speaking to those sitting with him, in the church of our Lord and Saviour, in which the venerable body of that same blessed bishop rested, they began to ring all the bells at once, signalling the nocturnal vigil according to the custom of that place. Then the abbot, who had raised his eyes to the heavens, saw a great light shine down from there upon that church and penetrate it from above. When he saw this and pointed it out to his companions, who merited to see it with him, sighing with devout feeling he said: 'Truly our loving father Dunstan comes now to his own festival, wishing to be present at the show of reverence which his sons are about to perform for God and him on this night.' The brothers, who deserved to be present on this festive occasion, were witnesses that this occurred just as he had said. For they sensed his sacred presence amongst them from the sweet and holy feeling there, which made them delight in God and in his servant.

19. [16 Stubbs] Quid<sup>a</sup> uero circa iuuenem quendam, Ægelwordum<sup>b</sup> nomine,<sup>28</sup> in ipso monasterio gestum sit<sup>c</sup> istis annectere cordi fuit. Iuuenis idem eiusdem monasterii monachus erat,<sup>d</sup> et una dierum, uocatus ad missam Lanfranci archiepiscopi, euangelium legerat. Hic cum dicta oratione dominica patenam pontifici ex more offerret, uidit coram se quosdam teterrimos et horridos malignorum spirituum uultus. Ad quorum aspectum nimio pauore perterritus, antistitem inter manus sacra tenentem utrisque brachiis strictim amplectitur, horrido clamore uociferans, ac dicens: 'Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.'<sup>e</sup> 29 Conterriti sunt omnes qui aderant, et arreptum iuuenem milites de ecclesia in pontificis cameram rapiunt. <sup>f</sup>Post quae<sup>f</sup> fratribus in capitulo adunatis, Lanfrancus pater ingreditur, et iuuenis iam demone plenus, a pluribus<sup>g</sup> fortissimis uiris constrictus, in medium ducitur.<sup>h</sup> Prout petebat negotii tenor conseritur sermo de illo,<sup>i</sup> et fit oratio communis pro eo. Mox sano sensui, ut dabatur intelligi, redditus, ac demum pro agendis gratiis sepulchro patris Dunstani ab archiepiscopo et conuentu praesentatus, tota die<sup>j</sup> illa inter fratres mansit, quasi nichil uesaniae passus. Laetantur fratres in hoc, et laetitia futuri meroris praenuncia modum excessit. Iam dies in uesperam declinauerat,<sup>k</sup> et horam completorii monachi in choro psallebant. Tunc ille subito suae stationis<sup>l</sup> loco relicto, ad priorem ecclesiae, Henricum nomine,<sup>30</sup> cucurrit, et impetu facto, manus illi inicere uoluit. At ipse,<sup>m</sup> porrectis econtra brachiis, patientis manus arripuit, strinxit, ac in dormitorium ducto, noctem illam ante lectum eius residens insomnem super eo<sup>n</sup> sollicitus duxit. Tum<sup>o</sup> subito circa

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*      <sup>b</sup> *Agelwordum W*      <sup>c</sup> *om. W*      <sup>d</sup> *fuit W*  
<sup>e</sup> *imperat Christus regnat R*      <sup>f-f</sup> *Postque R*      <sup>g</sup> *plurimis W*      <sup>h</sup> *in medium*  
*ducitur constrictus W*      <sup>i</sup> *sermo de illo conseritur W*      <sup>j</sup> *die tota W*      <sup>k</sup> *declinabat*  
*AbDM*      <sup>l</sup> *stationis suae AbDM*      <sup>m</sup> *ille AbDM*      <sup>n</sup> *eum W*      <sup>o</sup> *Tunc AbMVW*

<sup>28</sup> Eadmer's main source for this incident is Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 19, who likewise mentions in passing that he was a member of the community when Æthelweard suffered his demonic possession. This may be the incident involving a young man, presumably at Christ Church, to which Lanfranc alludes in an undated letter to Bishop John of Rouen (*The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979), *epist.* xv). It occurred after the appointment of Henry as Prior of Christ Church in 1074 (see below), and is recounted briefly in the anonymous life of Gundulf, probably written between 1114 and 1124 (see *The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester*, ed. R. M. Thomson (Toronto, 1977), pp. 3–4 and c. 11), where it is related between Gundulf's arrival in England in the company of Lanfranc and his elevation as Bishop of Rochester on 19 Mar. 1077 (*Life of Gundulf*, c. 16). In the *Vita Lanfranci*, written at Bec c.1140, there is another account of this attributed to Anselm; this account may preserve an oral tradition known both to Anselm and Eadmer, or Anselm may have adapted Eadmer's account (see the discussion in the Introduction at p. lxxiii).

19. [16 Stubbs] I have had it in mind to append to these things an account of what happened in this same monastery concerning a certain young man named Æthelweard.<sup>28</sup> This youth was a monk in that monastery, and having been summoned one day, he had read the gospel at the mass of archbishop Lanfranc. When the Lord's prayer had been said, and he was offering the paten to the bishop in the customary way, he saw all about him some evil spirits with most frightening and horrible faces. He was terrified and struck with great fear by their appearance and he wrapped both his arms tightly around the bishop, who was holding the sacrament in his hands; with a frightening cry he shouted and said: 'Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules.'<sup>29</sup> All those present were thoroughly terrified, and guards seized the young man and dragged him from the church into the bishop's chamber. When the brothers had assembled afterwards in the chapter house father Lanfranc entered, and the young man, who was now fully possessed by a demon, was brought into their midst, held tightly by many very strong men. And as befitted the gravity of the situation, talk focused on him and a prayer was offered by everyone on his behalf. He soon returned to a healthy state of mind, as far as they could tell, and at length he was brought by the archbishop and the assembled monks to the tomb of father Dunstan so that thanks might be offered up; he remained there the whole day long amongst the brothers, appearing not to have suffered any loss of mind. The brothers rejoiced in this, but their happiness, which exceeded what was proper, portended future grief. Now day gave way to evening and monks were singing the service for compline in the choir. Then suddenly the young man abandoned his station and ran towards the prior of the church, who was called Henry;<sup>30</sup> having charged towards him he tried to lay hands on him. But Henry stretched out his arms against him and grabbing the hands of the suffering man he constrained him; after he had been taken to the

<sup>29</sup> The opening words of the Laudes Gallicanae or Regiae, which originated in Europe in the Carolingian period. See the discussions of H. Leclercq in *DACL*, viii. 1900–7, and E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Mediaeval Ruler Worship and Liturgical Acclamations* (Berkeley, 1946).

<sup>30</sup> Henry (d. 1102), like Lanfranc and Anselm, was an Italian who became a monk at Bec; he was appointed prior of Christ Church c.1074, where he stayed until becoming abbot of Battle Abbey in 1096. He seems to have had troubled relations with the rest of the monks at Christ Church; see the comments of R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 269 and n. 1, and for his relations with Osbern, Rubenstein, 'The life and writings of Osbern', pp. 33–4. For his role in the administration of Christ Church, see also Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins', pp. 48–51.

mediae noctis silentia rupit silentium fratrum, ac in immoderatos clamores erumpens, confusis uocibus omnia inquietabat. Turbati fratres, nec tam graue malum diu ferre ualentes, lectis exiliunt, furiosum arripiunt, et ad tumbam confessoris Christi Dunstani omnimodo reluctantem coactis uiribus pertrahunt. Furit ibi sicut primo, et in Christum ac<sup>a</sup> famulum eius horrendas blasphemias iactitat, nec ab eis destitit donec sequens dies illuxit. Nil ergo remedii consecutus,<sup>b</sup> mane fertur in domum infirmorum. Vbi per multos dies loris astrictus<sup>c</sup> et funibus, miserabili cruciatu torquebatur. Inter quae contingebat quodam mirabili modo, ut cum quidam ad eum accederent, ilico si quid grauis peccati de quo necdum confessi erant in cordis secreto habebant, detegeret, et illos sibi in poenis perpetuis socios fore futuros, gaudens et hilaris pronunciarer. Ex hoc dum nonnulli grauem contumeliam incurrissent, ipsi<sup>d</sup> semet ipsos grauiter erubescens, remedium sibi purae confessionis adhibere. Confessi ergo, et poenitentia cum absolutione peccatorum a praesidente suscepta, iterum se<sup>e</sup> praesentauerunt demonioso. Quos ille<sup>f</sup> ex<sup>g</sup> transuerso intuens, nec eos, sicut primo cognouerat, recognoscens, qui fuerint, unde uenerint, quo lauacro loti tam subitam purgationem meruerint, quidue rei contigerit quod suam societatem sic cito alterati amiserint furibundus, spumans et eiulans mirabatur.<sup>31</sup> Et haec quidem, ut re ipsa clarum fuit, Christus prouida suae miserationis dispensatione faciebat propter<sup>h</sup> monachos ipsius aecclesiae, in istis uidelicet eos ad correctiorem uitam erudiens, quos a tempore Danorum qui beatum Ælfegum<sup>i</sup> occiderunt,<sup>32</sup> cessante disciplina, in saeculari uidebat conuersatione ultra quam debebant iacere.<sup>j</sup> Inter haec proficiente nouo opere coeptae aecclesiae, res exegit residuum uetusti operis ubi memorata sanctorum corpora erant locata subuerti. Parato igitur refectorio fratrum ad diuinum officium inibi celebrandum, omnes cum festiua processione illuc a ueteri aecclesia perreximus, praeferentes cum honore et reuerentia gloriosos ac dulcissimos patres nostros, Dunstanum

<sup>a</sup> et in *W*    <sup>b</sup> *W* adds est    <sup>c</sup> astrictus loris *AbDM*    <sup>d</sup> *W* adds apud    <sup>e</sup> *om. M*  
<sup>f</sup> *RV* add uidens atque    <sup>g</sup> de *W*    <sup>h</sup> *om. W*    <sup>i</sup> Ælfegum *M*    <sup>j</sup> *New chapter in RV*

<sup>31</sup> Osborn, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 19 (pp. 146, 148) mentions one young man in particular, a protégé of the archbishop, whose secrets Æthelweard threatened to reveal, who confessed to Lanfranc and was absolved by him, and then whom Æthelweard failed to recognize when he returned in the archbishop's company.

<sup>32</sup> For Ælfheah, see c. 16 and *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 61 and note. Ælfheah was murdered by Danish Vikings at London on 19 Apr. 1012.

dormitory the prior, who was concerned about him, spent a sleepless night sitting by his bedside. Then suddenly in the dead of night he disrupted the silence of the brothers, and threw everything into turmoil with a great outburst of screams and confused words. The brothers were distressed, and not being able to bear so great an evil for long they leapt from their beds, seized the mad man, and with their combined strength they dragged him to the tomb of Dunstan, the confessor of Christ, though he resisted in whatever way he could. There he raged as before and hurled horrific blasphemies upon Christ and his servant, and he continued to do this until the next day dawned. When no remedy was at hand by morning, they carried him to the infirmary. He was restrained there for many days with thongs and ropes, and he twisted in awful pain. While these things were happening it came about in some wondrous fashion that when certain men approached him there—ones who kept concealed in their hearts some great sin which they had not yet confessed—he would reveal it, and laughing gleefully he would name them as his future companions in perpetual punishment. When some had received serious rebuke in this way, they became deeply ashamed of themselves and applied the remedy of sincere confession. And when they had confessed and received penance and absolution for their sins from the prior, they presented themselves once again before the possessed man. He looked askance at them and not recognizing them as the ones he had known earlier he became madly enraged, howled and foamed at the mouth, and asked in amazement who they were, whence they had come, in what fount of water they had merited to be so suddenly cleansed, or what had happened that they had changed so quickly and abandoned his companionship.<sup>31</sup> And indeed, as events made clear, Christ was doing these things out of his provident and bountiful mercy on behalf of the monks of that church, namely so as to teach a more correct manner of living in these matters to those who from the time of the Danes who had killed blessed Ælfheah<sup>32</sup> he saw had been living in a more secular manner than they ought to have ever because discipline had lapsed. Meanwhile, as work proceeded on the building of the new church, it became necessary for the remainder of the older building, where the bodies of the saints mentioned earlier had been located, to be demolished. Therefore, after the brothers' refectory had been made ready for celebrating the divine office in it, we all progressed there from the old church in festive procession, bearing before us with honour and reverence our glorious and dearest fathers, Dunstan

atque<sup>a</sup> Ælfegum. Et ecce demoniosus ille, toto corpore<sup>b</sup> fortissimis funibus<sup>b</sup> lecto strictim colligatus, a multis delatus est, et e regione ostii per quod sancti inferri debebant cum<sup>c</sup> lecto depositus. Quos ipse<sup>d</sup> eminus intuens horrido clamore infremuit, et quod dictu fortassis alicui incredibile uidebitur cum lecto exiliens erexit se, fugere uolens<sup>e</sup> praesentiam sanctorum<sup>f</sup> quos horrebat. Sed illatis sanctis intra domum, illatus est et ipse, ac positus in medio eorum. Erat itaque infelicem miseriam uidere.<sup>33</sup> Iacebat captiuus in lecto supinus, undique constrictus, nec in se sui iuris quicquam habens.<sup>g</sup> Cernebatur demon qui eum possidebat in uentre eius hac<sup>h</sup> et illac<sup>h</sup> discurrendo uagari, ut putares illum modo per os, modo per inferiores corporis partes<sup>i</sup> fugam parare. Quibusdam uero qui circumstabant manus ad discursum inimici protendentibus,<sup>34</sup> et quod in modum paruuli catti discurreret Francigena lingua dicentibus, ille contra<sup>j</sup> qui linguae ipsius<sup>k</sup> omnimodis inscius erat subridens eadem lingua similiter uerbo diminutiuo<sup>l</sup> consonanter respondebat, dicens: 'Non ut cattulus,<sup>m</sup> sed ut catellus.'<sup>35</sup> Interim hora refectionis aduenit. Manducante ergo<sup>n</sup> conuentu, remansit unus ex senioribus, Ælfuinus nomine,<sup>36</sup> cum patiente, domum obseruans. Hic ab infantia sua beato Dunstano dulci quadam et officiosa dilectione semper solebat<sup>o</sup> adhaerere, ac pro posse suo in eius obsequio assiduus existere. Qui miseratus iacentis infelicitatem, et non parum confusus de beati Dunstani pietate, constantior<sup>p</sup> crucem quam ipse pater in corpore degens coram se more summi pontificis ferri faciebat accepit, eamque super demoniacum posuit, deuota mente, lacrimosa uoce clamans<sup>q</sup> et<sup>r</sup> dicens: 'Care domine, sancte

<sup>a</sup> et *W*    <sup>b-b</sup> om. *W*    <sup>c</sup> om. *W*    <sup>d</sup> om. *W*    <sup>e</sup> uoluit *RV*    <sup>f</sup> sanctorum praesentiam *W*    <sup>g</sup> habens quicquam *W*    <sup>h-h</sup> illacque *R*    <sup>i</sup> partes corporis *AbDM*  
<sup>j</sup> contra *DMRVW*    <sup>k</sup> illius *W*    <sup>l</sup> diminutiuo uerbo *R*    <sup>m</sup> cattulus *RVW*  
<sup>n</sup> autem *RV*    <sup>o</sup> solebat semper *RV*    <sup>p</sup> constanter *W*    <sup>q</sup> clamans *V*    <sup>r</sup> ac *W*

<sup>33</sup> For the structure, cf. 2 Macc. 6: 9: 'erat ergo uidere miseriam'.

<sup>34</sup> In the account in the *Vita Lanfranci*, c. 14, it is stated that if anyone attempted to place his hands on the demon inside Æthelweard's stomach, it would leap to another place inside him.

<sup>35</sup> Osborn, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 19 (p. 149) only states that the demon ran around inside him like a puppy: 'sed modo catelli per diuersos uiscerum meatus discurrentis'. The dialogue occurs both in Eadmer and the *Vita Lanfranci*, where the comment about the cat (*Vita Lanfranci*, c. 14: 'Reuera salit sicut paruus catus') is attributed directly to Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, and the reply is spoken by the demon itself. For Eadmer's explanation about the use of French, cf. the comment of Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins', that at Christ Church under Lanfranc 'French-speaking monks now held the key positions' (p. 41).

and Ælfheah. And behold, that possessed man, with his whole body tightly bound to a litter by the strongest cords, was brought there by many men and was placed with his bed directly opposite the doors through which the saints were to be carried. He saw them from a distance and bellowed with a horrible cry; he raised himself up and leapt to his feet with his litter still attached, hoping to escape the presence of the saints whom he dreaded, which will perhaps seem an amazing tale to some people. But when the saints were carried into the house he was also brought in and was placed in their midst. Then was unfortunate misery to be seen.<sup>33</sup> The captive was lying facing upwards on the litter, bound tightly all around, and had no control of his body at all. The demon who possessed him could be seen scurrying around madly here and there within his belly so that you might have thought he was getting ready to escape from him now through his mouth, now through the nether regions of his body. Some of those who were standing nearby and extending their hands to prevent the flight of the enemy<sup>34</sup> remarked among themselves in the French tongue that he was running about like a little cat, but the possessed man, who was totally ignorant of that language, smiled and replied fluently using diminutive forms in the same tongue, 'Not like a kitten, but like a puppy.'<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, the time for dining arrived. While the community was eating, one from among the elders, named Ælfwine,<sup>36</sup> remained behind with the patient watching the hall. From his infancy this man had been accustomed to adhere to blessed Dunstan with a kind of love that was both sweet and attentive, and to the best of his ability he was always assiduous in his obedience to him. He had pity for the unfortunate man lying there and trusted greatly in the compassion of blessed Dunstan, with great steadfastness he took the cross which, while he was alive, that same father always had carried before him, as befitted an archbishop, and held it over the possessed man, crying out and saying with devout mind and tearful voice: 'Dear master, my holy Dunstan, have mercy on him.' And

<sup>36</sup> In his *Breuilloquium*, written at an unknown date before c.1116, Eadmer mentions an elderly monk named Ælfwine, the sacrist (secretary) of Christ Church who was still alive when he was writing (*Breuilloquium*, p. 180: 'quidam de senioribus ipsius ecclesie fratribus, Ælfwinus nomine . . . qui et ipse secretarii ministerio hucusque fungitur'), and who experienced a vision at Wilfrid's tomb in Christ Church. Another reference to an Ælfwine who was prior of St Augustine's in 1088, and who was removed by Lanfranc to Christ Church with some other rebellious monks, seems to refer to a separate person; see *Acta Lanfranci*, in *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-9), pp. 287-92, at 290.



Dunstone, miserere.' Mirabile dictu. Ilico fugato demone, eger, leuatis<sup>a</sup> pie sursum oculis, et perfusus lacrimis ait: 'Gratias tibi ago, piissime pater,<sup>b</sup> gratias et<sup>c</sup> tibi, carissime frater, quia tuis meritis, sancte<sup>d</sup> domine, et tua, frater, caritatiua intercessione, hostis qui me uexabat discessit,<sup>e</sup> perterritus diutius manere non potuit.' Quod monachus audiens, gaudio gauisus est magno, et persolutis debitis gratis pio Dunstano, uincola quibus erat irretitus absoluit. Cum itaque fratres post refectioem illo<sup>f</sup> intrassent, et quem furiosum reliquerant leni sopore quiescentem repperissent, obstupefacti immensas Deo et eius Dunstano gratias intimo corde persoluerunt. Mansit ergo post haec inter fratres per multos annos ab illa infirmitate sanus et incolumis, expletoque cursu uitae praesentis, sancto fine quieuit. Quantum autem percussio ipsius ualuerit ad correctionem eorum qui in ipso monasterio monachi erant facile est uidere omnibus, qui unde ad quid ordo monachus ab eo tempore illic<sup>g</sup> profecerit sciunt. Sciunt quippe quia qui prius<sup>h</sup> in omni gloria mundi, auro uidelicet,<sup>i</sup> argento, uariis uestibus ac decoris cum preciosis lectisterniis, ut<sup>j</sup> diuersa musici generis instrumenta quibus sepe oblectabantur, et equos, canes, et accipitres cum quibus nonnunquam spatium ibant, taceam, more comitum potius quam monachorum uitam agebant. Hoc flagello, misericordia Christi cooperante<sup>k</sup> et sagacitate boni patris Lanfranci archiepiscopi, ad id proeucti sunt, ut omnibus illis<sup>l</sup> abrenunciarent, ac<sup>m</sup> in ueram monachorum religionem transeuntes cuncta quasi stercora reputarent.<sup>37</sup> Et nos quidem qui qualiter ea tempestate res agebantur<sup>n</sup> nouimus indubitanter fatemur, quia nequaquam processisset tam subita et salubris rerum mutatio, si prae oculis non fuisset ostensa crudelis illa<sup>o</sup> et quae cunctos terruerat<sup>p</sup> saeua examinatio.

20. [17 Stubbs] Circa<sup>q</sup> haec ferme tempora comes Cantiae qui<sup>r</sup> et episcopus Baiocensis, Odo nomine,<sup>38</sup> promisit fratri suo regi

<sup>a</sup> eleuatis *W*    <sup>b</sup> pater piissime *RV*    <sup>c</sup> et gratias *W*    <sup>d</sup> sanctissime *AbDMRVW*  
<sup>e</sup> decessit *W*; *V* adds et    <sup>f</sup> om. *W*    <sup>g</sup> illic *W*    <sup>h</sup> prius qui *RV*    <sup>i</sup> scilicet *W*  
<sup>j</sup> aut *M*    <sup>k</sup> cooperante misericordia Christi *AbDMRVW*    <sup>l</sup> *C* inserts s.l.    <sup>m</sup> et *W*  
<sup>n</sup> agebatur *W*    <sup>o</sup> ostensa fuisset illa crudelis *W*    <sup>p</sup> exterruerat *W*    <sup>q</sup> *New chapter in DMRVW*    <sup>r</sup> *C* inserts s.l.

<sup>37</sup> For the reforms instituted by Lanfranc at Christ Church, see also his *Constitutions*; these were written for Prior Henry some time in the 1070s (cf. Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins', p. 41).

<sup>38</sup> Odo (c. 1030–97) was the son of Herleva, the mother of William I, by her later marriage

wondrous to say, the demon was immediately put to flight, the sick man raised his eyes devoutly on high, and weeping profusely he said: 'Thanks be to you most loving father, and also to you, my dearest brother, because by your merits, holy master, and by your charitable intercession, my brother, the enemy, who was tormenting me, has departed; he was thoroughly terrified and unable to remain any longer.' On hearing this the monk rejoiced with great happiness and gave due thanks to holy Dunstan; he then removed the chains by which the man had been firmly restrained. When the brothers returned there after their meal and discovered that the madman they had left behind there was now reposing in gentle slumber they were amazed; they rendered immense thanks to God and to his disciple Dunstan from the bottom of their hearts. And after these things had happened he lived among the brothers for many years, healthy and free of that sickness, and at the end of the course of this present life he died a holy death. Now it is easy for all who know from what point to what the order of monks has advanced in that place since then to see how that man's affliction contributed to the improvement of the monks in that monastery. Indeed they know, since these men formerly used to live more in the manner of counts among all the world's glories rather than follow the life of a monk, that is amongst gold, silver, manifold elegant garments, and expensive sheets, not to mention different types of musical instruments, in which they often delighted, and horses, dogs, and hawks with which they frequently promenaded about. This frightening incident, together with the mercy of Christ and the wisdom of archbishop Lanfranc, their good father, advanced them to the extent that they renounced all those things and turning to the true vocation of a monk they looked back upon those things as if they were excrement.<sup>37</sup> And moreover, since we know what was going on at that time, we can say for certain that such a healthy and sudden change in matters would in no way have occurred had this cruel and savage torment, which terrified everyone, not been played out before our very eyes.

20. [17 Stubbs] About the same time that these things were happening the count of Kent, Odo by name, who was also the bishop of Bayeux,<sup>38</sup> promised copious amounts of money to his

to Count Herluin. He was appointed bishop of Bayeux in 1049/50, and made count of Kent by his brother following the Norman Conquest. For his family connections see *Domesday Monachorum*, pp. 33–6, and for the main aspects of his career, D. R. Bates, 'The character and career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–97)', *Speculum*, 1 (1975), 1–20.

Willelmo<sup>39</sup> copiosam pecuniam, eo pacto ut sibi liceret mouere<sup>a</sup> quasdam calumnias super terras et consuetudines aecclesiae Cantuariensis, et inde aduersus Lanfrancum archiepiscopum<sup>b</sup> prae<sup>c</sup> more ac<sup>d</sup> legibus terrae placita inire. Cui cum rex adqueuisset, ille de cunctis comitatibus totius Angliae prudentiores, et iuxta usus ac<sup>e</sup> leges regni doctiores uiros Cantuariam statuto die fecit uenire, praecipiens eis ut nil haesitantes, se tutore,<sup>f</sup> armarentur ad impugnandum<sup>g</sup> libertatem nominatae aecclesiae.<sup>40</sup> Iam nox praeuia statuti placiti instabat, et Lanfrancus quid regno super se ruenti responderet sollicitus cogitabat. Sciens itaque<sup>h</sup> ad tantum negotium omnino necessarium fore<sup>i</sup> diuinum praesidium, ad hoc obtinendum beatum Dunstanum sibi asciuit aduocatum. Fuis igitur precibus apud<sup>j</sup> sacratissimum corpus eius, disposuit sua membra quieti. Adest ergo ei in uisu quem interpellauerat, pater Dunstanus, angelico uultu conspicuus, stola sui patriarchatus insignitus, dicens illi: 'Lanfrance, ne turbetur spiritus tuus in te propter multitudinem hanc quae coacta est contra me et te.<sup>k</sup> Quin securus placitum ingredi, et me tibi per singula affuturo, meas et aecclesiae Domini<sup>l</sup> nostri<sup>m</sup> causas age. Quod si eos qui obstiterint, non deuiceris, me qui tecum loquor Dunstanum nec uiuere,<sup>n</sup> nec meorum negotia curare, nec uera tibi dixisse certissime noueris.' Expergefactus a somno, Lanfrancus confortatus est animo, et Deo ac beato Dunstano pro sua uisitatione gratias agens, promissam uictoriam bono potiri effectuo<sup>o</sup> iteratis precibus obsecrat.<sup>p</sup> 'Quid moror?<sup>q</sup> Adunata Anglia aulam et curtem<sup>r</sup> pontificis implet, et querelae hinc<sup>s</sup> inde consertae undique uolant. Procedit in medium pater Lanfrancus,<sup>t</sup> et superno uallatus auxilio, omnia quae obiciebantur, stupentibus cunctis, annihilauit. Sicque iuxta sponsonem ueridici uatis nobili<sup>u</sup> uictoria functus,<sup>v</sup> quae iuris aecclesiae erant,

<sup>a</sup> monere *M*      <sup>b</sup> om. *W*      <sup>c</sup> pro *W*      <sup>d</sup> et *RV*      <sup>e</sup> et *W*      <sup>f</sup> se tutore nil haesitantes *W*      <sup>g</sup> impugnandam *RV*      <sup>h</sup> utique *R*      <sup>i</sup> *C p. c.*; esse *RV*      <sup>j</sup> ad *W*  
<sup>k</sup> te et me *W*      <sup>l</sup> *W* adds Dei      <sup>m</sup> mei *V*      <sup>n</sup> uideret *V*      <sup>o</sup> affectu *W*  
<sup>p</sup> obsecrabat *W*      <sup>q</sup> om. *W*      <sup>r</sup> curiam *W*      <sup>s</sup> *W* adds et      <sup>t</sup> Lanfrancus pater *M*  
<sup>u</sup> nobilis *R*      <sup>v</sup> *W* adds est

<sup>39</sup> William I (b. c. 1028), duke of Normandy from 1035, and king of England from 1066 till his death in 1087.

<sup>40</sup> In *HN*, pp. 16–18, Eadmer mentions two actions of Odo against Lanfranc concerning the territorial claims of Christ Church. The first of these was the council at Penenden Heath (Kent), probably in 1072, where Lanfranc successfully recovered ancient lands and rights; as he does here, Eadmer states that the debate at Penenden Heath involved the assembled nobility and upright men of the kingdom (*HN*, p. 17: 'adunatis primoribus et probis uiris'). However, it is in the course of the second debate recounted in the *HN*, for which we are not given any precise date (Eadmer merely states that it happened 'alio tempore'), that Lanfranc experiences his vision of Dunstan. For discussion of the background to these debates, which

brother, King William,<sup>39</sup> on the understanding that he be allowed to move certain false charges concerning the lands and entitlements of the church at Canterbury, and in this way enter into litigation against archbishop Lanfranc, usurping the customs and laws of the land. And when the king had agreed to this, he arranged for the wisest men among all the counties of the whole of England and for the men most learned in the customs and laws of the kingdom to come to Canterbury on a set day; he commanded that without hesitation and under his direction they arm themselves in order to make an assault upon the liberty of the church I just mentioned.<sup>40</sup> On the night before the declared litigation was to take place Lanfranc was anxiously thinking about what he should respond to the tyranny that was threatening to sweep over him. Knowing that divine protection would without doubt be required to meet such a grave threat, he summoned blessed Dunstan to be his advocate in getting it. Thus he poured forth prayers before his most sacred body and then laid his own limbs to rest. And so father Dunstan, whose intercession he had sought, appeared to him in a dream, distinguished by an angelic visage and marked out by his archiepiscopal robes, and said to him: 'Lanfranc, let your spirit not be troubled by this throng which has been assembled against both me and you. Just enter the court with confidence and argue my causes and those of the Church of our Lord, for I will be with you at every point. But if you do not overcome those who are opposing you, you may conclude most assuredly that I, Dunstan, who am speaking to you, neither live, nor am concerned about the business of my people, nor have spoken the truth to you.' And when he was aroused from sleep Lanfranc was comforted in spirit, and giving thanks to God, and to blessed Dunstan for his visitation, he begged with renewed prayers that the victory promised to him would have a good outcome. Why do I delay telling this? Englishmen drawn from all quarters filled the palace and courtyard of the bishop, and charges brought from this quarter and that flew from all sides. Father Lanfranc progressed into their midst and fortified by heavenly aid he annihilated every argument thrown up against him, which left them all gaping. And so after he had gained a famous victory, as promised by that prophet who had spoken the truth, he preserved without damage to them the things that belonged

went back to confiscations of Canterbury lands in the Anglo-Saxon period, see D. R. Bates, 'The land pleas of William I's reign: Penenden Heath revisited', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, li (1978), 1–19.

inconuulsa seruauit, quae sub dubietate aliqua<sup>a</sup> fluctuabant, irrefragabili ueritatis ratione et antiquorum exemplorum auctoritate in posterum confirmauit.

21. [18 Stubbs] Post<sup>b</sup> haec idem antistes<sup>c</sup> grauissima corporis infirmitate percussus, desperatus est. Mittens itaque,<sup>d</sup> praecepit maiores fratrum personas<sup>e</sup> ad se uenire, nolens in absentia eorum quos paterno affectu diligebat, et in quibus magnam suae liberationis fiduciam posuerat uitam finire.<sup>f</sup> Decumbebat autem in uilla sua quae Ealdintune<sup>g</sup> appellatur,<sup>41</sup> et nichil de eo nisi ultimam horam confluentis multitudinis praestolabatur. Verum cum a suis, uidelicet monachis,<sup>h</sup> clericis, et aliis hominibus hora qua decederet noctu obseruaretur, leni sopore circa ortum aurorae fessus opprimitur. Intuetur itaque, et ecce uiri<sup>i</sup> candidissimo<sup>j</sup> amictu fulgentes, coram se bini et bini in albis equis<sup>k</sup> longa serie iter agebant, laeticiam animi iocundis uultibus cum modesta alacritate alterutrum demonstrantes. Par et uniformis erat cunctis amictus, par species et aequa magnitudo omnibus equis. Aetate sola discrepabant, et post pueros adolescentes, post adolescentibus<sup>l</sup> iuuenes, post iuuenes senes equitabant. Erat ergo processio-  
nem pulchram uidere. Percunctanti uero<sup>m</sup> Lanfranco cuiusnam talis ac tanta profectio<sup>n</sup> esset, responsum est: 'Illius magni ac praeclari patris Dunstani.' Ait: 'Et ille, quaeso, ubi est?' Respondetur: 'Non longe hinc.' Transibant igitur, ut dixi, duo<sup>o</sup> et<sup>p</sup> duo, et tandem ipse<sup>q</sup> qui maxime et<sup>r</sup> solus expectabatur inter senes reuerenda<sup>s</sup> canitie niueos sullimior<sup>t</sup> caeteris aduehebatur. Quem Lanfrancus, ut uidit, protinus agnouit, et appropinquans eum, per pedem strictissime tenuit. Cunque caput ad pedem quem tenebat deosculandum demitteret, apprehensum crus suum ambabus manibus pater sanctus reniti coepit, ne hoc faceret. In qua lucta Lanfrancus euigilans, penitus se sensit<sup>u</sup> conualuisse. Ilico surgens,<sup>v</sup> et Saluatori suo grates<sup>w</sup> exoluens,<sup>x</sup> eos quos circa se dolentes ac gemebundos conspexit blande consolatus est, integerrimae sanitati se<sup>y</sup> restitutum contestans. Ex quo cum illos

<sup>a</sup> quadam W    <sup>b</sup> New chapter in MRVW    <sup>c</sup> pontifex V    <sup>d</sup> igitur W  
<sup>e</sup> om. W    <sup>f</sup> finire uitam M    <sup>g</sup> Eldintune W    <sup>h</sup> W adds et    <sup>i</sup> om. W    <sup>j</sup> uiri  
candissimo D; candissimo uiri M, inserting correction marks s.l.    <sup>k</sup> aequis D  
<sup>l</sup> om. W    <sup>m</sup> om. W    <sup>n</sup> processio W    <sup>o</sup> duo ut dixi W    <sup>p</sup> C inserts  
s.l.    <sup>q</sup> ille W    <sup>r</sup> uel W    <sup>s</sup> ueneranda W    <sup>t</sup> sullimius W    <sup>u</sup> sensit se M  
<sup>v</sup> exurgens W    <sup>w</sup> gratias W    <sup>x</sup> agens W    <sup>y</sup> se integerrimae sanitati DMRVW

<sup>41</sup> Aldington (Kent) was the location of one of the archbishop's principal manors (described *Domesday Monachorum*, pp. 83-4).

to the church by right, and those things about which there was some doubt he confirmed for posterity with irrefutable and true logic, and with the authority of ancient precedents.

21. [18 Stubbs] After these things had happened the same bishop was struck by a most severe bodily illness, so that the people despaired for his life. And so he sent messengers to the senior members of the fraternity ordering them to come to him; he did not wish to end his life without them being there, for he loved them with paternal affection and had placed great trust in them concerning his own salvation. He was confined to bed at one of his manors called Aldington,<sup>41</sup> and the assembling multitude expected nothing concerning him except that this would be his final hour. But while his own followers, that is the monks, clerics, and other men, passed the night awaiting the hour of his death, he became weary and as dawn was breaking a gentle rest overcame him. And behold, he saw in a vision men arrayed in gleaming white garments advancing before him in a long procession, two by two and on white horses; modest and lively, they revealed to each other the joy in their hearts by their smiling faces. All their garments were of the same size and shape, and their horses looked alike and were all of equal size. Only in age did they differ—behind the children rode youths, behind the youths young men, and behind the young men elders. That was a beautiful procession to gaze upon. When Lanfranc asked on whose behalf such a great and magnificent parade was being made he received the reply, 'It is for the powerful and illustrious father Dunstan.' He said, 'And may I ask where he might be?' and was told, 'Not far from here.' And so they advanced, as I have said, two by two until finally the one who alone was most anxiously expected rode forth, higher than the others, amongst the venerable old men with snow-white hair. When Lanfranc saw him he recognized him immediately, and approaching he grasped him most firmly by the foot. And when he inclined his head to the foot which he was holding in order to kiss it, the holy father began to pull back the heel which had been grasped with both hands so that he might not do this. In the midst of this struggle Lanfranc awoke and discovered that he had been completely cured. He immediately got up and gave thanks to his Saviour; he looked at those standing around him, who were grieving and lamenting, and gently consoled them, by assuring them that he had been restored to most perfect health. But as soon as he realized that they were

stupere, nec uerbis suis fidem praebere aduerteret, retulit quid uiderit et<sup>a</sup> qualiter sanatus sit. Deinde subiunxit: 'Surgite, praeparate uos, quia uolo<sup>b</sup> missam celebrare, et Deo ac piissimo amico suo<sup>c</sup> pro adepta sanitate debitas laudes<sup>d</sup> exoluere.<sup>e</sup> Vos autem,<sup>f</sup> filii et fratres karissimi, qui de Cantuaria huc uenistis, cum benedictione Dei et mea redite, et caeteris fratribus quae Deus, per merita communis patris nostri eorum<sup>g</sup> intercessione permotus, circa me peregerit, edicite,<sup>h</sup> ac in commune debitas, ut nostis,<sup>i</sup> grates in uoce laudis exoluite.'<sup>j</sup> Fecerunt sicut praecepit, et gaudiis ac laudibus repleti sunt ad quos facti huius fama peruenit.

22. [19 Stubbs] Eadem<sup>j</sup> hora atque<sup>k</sup> momento quo uenerabilis<sup>l</sup> pater Lanfrancus sanatus est, quidam de clericis eius quem egrotantem paries unus a Lanfranco dirimebat a quartanis febribus quibus per octo menses irremediabiliter uexabatur liberatus est. Nam Lanfranco in conatu osculandi<sup>m</sup> pedem sancti antistitis, sicut retulimus, elaborante, uidit in somnis se,<sup>n</sup> ut referebat, lecta epistula ad missam eius pro<sup>o</sup> benedictione pedes illius ex more deosculantem. Sancto autem benedictionem super eo<sup>p</sup> edente, sensit se omni<sup>q</sup> pristinae infirmitatis<sup>r</sup> molestia caruisse. Visa itaque sospitate utriusque, compertum est<sup>s</sup> beatum Dunstanum<sup>t</sup> una et eadem hora per diuersas uisiones suam utrisque gratiam praestitisse.

23. [20 Stubbs] Inter<sup>u</sup> haec iam monachica religione in aecclesia saluatoris Christi<sup>v</sup> quaque fundata, circumquaque coeperunt boni clerici<sup>w</sup> illuc ad conuersionem uenire et monachi fieri. Quos inter Eduuardus<sup>x</sup> quidam nomine, uir in scientia litterarum strenuus et Lundoniae<sup>y</sup> ciuitatis archidiaconus, ueniens honorifice susceptus<sup>z</sup> ad ordinem<sup>aa</sup> est.<sup>42</sup> Qui nouo conuersionis suae tempore religiosae uitae in suis moribus indicia praeferens, post annum quo monachus factus est

<sup>a</sup> aut DM <sup>b</sup> om. W <sup>c</sup> RV add Dunstano <sup>d</sup> laudes debitas R <sup>e</sup> W adds volo s.l. <sup>f</sup> om. W <sup>g</sup> horum RV <sup>h</sup> edicite W <sup>i</sup> ut nostis debitas W <sup>j</sup> New chapter in DMRVW <sup>k</sup> ac W <sup>l</sup> om. W <sup>m</sup> osculando W <sup>n</sup> se in somnis DMRVW <sup>o</sup> om. W <sup>p</sup> eum W <sup>q</sup> omnino W <sup>r</sup> infirmitatis pristinae W <sup>s</sup> om. W <sup>t</sup> Dunstanum beatum W <sup>u</sup> New chapter in DMRVW <sup>v</sup> om. W <sup>w</sup> boni clerici coeperunt AbDMRVW <sup>x</sup> Eadwardus AbDM <sup>y</sup> Londonie VW <sup>z-aa</sup> om. M

<sup>42</sup> Eadmer's account is largely based on Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 23, although he also depicts himself as one of the witnesses to Edward's last hours. Edward died after 1074, when Henry became prior at Christ Church, and before Anselm's enthronement in 1093 (the *terminus ante quem* for Osbern's *Miracula S. Dunstani*). In his *Constitutions* Lanfranc

astounded and did not trust his words, he told them what he had seen and how he had been cured. Then he added, 'Arise and prepare yourselves, because I wish to say mass and to repay due thanks to God and his most loving friend for my restored health. But you, my most beloved sons and brethren, who have come here from Canterbury, return there with both God's blessing and mine, and tell the other brothers what God, moved by the merits of our common father and by their intercession, has brought about concerning me, and as you know how to, render together due thanks with words of praise.' They did what he had ordered and those who heard tell of this deed were filled with joy and gave praise.

22. [19 Stubbs] At the very hour and moment when the venerable father Lanfranc was restored to health one of his clerics, who was separated from Lanfranc by a single wall as he also lay sick, was cured of the quartan fever by which he had been vexed without remedy for the past eight months. For while Lanfranc was struggling in his attempt to kiss the foot of the holy priest, as I have related, the cleric saw himself in a dream, as he recounted, kissing the feet of Dunstan, according to custom, after the epistle of Lanfranc's mass had been read in order to get his blessing. While the saint was bestowing his blessing upon him he sensed that he was free of all the pain of his earlier sickness. When they were both seen to be healthy it was realized that blessed Dunstan had bestowed his grace upon them both in different visions at one and the same moment.

23. [20 Stubbs] While these things were happening, because monastic discipline had been established throughout the church of Christ our Saviour, clerics of good character began to come there from all around to take their vows and become monks. Among these a certain man named Edward, who was the archdeacon of the city of London and a person accomplished in the art of letters, arrived and was honourably received into the order.<sup>42</sup> Soon after his conversion this man showed clear signs of religious vocation by his habits and a year

names a certain Edward, archdeacon of London, when discussing the proper terms of address for a monk who is being accused of a misdemeanour in chapter (Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, c. 106: 'domnus Eduuardus presbiter, diaconus, subdiaconus, secretarius, magister infantum uel iuuenum, uel aliquid huiusmodi, non archidiaconus, non Lundo-niensis, non aliquid cognominatum de seculo'), and he appears to have been the same person mentioned by Osbern and Eadmer (see the comment of C. N. L. Brooke at Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, p. 166 n. 371).

secretarii officio functus est.<sup>43</sup> In quo officio constitutus, dum aliquantum<sup>a</sup> maiori caeteris libertate<sup>b</sup> potiretur, coepit a religione paulatim<sup>c</sup> tepescere, et in quibusdam neglegentius agere. Cum igitur ab iis<sup>d</sup> qui eo scientia et ordine uidebantur inferiores modo priuatim, modo publice corripere, moleste ferebat, et quam prius amauerat religionem fastidiebat. Quid plura? Proponit animo de monasterio fugere. Quae itaque fugitiuis necessaria uidebantur, sibi<sup>e</sup> et cuidam iuueni quem fugae suae socium ascuerat<sup>44</sup> de rebus aecclisiae parat. Iam noctem fugae<sup>f</sup> destinata dies praeibat, et fratres meridiana hora in<sup>g</sup> lectis pausabant. Ille uero in oratorio, quasi pro suo officio uigilans, de hoc quod se facturum cogitabat animo fluctuabat. Statuit tamen penes se praeter licentiam patris Dunstani se discessurum<sup>h</sup> minime fore. Itaque ad tumbam eius sese confert, et stratus pauimento, querula uoce illos et illos iniuriarum sibi illatarum<sup>i</sup> accusat, atque<sup>j</sup> sua benedictione propositum iter eius comitetur obsecrat, pollicens quocumque pertingeret ipsius<sup>k</sup> sese<sup>l</sup> futurum. Deinde aecclisiam exiturus, post chorum uenit, ibique monachum quendam reuerendi uultus decore conspicuum, uiuidos oculorum super se<sup>m</sup> radios dirigentem, uirga quam manu tenebat se sustentantem, stantem inuenit. Quo uiso, nec quis esset ullatenus agnito, expauit,<sup>n</sup> coque relicto quo disposerat, pergere uoluit.<sup>o</sup> At ipse<sup>p</sup> opposita uirga sciscitatus est: 'Quo uadis?' Ille sciens moris non esse monachos in oratorio loqui, digitis innuit ei ipsum ibi nequaquam loqui debere.<sup>45</sup> Cui monachus; 'Si loquor nichil ad te, sed tu ad ea quae interrogo, michi responde. Dic quo uadis.' 'Dare', ait, 'operam iis<sup>q</sup> quae mea intersunt.' Respondit: 'Nichil est. Redi magis<sup>r</sup> ad sepulchrum ubi modo fuisti, et mutata uoluntate tua, intentius ora.' Stupefactus ille,

<sup>a</sup> aliquantum *V*; aliquanto *W*    <sup>b</sup> libertate caeteris *AbDMRVW*    <sup>c</sup> *W* adds a religione    <sup>d</sup> his *RV*; hiis *AbDMW*    <sup>e</sup> sunt sibi *met AbDMRVW*    <sup>f</sup> fugae noctem *R*    <sup>g</sup> *om. W*    <sup>h</sup> decessurum *W*    <sup>i</sup> illos et illos querula uoce illatarum sibi iniuriarum *W*    <sup>j</sup> *AbDM* add ut (*D s.l.*)    <sup>k</sup> illius *W*    <sup>l</sup> se *W*    <sup>m</sup> super se uiuidos oculorum *AbDMRVW*    <sup>n</sup> *om. W*    <sup>o</sup> cepit *W*    <sup>p</sup> ille *AbDM*; ipsae *V*    <sup>q</sup> his *DMRV*; hiis *AbW*    <sup>r</sup> potius *RV*

<sup>43</sup> The duties of the sacrist are specified by Lanfranc in his *Constitutions*; they include keeping the ornaments and utensils of the church, ringing the bells, preparing the hosts for mass, and washing the sacred vessels. Lanfranc notes that the duties are so manifold and complex that they should not be entrusted to one individual, but rather to many (Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, c. 87). Ælfwine, who was mentioned in c. 19, may also have been a sacrist in Christ Church.

<sup>44</sup> Named Adrian by Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 23.

<sup>45</sup> The *Constitutions* stipulate that no monk is allowed to speak while any hour, apart from compline, is being sung in the church (Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, c. 98), and on certain

after he had been made a monk he was appointed to the office of sacristan.<sup>43</sup> When he had been installed in this position and was enjoying rather greater liberty than the rest of his brothers, he gradually began to become lax in his religious observance and to act somewhat negligently in certain matters. When therefore he was reproved, now publicly, now in private, by those who seemed to be inferior to him in both knowledge and rank, he did not bear it at all well and began to despise the religious life which he had earlier cherished. What more can I say? He planned in his mind to flee the monastery. And so from the possessions of the church he selected for himself and a certain young man who was to be his companion in flight<sup>44</sup> those things which he deemed necessary for fugitives. Now day was advancing towards the night which had been chosen for their escape, and the brothers were resting on their beds at the noonday hour. But Edward was in the oratory, pretending to hold a vigil in accordance with his duties; he was troubled in his mind about what he had decided to do. He determined, however, that under no circumstances would he depart without the permission of father Dunstan. Thus he took himself to Dunstan's tomb and having thrown himself upon the pavement with trembling voice he charged this man and that with inflicting injuries upon him; he begged Dunstan that by his blessing he might be his companion on the proposed journey, and promised that he would be his man wherever he ended up. Thence on his way out of the church he passed behind the choir, where he found a certain monk of distinguished face and striking appearance standing; the man, who was supporting himself on a staff which he held in his hand, was casting the lively glance of his eyes upon him. When he saw him, he did not recognize him at all, and being frightened he sought to depart whither he had intended to go, leaving the other behind. But this man blocked his way with his staff and asked, 'Where are you going?' Knowing that it was not customary for monks to speak in the oratory, Edward signalled to him with his fingers that the monk should in no way speak there.<sup>45</sup> The monk replied, 'If I am to say nothing to you, just reply to what I am asking—tell me where you are going.' He replied, 'To attend to my responsibilities.' The monk replied, 'That is of no consequence. Return rather to the tomb where you have just been and having changed your intention pray more fervently.' Edward was

other occasions, such as before the burial of a brother. For discussion of the evolution of sign language within monasteries, with specific reference to the Cistercian Order, see R. A. Barakat, *The Cistercian Sign Language: A Study in Non-verbal Communication* (Kalamazoo, 1975), pp. 24–7.

reuersus est ad tumbam sancti uiri, modum primae orationis oratione secunda non mutans. Inde rediens, et monachum ubi primo habuit obuium habens, secundo quo tenderet ab eo requisitus est. Ille animosior factus, quid hoc ad eum paululum dure interrogauit.<sup>a</sup> ‘Multum’, inquit, ‘ad me, quod<sup>b</sup> et tu, si te non correxeris, in proximo experiere. Sed nunc uel secundo admonitus redi, muta mentem, muta precem.’ Cunque ille<sup>c</sup> potius transire quam redire conaretur, is<sup>d</sup> qui ‘monachus uidebatur<sup>e</sup> uirgam contra<sup>f</sup> uibrando erexit, atque ad requiem sancti illum<sup>g</sup> reuerti coegit. Grandi ergo pauore percussus, incumbit precibus quibus iam<sup>h</sup> incubuerat duabus uicibus. Post haec ad locum rediens, sed uirum minime reperiens, iam se bene fecisse ratus est, et<sup>i</sup> ad ostium quo claustrum intratur properauit. Vbi uirum turbato uultu contra se stantem, et quo iret solito interrogantem offendens, turbato et ipse spiritu quis ille uel cuius potestatis esset, qui eum tanta auctoritate constringeret inquisiuit. Ait: ‘Quaeris quis? Audi. Ego, ego nimirum sum Dunstanus,<sup>j</sup> prouisor et proprius archiepiscopus loci istius, amator atque adiutor omnium illorum qui uere<sup>k</sup> filii sunt aecclesiae istius. Sed tu uoluntate peruersa uis contra morem filiorum bonorum<sup>l</sup> deserere aecclesiam, matrem tuam, uis deserere Deum, patrem tuum, et ad id peragendum petis suffragium meum? Stulta cogitasti, dum<sup>m</sup> in his<sup>m</sup> me tibi suffragaturum existimasti. <sup>n</sup>Nec enim<sup>n</sup> tali uia perueni<sup>o</sup> ad Deum. At semel monui et secundo quatinus te corrigeres, et nolui. Nunc igitur scias, quia mea<sup>p</sup> licentia hinc nunquam exibis, sed uelis nolis hic remanebis, hic morieris. Propterea tamen quod me monentem exaudire contempsisti, in poena tua ecce probabis quod non bene fecisti.’ Quibus dictis, uirgam leuauit, et eum tercio<sup>q</sup> acriter percussus in terram prostrauit, et disparuit. Remansit igitur frater grauiter debilitatus, et demum a fratribus in domum est infirmorum<sup>r</sup> delatus. Facta sunt haec inter duas festiuitates, assumptionis et natiuitatis beatae<sup>s</sup> Mariae.<sup>46</sup> Fuit ergo in infirmitate cotidie proficiens, et semper sequenti die praecedente deterius habens.<sup>47</sup> Quae infirmitas talis erat, ut qualitas eius dinosci a nemine<sup>t</sup> posset, nec ipse ulli uolebat

<sup>a</sup> interrogauit dure *RV*    <sup>b</sup> *om. R*    <sup>c</sup> *om. W*    <sup>d</sup> his *V*    <sup>e</sup> *C writes partly in mg.*    <sup>f</sup> *RV add illum*    <sup>g</sup> *om. C*    <sup>h</sup> *om. W*    <sup>i</sup> *om. W*    <sup>j</sup> sum Dunstanus ego nimirum *W*    <sup>k</sup> ueri *W*    <sup>l</sup> contra morem filiorum bonorum uis *W*    <sup>m</sup> *om. M*  
<sup>n</sup> Neque *W*    <sup>o</sup> peruenitur *W*    <sup>p</sup> *om. W*    <sup>q</sup> *om. M*    <sup>r</sup> infirmorum est *M*  
<sup>s</sup> sanctae *AbDMV*    <sup>t</sup> a nemine dinosci *W*

<sup>46</sup> 15 Aug. and 8 Sept.

<sup>47</sup> For the structure, cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 3: 1, and *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, c. 33 n.

dumbfounded and returned to the tomb of the holy man, but in his second prayer he did not change the tenor of his first prayer. He returned from there and found the monk standing in his way, as he had been earlier, and he asked him for a second time where he was going. He became somewhat bold and asked a little harshly what it had to do with him. He said, ‘It matters greatly to me, and you will shortly discover this, if you do not mend your ways. But now, warned for a second time, return, change your attitude, and change your prayer.’ And when Edward tried to go past him rather than return, the one who appeared to be a monk raised his staff and shook it at him and compelled him to return to the resting-place of the saint. Struck by great fear he prostrated himself and prayed the same prayers he had already offered twice before. Returning to that place after this had been done and not finding any trace of the monk there, he now concluded that he had done well, and hastened to the door by which the cloister is entered. Finding the same man standing there confronting him with angry appearance and asking in his usual manner where he was going, he himself asked with angered feelings who he might be or what power he might have to order him about with such great authority. He said, ‘You ask who I am? Listen. I am in fact Dunstan, guardian and rightful archbishop of this place, lover and helper of all those who truly are sons of this church. But with perverse will and contrary to the behaviour of good sons, you wish to desert the church, your mother, and want to abandon God, your father, and yet you dare to ask for my assistance to bring this about? You reasoned like a fool when you calculated that I would ever help you in these undertakings. For I did not arrive at God’s dwelling by such a path. Indeed I warned you once, and then again, that you should change your ways, but you did not want to. Now therefore know this, that you shall never leave here with my permission, but like it or not you shall remain here, and here you shall die. Moreover, because you spurned me when I warned you to listen, behold, by your punishment it will be shown that you have not acted well.’ When he had said these things he raised his staff, and as he struck Edward severely a third time he fell prostrate on the ground, and Dunstan then disappeared. And so the brother remained there severely incapacitated until finally his brothers carried him to the house of the sick. These events transpired between two feasts, the assumption and the birth of blessed Mary.<sup>46</sup> He continued to live, but daily his sickness advanced and on each succeeding day he was always worse than on the preceding one.<sup>47</sup> His sickness was of such a kind that no one could diagnose its nature, and he did not wish to reveal to anyone whence it

exponere unde processisset. Tandem languor uitalia subit, et morti propinquus inunctionem et communionem corporis Christi suscepit. Illuxit dies festiuitatis<sup>a</sup> sancti Martini,<sup>48</sup> et ille, iuxta quod putabatur, in suprema hora constitutus, ad terram super cilicium positus est.<sup>49</sup> Accurrentes fratres, septem psalmos poenitentiales<sup>50</sup> et letanias<sup>b</sup> pro obitu eius ex more decantabant. Igitur in letaniis cum dicerent, 'Sancte Dunstane, intercede pro anima eius', et idipsum pro spe subuentionis quam in ipso dulcius habent<sup>c</sup> iterarent, coepit eger, paene defunctus, respirare, et in circumstantes pio intuitu oculos dirigere. Incuruauimus nos qui propinquiores stabamus ad illum, uolentes<sup>d</sup> nosse<sup>e</sup> quid uellet. At ille: 'Ponite me, quaeso', inquit, 'super lectum nostrum,<sup>f</sup> quia modo mori non possum.' Quod et factum est. Deinde accersito Henrico<sup>g</sup> priore, cuius supra meminimus, ei rem totam, sicut eam<sup>h</sup> retulimus, ex ordine pandit, ac pro mala uoluntate quam habuerat discedendi a monasterio poenitentiam egit, absolutionem ac<sup>i</sup> ueniam petiit. Asseruit quoque<sup>j</sup> se nullatenus mori posse<sup>k</sup> donec et rem<sup>l</sup> eatenus cunctis incognitam denudasset, et remedio poenitentiae cum absolutione reatus sui potitus fuisset. Quod prior audiens, admiratus<sup>m</sup> misericordiam Dei est.<sup>n</sup> Et poenitentia morienti iniuncta, de peccato quod fuerat confessus eum absoluit. Tunc ille mente exhilaratus, et quod nichil peccati unde confessionem poenitentiamque non fecerit, in se cognosceret, Deo gratias agens, quatinus sibi iam de corpore liceret<sup>o</sup> egredi, postulauit. Ad quod prior ait: 'Proficiscere cum benedictione Dei omnipotentis. Comitetur iter tuum beatus et pius pater Dunstanus, et suscipiat te in regnum suum filius Dei, dominus noster Iesus Christus.' In his uerbis antequam lecto deponi posset, emisit spiritum. Cum igitur in conuentu fratrum aecclisae ipse prior haec omnia seriatim<sup>p</sup> enarrasset, iuuenis quem fugae, ut diximus, socium sibi<sup>q</sup> Edwardus<sup>r</sup> delegerat surrexit, et humi stratus, lacrimisque perfusus, se in fuga quidem homini consensisse, sed quod tali modo a patre Dunstano retentus fuerit illuc usque nescisse confessus est.

<sup>a</sup> om. W    <sup>b</sup> letaniam W    <sup>c</sup> habebant M    <sup>d</sup> om. W    <sup>e</sup> noscere M p. c.,  
writing -re s.l.    <sup>f</sup> meum RV    <sup>g</sup> Henrico D    <sup>h</sup> om. W    <sup>i</sup> et R    <sup>j</sup> quo W  
<sup>k</sup> posse mori V    <sup>l</sup> rem et W    <sup>m</sup> R inserts est s.l.    <sup>n</sup> om. R    <sup>o</sup> liceret iam de  
corpore W    <sup>p</sup> om. W    <sup>q</sup> sibi socium AbDMRVW    <sup>r</sup> Eaduardus AbDMV;  
predictus frater W

<sup>48</sup> 11 Nov.

<sup>49</sup> The description of the ceremony here follows closely the instructions of Lanfranc for when a monk is on the verge of dying (Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, c. 112); cf. also the description of Anselm's death in *Vita S. Anselmi*, ii. 66.

<sup>50</sup> Pss. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142.

had come. Finally the sickness invaded his vital organs and as death approached he received extreme unction and the communion of the body of Christ. The day of the feast of St Martin dawned<sup>48</sup> and Edward was laid on the ground and placed on a sackcloth at what they thought was his final hour.<sup>49</sup> The brothers quickly assembled and according to custom sang the seven penitential psalms<sup>50</sup> and litanies on account of his passing. And when they sang 'St Dunstan, intercede for his soul' in the course of the litany and repeated it because of the hope for assistance (which they consider one of his more endearing qualities), although he was nearly dead the sick man began to breathe and to direct his eyes with loving gaze upon those standing around him. Those of us who were standing closest to him bent down towards him wishing to discover what he wanted. But he said, 'Place me, I beg you,' he said, 'upon my bed, because I cannot die just yet.' And this they did. When prior Henry, whom I mentioned earlier, was summoned, Edward revealed to him the entire business from start to finish, just as I have recounted it, and did penance for the evil desire he had had to leave the monastery, and he sought absolution and forgiveness. He said, moreover, that he could in no way die until he had revealed the matter which up till then had been unknown to all, and until he had obtained the cure of penitence together with the remission of his sin. The prior heard this and marvelled at the mercy of God. And when penance had been enjoined upon the dying man he absolved him of the sin which he had confessed. He then became elated in spirit and recognizing that there was no sin in him for which he had not made confession and penance, giving thanks to God he asked that he now be allowed to depart from his body. To this the prior responded, 'Set forth with the blessing of almighty God. May blessed and loving father Dunstan be your companion on your journey and may the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, receive you into his kingdom.' And when these words had been uttered he sent forth his spirit, before he could be placed upon his bed. And when the prior himself recounted all these things one by one in the assembly of the brothers of the church, the young man whom Edward had chosen to be his companion in flight, as I narrated above, arose; lying on the ground and sobbing with tears he confessed that he had conspired with that man to flee, but that he had not known until now that Edward had been kept back in this manner by father Dunstan.

24. [21 Stubbs] Alius<sup>a</sup> quidam ipsius aecclēsię monachus,<sup>b</sup> nomine Ægelwinus, cupiens ire Ierusalem, accepta licentia ab archiepiscopo et fratribus, profectus est, commendans se et pollicens beato Dunstano, quia si iter suum prosperaret, pallium unum, quam melius posset, rediens ei<sup>c</sup> deferret. Hoc siquidem quod nunc scribo factum fuit eo tempore quo monachi Cantuarienses, ut habita superius mentio est, magis more<sup>d</sup> comitum quam pauperum et proprii nichil habentium monachorum uitam agebant.<sup>51</sup> Profectus ergo<sup>e</sup> frater, ut dixi, prosperrimo<sup>f</sup> itinere peruenit ad sepulchrum Domini, et inde rediens per Constantinopolim, emit ibi quod beato Dunstano deferret pallium unum preciosum ualde et pulchrum.<sup>52</sup> Qui ubi, pertransita Apulia et Roma,<sup>g</sup> huenit in<sup>h</sup> Longobardiam,<sup>i</sup> obuiauit expeditioni imperatoris.<sup>53</sup> Quem plures honorati de exercitu uiri<sup>j</sup> cum honore et saeculi pompa proficisci conspicientes, et magnum aliquem esse coniectantes, humiliter salutatum benedicere sibi postulauere. Verum cum inter ultimos et ignauos multitudinis homines<sup>k</sup> deuenisset, ipsi considerantes mulam uiri<sup>l</sup> diuersis sarcinis digniter oneratam, rati sunt eam magna et multa preciosa portare. Monachum igitur cum sociis uię dimittentes, mulam inuadunt, rapiunt, abducunt. At ille, utpote in aliena patria, metuens ne plura perderet si eos insequens sua repeteret, substitit, et intuens bestiam cum suis rebus longius abductam, uehementer indoluit. Occurrit interim animo quid de aecclēsia sua exiens promiserit beato<sup>m</sup> Dunstano. Descenso itaque<sup>n</sup> animali<sup>o</sup> quo sedebat,<sup>o</sup> terrę procumbit, Dunstanum ne pallium suum quod asportabatur perderet, precatur et obsecrat. Mirabile dictu. Necdum precem finierat, et ecce mula

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*    <sup>b</sup> monachus ipsius aecclēsię *RV*    <sup>c</sup> *om. W; ei rediens RV*    <sup>d</sup> more magis *W*    <sup>e</sup> *om. W*    <sup>f</sup> prospero *W*    <sup>g</sup> Romam *RV*  
<sup>h-k</sup> peruenit *W*    <sup>i</sup> Langobardiam *R; DM are both corrected from Longobardiam*  
<sup>j</sup> uiri de exercitu *AbDM*    <sup>k</sup> hominis *RV*    <sup>l</sup> eius *W*    <sup>m</sup> sancto *AbDM*  
<sup>n</sup> igitur *AbDMRVW*    <sup>o-o</sup> cui insidebat *AbDMRVW*

<sup>51</sup> See c. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 26, alludes to Æthelwine's pilgrimage to Jerusalem but does not mention his name, and states that the monk was threatened by the army of the emperor of Constantinople and only saved by invoking Dunstan. Eadmer's version thus represents a considerable correction, placing the incident in northern Italy and changing the emperor of Constantinople into the German emperor. The date of this incident is unknown, apart from Eadmer's statement that it occurred in the period when the Canterbury monks were behaving with great ostentation: i.e. between the death of Ælfheah in 1012 and Lanfranc's reforms following the incident involving Æthelweard (see above, c. 19). With regard to pilgrimages to Jerusalem, that of Bishop Ealdred of Worcester is recounted in ASC (D) s.a. 1058 and John of Worcester s.a. 1058. A contemporary of Eadmer, the monk Joseph from Rochester, travelled first to Jerusalem some time around 1090 (i.e. well after

24. [21 Stubbs] A certain other monk of this same church, named Æthelwine, desired to go to Jerusalem, and once he had received permission from the archbishop and his brothers he set out; he entrusted himself to blessed Dunstan, promising that if he made his journey prosperous he would bring back for him upon his return the best pallium that he could buy. Now this anecdote which I am recounting happened at that time when the monks of Canterbury, as I mentioned earlier, were living more in the manner of counts than of paupers or monks with no personal possessions.<sup>51</sup> And so the brother set out on his most prosperous journey, as I have said, and arrived at the tomb of our Lord, and returning thence via Constantinople he purchased there an extremely costly and beautiful pallium to offer before blessed Dunstan.<sup>52</sup> When he had crossed through Apulia and Rome he came to Lombardy and there he encountered an imperial expedition.<sup>53</sup> When many decorated men amongst the army noticed him setting out with honour and worldly pomp they imagined him to be someone great and saluted him humbly and asked him to bestow his blessing upon them. But when he passed by the rabble at the end of the long train, the men there noticed the mule richly burdened with various sacks and thought that it was carrying many great and precious things. And so pushing aside the monk and his travel companions they fell upon the mule, seized it and led it away. And fearing because he was in a foreign country that he might lose more if he should follow them seeking his goods back, the monk stayed where he was and grieved excessively as he saw the beast being led further away with his belongings. At the same time he recalled what he had promised blessed Dunstan as he was setting out from his church. And so he dismounted from the animal upon which he was seated and throwing himself to the ground he begged and pleaded with Dunstan that he not be deprived of the pallium which was being brought to him. Wondrous to say, he had not yet finished the prayer when behold, the mule

Lanfranc's death) and then returned to England via Constantinople, where he endeavoured to obtain relics of St Andrew for his church; see C. H. Haskins, 'A Canterbury monk at Constantinople, c. 1090', *EHR*, xxv (1910), 293-5. However, Anselm sternly opposed monks who wished to travel to Jerusalem; see Anselm, *epist.* cxcv (written c. 1095), where he denounces the abbot of Cerne for planning a pilgrimage and instructs Bishop Osmund of Salisbury to forbid monks within his diocese from doing so, and likewise Anselm, *epist.* cdx.

<sup>53</sup> As noted above, the date of Æthelwine's pilgrimage is unknown, but if it took place during the early part of Lanfranc's pontificate, then it seems likely that the expedition of Emperor Henry IV through Lombardy to Canossa in the winter of 1076/7 is described here (see I. S. Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany: 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 159-61).



inter manus abducentium se coepit quasi insanire, ore et pedibus in eos qui sese<sup>a</sup> tenebant mordendo et feriendo desaeuire. Cunque illi eam<sup>b</sup> exonerare et sic a se dimittere uoluissent, illa, reiectis pedibus, hunc et illum grauiter ledens, quae credita susceperat integra conseruabat. Tandem de manibus illorum,<sup>c</sup> rupto freno, elapsa,<sup>d</sup> rapidissimo cursu post dominum suum cucurrit, semper subsiliens et se ab insectantibus fortiter defendens. Quod monachus eminus intuens, exhilaratus est. Receptoque animali cum omnibus rebus suis, patriam laetus reuisit, ac patri Dunstano pallium quod promiserat obtulit.<sup>54</sup>

25. [22 Stubbs] Quid<sup>e</sup> faciam? Si cuncta quae de isto<sup>f</sup> gloriosissimo patre<sup>g</sup> hoc tempore mira narrantur describere uelim, prius michi tempus quam materia scribendi<sup>h</sup> deficiet. Omissis igitur multis, in quorum silentio scio me nonnullos offensurum, duo tantum quae nuper acciderunt et celebri fama feruntur breui referam,<sup>i</sup> sicque coepto operi finem imponam. Illud tamen quod homunculo cuidam, Lamberto<sup>j</sup> nomine, qui in camera uenerabilis Anselmi, <sup>k</sup>successoris gloriosi Lanfranci<sup>k</sup> archiepiscopi,<sup>55</sup> ministrare solebat, oculos quos ferme<sup>l</sup> amiserat reddidit, et item quod uni clerico, capellano eiusdem Anselmi, nomine et natione Normanno,<sup>56</sup> equum quem pestis quam camoriam uocant ad mortem fere afflixerat incolumem restituit, et plura huiusmodi in numero miraculorum tanti patris hac uice computare minimum iudicauit. Vnum igitur de duobus quae sponendi me relaturum hoc est.

26. [23 Stubbs] Planeta<sup>m</sup> qua ipse pater Dunstanus inter missas frequenter fuerat usus<sup>n</sup> in abbacia beati<sup>o</sup> Petri quae in occidentali parte Lundoniae<sup>p</sup> sita est absque ullo auri apparatu existens habebatur. Matrona uero quaedam Londoniensis<sup>q</sup> graui infirmitate diutissime tenta,<sup>r</sup> sanitatem se amplius recuperaturam nulla ratione

<sup>a</sup> se *W*    <sup>b</sup> om. *W*    <sup>c</sup> eorum *R*    <sup>d</sup> illapsa *W*    <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in DMRVW*  
<sup>f</sup> illo *V*    <sup>g</sup> *MRV add Dunstano*    <sup>h</sup> scribendi materia *W*    <sup>i</sup> referam breui *RV*  
<sup>j</sup> Lamberto *M*    <sup>k-k</sup> om. *M*    <sup>l</sup> fere *W*    <sup>m</sup> *New chapter in DMRVW*    <sup>n</sup> usus fuerat *W*    <sup>o</sup> sancti *M*    <sup>p</sup> Londoniae *M*; Londini *W*    <sup>q</sup> Londoniensis *MW*  
<sup>r</sup> detenta *AbDM*

<sup>54</sup> The relic list of Christ Church from 1315/16 records that there were six *pallia* kept there for the altars of St Dunstan and St Ælfheah, four of these with frontals (*Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. J. W. Legg and W. H. St J. Hope (Westminster, 1902), p. 61).

<sup>55</sup> Anselm was invested as archbishop of Canterbury on 6 Mar. 1093 and died in Christ Church on 21 Apr. 1109.

which was in the hands of the abductors began to savage those who were holding it by biting them with its mouth and kicking them with its feet, as if it had gone mad. And when they wished to unburden the mule and then send it away, it preserved the things which had been entrusted to it intact by seriously injuring one and then another with its flailing hooves. Finally, the reins broke and it escaped from their grasp; it raced after its master in quickest flight, bucking all the time and defending itself vigorously from those pursuing it. Seeing this from the distance the monk was delighted. And having regained the animal and all of his possessions, Ægelwine returned happily to his homeland and made an offering of the pallium to father Dunstan, just as he had promised.<sup>54</sup>

25. [22 Stubbs] What am I to do? Should I wish to describe all the wondrous things which in these days are related concerning this most glorious father, time would fail me before I ran out of subject matter. Therefore leaving out many things, though I know that their omission will perhaps offend a number of people, I will briefly recount just two things which happened recently and are widely known and talked about, and thus put an end to the work I have undertaken. I have decided at this time not to include amongst the miracles of such a great father the one in which Dunstan gave back to a certain dwarf named Lambert the vision which he had almost lost—he used to serve in the private apartment of venerable Anselm, the successor of glorious archbishop Lanfranc<sup>55</sup>—or again, the one in which he restored to health a horse belonging to a cleric, the chaplain of this same Anselm, who was Norman both by name and race<sup>56</sup>—the sickness called camoria had stricken it nearly to the point of death—and more in the same vein. And so here follows one of the two that I promised I would recount.

26. [23 Stubbs] The chasuble which father Dunstan frequently had worn during masses used to be kept in the abbey of blessed Peter, which is situated in the western part of London; it lacked any decorative work in gold. A certain matron from London was afflicted

<sup>56</sup> Anselm mentions two men named Normannus in his correspondence, but the first is a monk of Canterbury who went to Amiens without Anselm's permission and sought to be consecrated abbot there (Anselm, *epist.* clxxxvii, written to Gervine, the bishop of Amiens from 1086/91 to c. 1102), while the second is a cleric but also an Englishman whom Anselm recommends to a religious house in Arras (Anselm, *epist.* ccxxxiv).

credebat. Huic, sicut putabatur iam et extemplo moriturae, per uisum uir Dei Dunstanus apparuit, sciscitans utrum ab illa infirmitate<sup>a</sup> conualescere uellet. Qua et 'Maxime' quidem respondente, intulit:<sup>b</sup> 'Tolle aurifrigium quod in arca tua reconditum habes, et pone illud in casula mea quae habetur apud Westmonasterium, et conualesces.' At illa, mox facto mane,<sup>c</sup> misit et casulam deferri fecit. Quam deosculans, et aurifrigio, sicut erat admonita, perornans, ilico integerrime conualuit, et deinde pluribus annis incolumis uixit. In quo illud quoque admirationi nonnullis fuit, quoniam<sup>d</sup> idem<sup>e</sup> aurifrigium planetae appositum nec<sup>f</sup> maius nec<sup>g</sup> minus inuentum est quam uestis ipsius mensura petebat.

27. [24 Stubbs] Aliud<sup>h</sup> sponsonis meae miraculum in Glawornae<sup>i</sup> ciuitatis prouintia ab eodem sancto nuperrime factum accepimus.<sup>57</sup> Instabat beata solennitas ipsius beati<sup>j</sup> famuli Dei, quae pro depositione eius colitur xiiii<sup>k</sup> kalendas Iunii. Est autem in praefata<sup>l</sup> prouintia uillula quaedam, Saprintune<sup>m</sup> dicta, et in ea aecclesia non adeo magna in honorem beati Dunstani antiquitus consecrata.<sup>58</sup> Dominico igitur die ipsam solennitatem praecedente indixit parochianis<sup>n</sup> suis<sup>o</sup> plebeius presbiter imminens festum celebrare, et ab<sup>p</sup> omni opere manuum sicut in dominico die<sup>q</sup> uacare. Quod praeceptum unus rusticorum nichilipendens, iunctis bobus, summo mane festiuitatis agrum suum colere coepit. Argentibus autem<sup>r</sup> illum pro audacia<sup>s</sup> notis suis, subsannando respondens ait: 'Quid?<sup>t</sup> Pro Dunstano de Saprintune<sup>u</sup> ego culturam meam intermitterem? Stulta opinati estis, cum hoc michi uos<sup>v</sup> persuasuros estimastis.' Adhuc uerba sub lingua uoluebat, et ecce unus oculus eius, de capite in terram decidens, dedit ei intelligere quod in laborando terram die illa<sup>w</sup> non bene faciebat. Vna quoque ex uaccis quae iuxta aratrum uacua ibat, eodem momento uesania capta, super boues efferata est, ita ut

<sup>a</sup> om. W <sup>b</sup> inquit W <sup>c</sup> mane facto W <sup>d</sup> quod W <sup>e</sup> illud W <sup>f</sup> neque W <sup>g</sup> neque W <sup>h</sup> New chapter in MRVW <sup>i</sup> Glauuornie M <sup>j</sup> beati ipsius M <sup>k</sup> quarto W <sup>l</sup> predicta W <sup>m</sup> Saprintrun W <sup>n</sup> parochianis DR <sup>o</sup> suis parochianis indixit M <sup>p</sup> om. W <sup>q</sup> die dominico R <sup>r</sup> om. W <sup>s</sup> MW add sua <sup>t</sup> om. W <sup>u</sup> Saprintun W <sup>v</sup> uos hoc michi DMRVW <sup>w</sup> die illa terram RV; illa die W

<sup>57</sup> A version of the first story concerning Sapperton is also found written on a leaf inserted into a manuscript of Osbern's *Vita S. Dunstani* written at Christ Church in the late 11th c. (London, BL Arundel MS 16), and is printed by W. Stubbs in *Memorials*, pp. 144–5 n. 3. The text appears to be a letter addressed to a community of which Dunstan was the patron, and may be the source for Eadmer's account (see also above, pp. lxxii–lxxiii).

<sup>58</sup> Either Sapperton outside of Cirencester or another place called Sapperton, the exact

for a very long time with a serious illness and believed that there was no reason why she would ever recover her health. Just as it was thought that she was at the point of death Dunstan, the man of God, appeared to her in a dream asking if she wished to recover from that illness. When she replied, 'Certainly', he said to her: 'Take the golden embroidery which you keep hidden away in your money chest and attach it to my chasuble, which is kept in Westminster, and you shall recover.' And so as soon as morning arrived she sent for the chasuble to be brought to her. Kissing it and decorating it with the golden embroidery, as she had been instructed, she was straightaway completely restored to health, and from that day forward she lived for many years in good health. Furthermore, it was also a matter of wonder to many people that the golden embroidery attached to the chasuble was found to be neither larger nor smaller than was required to fit the garment exactly.

27. [24 Stubbs] I have heard that this same saint wrought the second miracle, which I promised to relate, only recently in the area around the city of Gloucester.<sup>57</sup> The blessed festival of this same blessed servant of God, which is observed in memory of his burial on 19 May, was imminent. There is a certain small town called Sapperton in the province I just mentioned, and in it there is a not particularly large church which in ancient times was consecrated in honour of blessed Dunstan.<sup>58</sup> Therefore on the Sunday preceding that feast day the parish priest instructed his parishioners to observe the forthcoming feast and to abstain from all manual labour, just as if it were a Sunday. One rustic fellow, showing no regard for this injunction, yoked his oxen early in the morning on the feast day and began to till his field. Moreover, to those who knew him and were chiding him for his boldness he replied sneeringly and said: 'What? Ought I to interrupt my ploughing on account of Dunstan of Sapperton? You are foolish to think that you can persuade me to do so.' He was still muttering under his breath when behold, one of his eyes fell out of his head onto the ground, making him realize that by working the land on that day he was not behaving properly. Moreover, one of the cows that had been walking unyoked near the plough was at that very moment seized by madness; it threw itself wildly on the oxen and would have

location of which is now unknown, but which is mentioned in *DB* within the parish of Bishop's Cleeve, and which at the time of the survey was a property of the Bishop of Worcester (*DB Gloucestershire* 3.7).

eorum nonnullos perderet, si concurrentis multitudinis manibus non<sup>a</sup> statim interfecta fuisset. Sequenti anno, ipso<sup>b</sup> die festiuitatis eiusdem, apud Burgum<sup>59</sup> scindebant simul campum unum aratra septem. Igitur inter arandum unus eorum qui bobus praecerat aratro sedens, sibi 'ac bobus quietem<sup>c</sup> prestabat. Et ecce cum nil<sup>d</sup> sinistri suspicaretur, de loco suae quietis, nescit a quo, rapitur, sursum se ipso celsius iacitur, indeque rursus<sup>e</sup> ad terram eliditur.<sup>f</sup> Boues sub ipso aratro iuncti, fractis iugis, uesani dissiliunt, siluas et deuia petunt. Par fuga, dispersio eadem, alios iuxta arantes boues inuoluit. Boum qui dispersi sunt quidam cum difficultate<sup>g</sup> et uix capti, quidam nulla sunt ratione reperti.<sup>h</sup> Haec duo de bobus arantibus<sup>i</sup> acta ea consideratione sub uno posuimus, quod et similia pro quadam parte existunt, et pro ostendenda reuerentia tanti diei, licet euoluto anno,<sup>j</sup> una die facta sunt.

28. [25 Stubbs] Hinc<sup>j</sup> iam, expleto promisso, debitum finem ratio postulat. Et nos quidem illum, ecce<sup>k</sup> hic ponimus, licet de tanto patre iugiter loqui dulce habeamus. Quod tamen ea rationis consideratione nos facere accipiatur, ut<sup>l</sup> nemo nos mendacio<sup>m</sup> arguat, si iis<sup>n</sup> quae digessimus, pater idem<sup>o</sup> suae miseracionis opera in futuro aliqua adiecerit, et ea, si uita comes fuerit,<sup>60</sup> descripserimus. Scimus etenim quia pietatis suae<sup>p</sup> abundantiam<sup>q</sup> nulli eam ex corde quaerenti nouit non exhibere.

29. [26 Stubbs] De<sup>r</sup> baculo interim illius quem, sicut longe supra<sup>s</sup> narrauimus, dente beati Andreae apostoli insigniuit,<sup>61</sup> hoc paucis dicendum existimaui, quod ex aqua unde idem baculus<sup>62</sup> abluitur multa solent febricitantibus et aliis modis infirmantibus sanitatum beneficia praestari. Ex quibus quamuis plurimos quos sanatos certissime scio possem<sup>t</sup> nominatim in medium proferre, ea tamen re

<sup>a</sup> non concurrentis multitudinis manibus *RV*    <sup>b</sup> illo *W*    <sup>c-c</sup> *C p. c.*; quietem ac bobus *DMRVW*    <sup>d</sup> nichil *DMRV*; *W* adds sibi    <sup>e</sup> sursum *R*; rursus *W*  
<sup>f</sup> alliditur *W*    <sup>g-h</sup> *C p. c.*; reperti, quidam sunt fluminis profunditate submersi *DMRVW*    <sup>h</sup> *om. W*    <sup>i</sup> anno euoluto *W*    <sup>j</sup> hic *W*; *New chapter in MRVW*  
<sup>k</sup> ecce illum *W*    <sup>l</sup> *om. M, with accipiatur wruten p. c. and nemo in mg.*    <sup>m</sup> mendatii *W*    <sup>n</sup> his *DMRV*; in his *W*    <sup>o</sup> idem pater *W*    <sup>p</sup> *W* adds pro pietatis sue  
<sup>q</sup> habundantia *W*    <sup>r</sup> *New chapter in MRVW*    <sup>s</sup> *om. W*    <sup>t</sup> possem *W*

<sup>59</sup> Not identified. Burg or Burh ('a fortified place') was a common toponym in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England, occurring eleven times on its own in the *DB* and more frequently in compound names.

killed many of them had it not itself been slain immediately at the hands of the crowd which ran up. On the day of the same feast in the following year at Burgh<sup>59</sup> seven ploughs were tilling a single field together. In the midst of this ploughing one of the men who was in charge of the oxen sat on his plough and declared a rest period for himself and the oxen. And behold, though he was anticipating no evil, he was snatched from his place of rest by he knew not what, thrown up in the air higher than his own head, and then dashed back down on the ground again. The oxen which were attached to that plough snapped their yokes, raced away madly, and ran off to the woods and secluded places. Similarly, other oxen ploughing nearby were swept up in flight and likewise ran off. Some of the oxen which had fled were captured with great difficulty and others could not be found at all. I have related these two incidents about ploughing oxen as one because they are similar to some extent and occurred on the same day in order to demonstrate the solemnity of such a great day, though they happened a year apart.

28. [25 Stubbs] Having fulfilled my promise, reason demands at this point the expected conclusion. And behold, I am putting it here, although I would consider it a sweet thing to keep on speaking about such a great father. However, understand that I am doing this on the consideration and proviso that no one will accuse me later of lying, if this same father adds more works of his mercy in the future to those which I have recounted, and I describe them, if life accompanies.<sup>60</sup> For I know that he is unable to refuse the abundance of his love to anyone seeking it from the bottom of his heart.

29. [26 Stubbs] But at this point I think I ought to say a few words about Dunstan's staff, which as I mentioned much earlier above he embellished with a tooth of blessed Andrew the apostle:<sup>61</sup> many healing remedies for those suffering from fever or having other kinds of sicknesses are regularly effected by water in which the staff has been dipped.<sup>62</sup> Although I could cite by name here and now a great number of those whom I know most assuredly have been cured,

<sup>60</sup> 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 16.

<sup>61</sup> See *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 28.

<sup>62</sup> The staff appears to be that listed in the Christ Church relic list of 1315/16 ('Item baculus eiusdem maior in parte argenteus et gemmis ornatus cum dente Sancti Andreae'; *Inventories of Christ Church*, p. 74).

illos cum caeteris<sup>a</sup> silentio premo, quoniam res ita euidens est et usitata, ut plus nonnunquam <sup>b</sup>mirabile uideatur,<sup>b</sup> cum aliquis eadem aqua in potum sumpta <sup>c</sup>ab infirmitate<sup>c</sup> non sanatur, quam cum sanatur. Quapropter uas unum in quo de ipsa aqua assidue seruatur in aecclesia Saluatoris Cantuariæ habetur, uidelicet ne ii<sup>d</sup> qui ea indigent aliqua mora uel incommodo ab adipiscenda sanitate praepe-  
diantur. Nam fere cotidie illuc pro ea a pluribus curritur, et certa medicina <sup>e</sup>egrotantibus inde<sup>e</sup> defertur. Pro his igitur, et<sup>f</sup> omnibus beneficiis tuis, sit tibi, piissime<sup>g</sup> omnipotens Deus, laus et gratiarum actio, et super populum tuum cui tantum patronum dedisti<sup>h</sup> sit,<sup>i</sup> precamur, tua semper larga<sup>j</sup> benedictio, qui unus in trinitate et trinus in unitate<sup>63</sup> uiuis,<sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup>regnas, et gloriaris<sup>l</sup> Deus, per infinita saecula saeculorum.<sup>m</sup> AMEN.

EXPLICIUNT "QVAEDAM DE MIRACVLIS GLORIOSI  
CONFESSORIS CHRISTI DVNSTANI PONTIFICIS  
CANTVARIORVM"

<sup>a</sup> om. W      <sup>b-b</sup> miraculum habetur W      <sup>c-c</sup> om. W      <sup>d</sup> hii DMW; hi RV  
<sup>e-e</sup> inde pro egrotantibus W      <sup>f</sup> om. W      <sup>g</sup> om. W      <sup>h</sup> dedisti patronum DMRVW  
<sup>i</sup> D adds tibi      <sup>j</sup> larga semper W      <sup>k</sup> M adds et in mg.      <sup>l-l</sup> et regnas W  
<sup>m</sup> saeculorum saecula W      <sup>n-n</sup> MIRACVLA SANCTI DVNSTANI ARCHIEPISCOPI  
D; MRV om. rubric

nevertheless I am passing over them with the others in silence, since this occurrence is so evident and commonplace that it appears more remarkable whenever on occasion someone is not cured of illness by having drunk of this same water than when someone is cured. Wherefore a vessel in which some of this water is kept all the time is held in the church of our Saviour in Canterbury so that those who have need of it are not hindered in recovering their health by any kind of delay or inconvenience. For nearly every day many people rush there to get some and carry away with them a certain cure for those who are sick. And so on account of these things and for all your kindnesses may there be praise and thanksgiving to you, almighty and loving God; may your bountiful blessing, I beg you, always be upon your people, those for whom you provided such a great patron, you who live, reign, and are glorified, God, one in the Trinity and three in one,<sup>63</sup> infinitely through all the ages. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE MIRACLES  
OF THE GLORIOUS CONFESSOR OF CHRIST, DUNSTAN,  
THE BISHOP OF CANTERBURY

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the Athanasian Creed, 'Fides autem catholica haec est ut unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur'.

VITA ET MIRACVLA  
SANCTI OSWALDI

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

*Witnesses*

- C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 371, pp. 214–60  
(s. xii<sup>1/4</sup>, ante 1116)
- J Oxford, St John's College MS 96, fos. 1<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>v</sup> (s. xii<sup>2</sup>)
- O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 285, fos. 122<sup>v</sup>–136<sup>v</sup>  
(s. xiii<sup>1</sup>)

*Edition*

- Raine *HCY*, ii. 1–59 (ed. J. Raine)

VITA S. OSWALDI

INCIPIIT <sup>a</sup>VITA SANCTI OSWALDI  
EBORACENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI ET  
CONFESSORIS<sup>a</sup>

[PROLOGVS]

SECVNDVM propositum gratiae Dei uenerandus Eboracensis anti-  
stes Oswaldus,<sup>b</sup> ante saecula a Deo electus, ingenuitatem generis sui  
quo nobiliter editus in huius mundi lucem processit ingenuis moribus  
imitatus, uiam uitae praesentis incessit. Cuius quidem gesta uario  
diuersorum stilo digesta quo multipliciora,<sup>1</sup> eo animis ad multa diuisis  
uidentur ad legendum onerosiora.<sup>c</sup> Vnde iis,<sup>d</sup> qui sicut ueraciter  
creditur illum in hac uita prae caeteris sincerius diligunt, placuit  
tam prece quam praecepto me ad hoc commouere, ut quae multi-  
pliciter de eo scripta sunt compendioso ac nouo narrandi stilo  
expediam. In quo, fateor, non parum expauesco,<sup>e</sup> fatuitate quippe  
ingenioli mei penes meipsum considerata; uereor ne petentibus  
satisfacere in ipso opere nequeam, quia scio quod hunc, quem  
praecipue amant, lectissima exponi oratione desiderant. Non parere  
autem uoluntati illorum nefas iudico, cum ne sibi (amicissimis scilicet  
meis) me nolle gerere morem, tum ne laesa conscientia sua me erga  
sanctum Dei nullum habere opinentur amorem. His angustiis septus,  
elegi potius rusticano eloquio amicorum meorum uoto concurrere,  
quam urbano silentio eos contemnendo per inoboedientiae culpam  
offendere.<sup>2</sup> Scripturus itaque <sup>f</sup>pro iniuncto officio<sup>f</sup> uitam tanti uiri,  
quae illi iugiter affuit gratiam inuoco Spiritus Sancti, quatinus ea  
quae per illum ad laudem sui nominis operari dignatus est illius

<sup>a-a</sup> PROLOGVS IN VITA BEATI [SANCTI O] OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI JO;  
*C does not distinguish the Prologue* <sup>b</sup> Osuualdus J; *C and J vary the spelling throughout,*  
*O always writes Oswaldus* <sup>c</sup> oneroia J <sup>d</sup> his O <sup>e</sup> pauesco O <sup>f</sup> per  
iniunctum officium O

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of Eadmer's sources for the *Vita S. Oswaldi*, see above, pp. cvii–cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Here and elsewhere (cf. *Vita S. Dunstani*, prol.) Eadmer casts doubts on his own writing ability. Similar phrases also occur in the prologue and conclusion to the *Miracula S. Benedicti* by Aimoin of Fleury (d. 1008); thus Aimoin states 'Haec de miraculis quae Deus

HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF SAINT  
OSWALD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK  
AND CONFESSOR

[PROLOGUE]

In keeping with the intentions of the grace of God, Oswald, the  
venerable bishop of York, set out on the path of this present life; he  
had been chosen by God before all time, entered into the light of this  
world from a distinguished birth, and reflected the nobility of his  
family in his noble character. The pens of many a different writer  
have indeed recounted his deeds,<sup>1</sup> but the more numerous they are,  
the more do they seem a burden to read to minds preoccupied with  
many things. And so it pleased those who, as you may well believe,  
love him in this life more dearly than any others to stir me, by  
imploring as well as by commanding, to this task of setting out those  
things which have been written copiously about him in an abridged  
and new narrative manner. I admit I am quite apprehensive, realizing  
the foolishness and limited ability within me; I fear that I shall not be  
able to satisfy with this work those beseeching me to write it, since I  
know that they want this man whom they love above all else to be  
described in the choicest style. But I think that it would be a sin not to  
obey the wish of those men, lest they think either that I do not wish to  
gratify them (namely, my closest friends), or that I have no love for  
God's holy man because I have offended their sense of what is right.  
Under such tight constraints I have chosen to agree to the prayers of  
my friends with my rustic manner of speaking, rather than to cause  
offence through the sin of disobedience by spurning their requests  
through well-bred silence.<sup>2</sup> And in starting to write the life of such a  
great man in accordance with the duty imposed upon me, I invoke the  
favour of the Holy Spirit which was always present in that man, that  
he might deign by the merits of Oswald to permit me to set down

per merita sancti sui Benedicti . . . operari dignatus est, inerti stylo et sermone rusticano  
edidimus' (*PL* cxxxix. 852). For broader discussion of the 'affected modesty topos' in  
medieval literature, see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans.  
W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), pp. 83–5.

meritis concedere michi dignetur, inoffensis aecclesiae suae auribus qualicunque uerborum indagine explicare.<sup>a</sup>

[EXPLICIT PROLOGVS. INCIPIT VITA SANCTI  
OSWALDI]

1. Exordium ergo natiuitatis gloriosus Oswaldus nobilissima progenie nactus, eleganti forma enituit.<sup>3</sup> Qui ubi infantiles annos diligenti cura nutritus excessit, puer factus, pueriles ineptias deuitare ac, ut aetas illa aduertere poterat, ad sanctitatis opera semetipsum coepit informare. Proposuit enim in conspectu cernentis secreta pectoris sui<sup>4</sup> se<sup>b</sup> a linea<sup>b</sup> cognationis suae nullatenus fieri uelle degenerem, sed quos propinquos sortitus fuerat in genere carnis, hos sequeretur passibus uirtutum, instructus fide caeterisque caelestibus armis.<sup>5</sup> Bonus siquidem et unus de praecipuis patribus Anglorum, Odo nomine, frater erat patris eius, uir praestans religione, discretione sullimis, moribus grauis, iusticiae cultor, magnus consilio, qui et in omni actione sua circumspectus auctoritate praeminebat. De cuius actibus, quae nobis quidem antiquiores pleno<sup>c</sup> relatu<sup>d</sup> describere, pauca tangere non incongruum rati sumus, ut inde probetur quam imitabili, quam spectabili prosapia puer Dei Osuualdus originem duxerit.

2. Hic, ut fertur, Æthelstano uictoriosissimo regi Anglorum ualde carus erat<sup>e</sup> et acceptus,<sup>6</sup> ac pro illius<sup>f</sup> praedicabili sanctitate rex idem illum secum habere, eiusque<sup>g</sup> consiliis magnopere inniti solebat. Qui rex Deum diligens, aequitatis legibus seruiens, regnum strenue<sup>h</sup> gubernabat. Is immenso paganorum exercitui quodam tempore armatus occurrens, memoratum Odonem cuius meritis se quam maxime credebat hostem uicturum in aciem duxit.<sup>7</sup> Et commisso proelio, Odo, eminus a pugna stans, lumina ac manus in caelum tetendit, pro rege et suis Dominum intentius orans. Pugnatum<sup>i</sup> hinc<sup>j</sup> inde atrocissime, et dies ferme totus in certamine absumptus.

<sup>a</sup> *JO conclude Prologue with rubric* EXPLICIT PROLOGVS. INCIPIT VITA SANCTI OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI (*J* adds ET CONFESSORIS) <sup>b-b</sup> aliena *O*  
<sup>c</sup> pleniore *O* <sup>d</sup> relatu *J* <sup>e</sup> om. *J* <sup>f</sup> sua *JO* <sup>g</sup> suisque *JO*  
<sup>h</sup> strenue *J* <sup>i</sup> *O* adds est <sup>j</sup> *O* adds et

<sup>3</sup> Oswald's date and place of birth are unknown, other than that he was probably born in England in the early part of the 10th c. For his family, which had strong Scandinavian connections, see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 1 notes, and the discussion of A. Wareham, 'Saint Oswald's family and kin', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 46-63.

without offending the ears of his church, by whatsoever web of words I can, those things which he chose to effect through him for the praise of his name.

[HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE. HERE BEGINS THE LIFE  
OF ST OSWALD]

1. Now when glorious Oswald took the first beginnings of his life from a most noble family, he shone out with a handsome appearance.<sup>3</sup> When he had been nursed with loving diligence and advanced beyond his infant years to become a boy, he began to shun childish foolishness and to shape himself for works of holiness in so far as his youthful age was able to attend to those things. He pledged in the sight of the one who could see the secrets of his heart<sup>4</sup> that he in no way wished to be unworthy of his family line, but furnished with faith and other heavenly weapons<sup>5</sup> he would follow in the footsteps of virtue those kinfolk among whom fortuitously he had been born in the flesh. In fact, a good man and one of the patriarchs of the English, named Oda, was the brother of Oswald's father; a man outstanding in religion, excellent in discernment, weighty in character, a champion of justice, and renowned for his prudent advice; cautious in all he did, he excelled in authority. I consider it appropriate to touch upon a few of Oda's deeds, which indeed earlier writers have described to us comprehensively, so that it may thus be demonstrated from what a model and famous family Oswald, the child of God, took his origins.

2. As it is said, this man was very dear and well liked by Æthelstan, the most victorious king of the English,<sup>6</sup> and on account of Oda's praiseworthy sanctity that king used always to have him as a companion and to rely greatly on his advice. This king, who loved God and served the laws of justice, vigorously governed the kingdom. On one occasion, encountering a vast army of heathens in armed conflict, he took renowned Oda with him into battle, since by his merits he especially believed he would defeat the enemy.<sup>7</sup> And when the fighting commenced Oda, who was standing at a distance from the battle, lifted his eyes and extended his hands towards heaven and prayed most intensely to the Lord on behalf of the king and his followers. There was the fiercest fighting on every quarter and nearly

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13: 25; Ps. 43 (44): 22.

<sup>5</sup> For the idea of 'heavenly weapons', see Eph. 6: 11-17.

<sup>6</sup> Æthelstan ruled 924-39.



Tandem iam sole in occasum uergente, sors lacrimabilis accidit; iuxta capulum <sup>a</sup>confractus est regius ensis.<sup>a</sup> Quid faceret? Vt se armaret nullum de suis exarmare uolebat. Quid tunc? Hostes qui iam uertere terga coeperunt, uidentes regem fracto ense factum quasi inermem, animati et in pugnam acrius reuersi sunt. Insonuit clamor, Odonem citius aduolare perurgens. Adest, et opem sua prece negotio ferat rex ipse ortatur et obsecrat. At ille: <sup>b</sup>Ope quam desideras, uti solummodo uelis, praesto est.<sup>b</sup> Quid igitur<sup>c</sup> agis? <sup>d</sup>Vt quid eo<sup>d</sup> qui in latere tuo pendet gladio parcis? Cur eum a Domini tui hostibus arces? Quid formidas? Nil dubitans<sup>e</sup> arripe illum, et ecce manus Domini erit tecum. Nec prius solis <sup>f</sup>continget occubitus,<sup>f</sup> quam obsistentes aduersarios tuos fuga inuoluat aut interitus.<sup>g</sup> Dixit, et rex, ad eius uerba attonitus,<sup>g</sup> ilico uersa dextra ad uaginam extraxit gladium fulgidum, fortem et insignem. In quo cunctos occurrentes<sup>h</sup> deterrens, cedens seu prosternens, ad uerbum serui Dei iuxta<sup>i</sup> factus est et solis occubitus et regis triumphus.

3. Ipse Odo, quoniam aecclisiae Cantuariensi officio summi pontificis <sup>j</sup>loco et dignitate<sup>j</sup> praesidebat,<sup>8</sup> iura Christianitatis per totum regnum <sup>k</sup>ut patriae pater<sup>k</sup> prudentissime administrabat. In quibus diebus Edwius,<sup>9</sup> <sup>m</sup>qui quartus a praefato Æthelstano regni Anglorum scepra tenebat,<sup>m</sup> uoluptatum amator magis quam Dei, luxuriae quam sobrietatis, libidinum quam castitatis, regiam dignitatem obscenis operibus dehonestabat, ac uiros uirtutum paruipendens, contra aequum exasperabat. Vnde beatus Dunstanus, tunc temporis abbas Glastoniensis,<sup>10</sup> eo quod ad <sup>n</sup>suggestionem et <sup>n</sup>imperium sepefati Odonis ipsum regem illicitis amplexibus<sup>o</sup> uiolenter abstraxit, e patria pulsus<sup>p</sup> est, et <sup>q</sup>demum innumera per Angliam mala<sup>q</sup> ab eodem rege patrata. Contra quem Odo, armatura Spiritus Sancti praecinctus,<sup>11</sup> exurgens iniquitatum illius publicus hostis effectus est,

<sup>a-a</sup> regius confractus est ensis O <sup>b-b</sup> om. JO <sup>c</sup> om. JO <sup>d-d</sup> Cur JO  
<sup>e</sup> timens O <sup>f-f</sup> procedet occubitus J; occubitus procedet O <sup>g</sup> J adds credulus  
 tamen; O credulus tum <sup>h</sup> incursantes O <sup>i</sup> om. O <sup>j-j</sup> om. JO <sup>k-k</sup> om. JO  
<sup>l</sup> Edwius JO <sup>m-m</sup> rex Anglorum JO <sup>n-n</sup> om. JO <sup>o</sup> amplexius J  
<sup>p</sup> expulsus O <sup>q-q</sup> post innumera per Angliam mala J; post innumera mala per  
 Angliam O

<sup>7</sup> For discussion of the battle of Brunanburh, see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 7 notes; for Eadmer's reuse and abbreviation of his own account in the *Vita S. Odonis* here, see also pp. cviii–cix.

<sup>8</sup> Oda succeeded Wulfhelm, who probably died on 12 Feb. 941 or 942, as archbishop of Canterbury; see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Eadwig ruled 955–7 over all England, and 958–9 over southern England.

the entire day was taken up by the struggle. Finally as the sun moved towards its setting place there was a woeful stroke of fate—the king's sword shattered next to its hilt. What was he to do? He did not wish to disarm any of his own men in order to arm himself. What happened next? The enemy, who had just begun to turn in flight, saw the king made, as it were, weaponless when his sword was broken, and they returned to the fray more fiercely. Cries resounded, urging Oda to rush forward more quickly. And when he arrived the king himself begged and pleaded that Oda help in this matter with his prayers. But he said: 'The help you need is there, if only you choose to use it. And so, what are you doing? Why are you sparing that sword hanging by your side? Why do you keep it away from the enemies of your Lord? What do you fear? Doubt not, seize it and behold the hand of the Lord will be with you. Nor will the setting of the sun occur before either flight or death overwhelms the enemies who stand against you.' Thus he spoke, and the king who was astonished by his words immediately placed his right hand on his sheath and drew out a sword, glittering, strong, and wondrous. With it he terrified, slew, and laid low all those rushing towards him, and the setting of the sun and the triumph of the king occurred at one and the same time in accordance with the servant of God's prediction.

3. Since this same Oda presided over the church at Canterbury,<sup>8</sup> holding the rank and office of supreme bishop, he administered the laws of Christianity most prudently throughout the whole kingdom, as if he were the father of the nation. In those days Eadwig,<sup>9</sup> who was the fourth person after the aforementioned Æthelstan to hold the sceptre of the English kingdom (a lover more of pleasures than of God, of indulgence than sobriety, of lust than chastity), was dishonouring the royal office by his foul deeds, and he held men of virtue to be of little consequence and in contravention of what was right he provoked them. And thus blessed Dunstan, who was at that time abbot of Glastonbury,<sup>10</sup> was expelled from his homeland because he violently dragged this same king away from his illicit embraces at the suggestion and order of Oda, of whom much has been said; at length that king perpetrated countless evils throughout England. Oda, girt by the armour of the Holy Spirit,<sup>11</sup> rose up against him to

<sup>10</sup> For the appointment of Dunstan as abbot of Glastonbury c.940 by King Edmund, see *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 17 and notes.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Eph. 6: 13.

nec destitit donec, sopitis incestibus, regnum ab infandae mulieris infamia cui rex idem, omissa coniuge sua, sepius commiscebatur expurgaret.<sup>12</sup> Eam siquidem, suorum militum manu uallatus, a regali curia in qua mansitabat uir<sup>a</sup> abduxit, abductam perpetuo exilio in Hiberniam condemnauit. Erat quippe uir uiribus purae aequitatis per omnia fultus, nec alicui iniquitatis ministro fauens, uoluntati Dei in cunctis obsequi satagebat. Quapropter et Deus ei sua misericordia semper aderat, ac uoluntati illius aures suas inclinabat.<sup>13</sup> Verbi gratia: parietes aecclisiae Christi Dorobernensis,<sup>b</sup> 'suae uidelicet sedis,<sup>c</sup> in altiorem quam erant statum, sublato tecto, <sup>d</sup>ipse pater construere uolens, ac uelle suum facto adimplens,<sup>d</sup> orauit Dominum ut quamdiu ipsa 'Dei domus integritate sui<sup>e</sup> careret pluuiis quae populum a seruitio Dei arceret infra ambitum illius non descenderet.<sup>14</sup> Quod et factum est. Videres etenim totam ciuitatem sepe grandi pluuiis circumcingi, et ipsum templum eiusdem pluuiis inundatione nec contingi. Item. Idem pater, dum quadam uice sacrum misterium altario<sup>f</sup> praesens administraret, corpus Dominicum inter manus eius, cruentum et<sup>g</sup> sanguinem distillans in calicem, apparuit.<sup>15</sup> Ex quo intuentium mentibus nimio pauore percussis, mox ad preces pontificis in consuetam sui formam restitutum est. Feruntur et alia de eodem uiro miranda facta, quae nos silentio praeterimus ne putemur oblitus operis quod incepimus.

4. Huius<sup>h</sup> igitur patris nepos puer Dei Oswaldus existens, a parentibus suis eius doctrinis imbuendus, eius exemplis instituendus<sup>i</sup> ei commendatus est. Qui<sup>j</sup> ex conuersatione tanti uiri sese felicem fore pronuncians, non miraculorum quae nonnunquam assunt malis, sed uirtutum eius, sine quibus nemo fit bonus, imitator esse curabat. Vnde et ab omnibus diligebatur, non solum quia tanta carnis propinquitate illi copulabatur, sed etiam quia uersus omnes id egerant merita eius ut a cunctis amaretur. Traditur litteris, et<sup>k</sup> cuiusdam uiri, Frithegodi<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> uiolenter JO    <sup>b</sup> Dorobernie O    <sup>c-c</sup> om. JO    <sup>d-d</sup> ipse construens F; ipso construens O    <sup>e-e</sup> aecclisia integritate JO    <sup>f</sup> altari O    <sup>g</sup> C writes over erasure.  
<sup>h</sup> New chapter in JO    <sup>i</sup> instruendus O    <sup>j</sup> At ille JO    <sup>k-k</sup> cuidam uiro Frithegodo O

<sup>12</sup> In this version of the story of Oda's conflict with King Eadwig, Eadmer abandons the Canterbury traditions concerning Eadwig and his two mistresses which he followed in his earlier works (see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 13; *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 29), and instead follows the account in Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 402.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ps. 114 (115): 1-2.    <sup>14</sup> See *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 12 and notes.

<sup>15</sup> See *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 11 and notes. Here Eadmer adds the detail, not in the *Vita S. Odonis* or Byrhtferth, that Christ's blood dripped into a chalice.

become the public adversary of the king's evil deeds; he persisted until the foul deeds had been laid to rest and he had cleansed the kingdom of the notoriety of the infamous woman with whom this king very often had intercourse after he had dismissed his own wife.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, flanked by a troop of his own soldiers, he seized her by force from the royal court where she was dwelling and condemned the abducted woman to perpetual exile in Ireland. For he was a man supported in all things by the strength of his unalloyed impartiality; he showed no favour to any perpetrator of injustice and was concerned only with following the will of God in all things. And God too in his mercy was always with him and inclined his ears to Oda's wishes.<sup>13</sup> To cite one example: when this same father wished to raise the walls of Christ Church at Canterbury, his own church, to a higher level than they were, and had removed the roof and by his activities was bringing his wish to fulfilment, he begged from the Lord that rain, which might prevent the people from worshipping God, not fall within its confines so long as that house of God remained unfinished.<sup>14</sup> And indeed that is just what happened. For you would often see the whole city engulfed by heavy rain and yet that temple was untouched by that torrential downpour. One further example: when on a certain occasion this same father was before the altar celebrating the sacred mystery, the body of the Lord appeared between his hands bleeding and dripping blood into a chalice.<sup>15</sup> When the minds of those watching were struck by overwhelming fear because of this, the host was immediately restored to its usual form through the prayers of the bishop. But we shall pass in silence over other miraculous things which are said to have been done by the same man lest we are thought to be unmindful of the task that we have undertaken.

4. And so the nephew of this father Oda, the child of God, Oswald, was entrusted to him by his parents to be imbued with his teachings and moulded by his example. Announcing that he would be fortunate in having the close acquaintance of such a great man, Oswald took care to be the imitator not of his miraculous works, which are sometimes present even in wicked men, but of his virtues, without which no one becomes good. And so he was also cherished by everyone, not only because he was related so closely by flesh to this man, but also because the good deeds he enacted towards everyone made him loved by all. He was handed over to be trained in letters

nomine,<sup>16</sup> qui in diuinis ac saecularibus disciplinis quosque sui temporis sapientes praecellere putabatur magisterio functus, studiosius discit et in breui plurimum proficit. Spiritus namque sapientiae et intellectus super eo<sup>a</sup> quiescebat, inspirans ei gratiam suam, et cor intelligens ad singula quae discenda audiebat.<sup>17</sup> Saecularium ergo librorum scientia ad plenum imbutus, diuinarum paginis litterarum sedula intentione animum tradit.<sup>b</sup> Ex quibus sancto caritatis igne in<sup>c</sup> Deum proximumque succensus,<sup>18</sup> in contemptum mundi totus erigitur, et qualiter seruitio Dei mereretur omnimodo ascisci singulis horis meditatur.

5. Inter haec Wintoniam a patruo suo supramemorato, scilicet glorioso Odone, dirigitur, quatinus ibi degens, si quam forte in canonicis uiam uitae imitandae reperiret, disceret et imitaretur. Quid amplius? Fit canonicus inter canonicos ipsos. Si quaeritur qualis inter quales, regularis inter irregulares. Ipse etenim quae institutio uitae canonicorum docet et praecipit indefessus exequebatur, illi, sprete institutione ordinis sui, iuxta cordium suorum desideria gradiebantur.<sup>19</sup> Vnde admirandus cunctis effectus, ob plenitudinem gratiae Dei quae in moribus eius enitebat decanus factus, adolescens praeponitur senibus, quatinus canities sensus illius et immaculata uita illius maculatam senum uitam emacularet, ac pueriles sensus illorum studio disciplinae caelestis euacuaret. Sed illi, magis antiqua prauae senectutis itinera tenere uolentes, licet eum bonum beneque agentem<sup>d</sup> blando fauore debitoque honore uenerarentur, tamen illum nullo pacto se in talibus audituros affirmabant. At ille de laudis ipsorum uentositate nichil curans, gemebat cotidie, et ut sibi 'ad salutem suam Deus consuleret'<sup>e</sup> precabatur nocte ac die. Verum ubi perpendit illos<sup>f</sup> propter eum<sup>f</sup> nequaquam uelle a ueteri uita emendari, seque per illos, si non absentaretur, a suo proposito

<sup>a</sup> eum *O*    <sup>b</sup> tradidit *O*    <sup>c</sup> erga *O*    <sup>d</sup> operantem *JO*    <sup>e</sup> secundum se  
consuleret Deus *JO*    <sup>f</sup> pro se *JO*

<sup>16</sup> For discussion of the identity of Frithegod and his works, see M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish scholar in tenth-century England: Frithegode of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude', *ASE*, xvii (1988), 45–65. Frithegod was the author of the highly erudite *Breuilloquium uitae beati Wilfredi*, which Eadmer mistakenly attributed to Archbishop Oda in *Vita S. Wilfridi*, prol., and which was written at Canterbury at some stage between 948 and 958 on Oda's commission. Lapidge demonstrated the wide learning in this poem, including some knowledge of Greek, and suggested that Frithegod was in fact a Frank named Fredegaud.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Deut. 29: 4.    <sup>18</sup> For the two great commandments, see Matt. 22: 37–9.

<sup>19</sup> In the view of Benedictine writers like Wulfstan of Winchester and Eadmer, the

and was placed in the tutorship of a certain man named Frithegod who was thought to surpass all the wise men of his age in divine and secular learning;<sup>16</sup> he studied diligently and in a short time he advanced greatly. For the Spirit of wisdom and learning hovered quietly over him breathing his grace into him, and inspiring in him a heart that was understanding of the lessons he had heard.<sup>17</sup> And so once he was filled to the brim with knowledge of secular books, he assiduously turned his attention to the pages of the divine writings. These set him ablaze with the fire of holy love for both God and his neighbour;<sup>18</sup> he was wholly inspired towards contempt of the world and hour after hour he pondered how he might merit admission to the service of God by everything he did.

5. While these things were happening he was sent to Winchester by his uncle who was mentioned earlier, namely glorious Oda, so that if by chance he discovered a path of life worthy to be followed amongst the canons while dwelling there he could study it and imitate it. What more need I say? He took up life amongst the canons as one of their number. If it be asked what kind of canon he was amidst what sort of canons, it could be said that he followed the rule amongst those who did not. For while Oswald tirelessly pursued those things which the constitution of canonical life teaches and commands, those men despised the teaching of their own order and led their lives following the impulses of their hearts.<sup>19</sup> And so, he was admired in the eyes of everyone because of the plenitude of God's grace which shone forth in his character and he was made deacon, and though an adolescent, he was placed in charge of men older than himself so that his maturity and his pure life might purify the impure lives of the old men, and he might rid those men of immature thoughts with the study of heavenly teachings. But those men preferred to stick to the well-trodden paths of their corrupt old age; though they paid homage to him as a good man acting well with compliments and due respect, nevertheless they insisted that under no circumstances would they listen to him in such important matters. But Oswald recked nought for the fatuous praise of these men; he bemoaned his plight daily and prayed both night and day that God might counsel him concerning his salvation. But when he perceived that those men did not wish for their old lifestyle to be altered in any way on his account and that he himself could be drawn

canons of Winchester were thoroughly corrupt, and fully deserved their eviction from the Old Minster by Æthelwold; see *Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 16 and *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 57.

posse deprauari, spreta qua cingebatur pompa saeculari, spretis quoque diuitiis quarum<sup>a</sup> copia redundabat, relictisque canonicis quorum conuersatione eatenus usus fuerat, redit ad pontificem patrum suum, negotium salutis animae suae cum eo tractaturus. Quid multa? Vbi miserias uitae mortalis cum pontifice loquens pia consideratione defleuit, ubi quam difficile sit hominem inter mundi illecebras<sup>b</sup> gradientem ipsis illecebris<sup>b</sup> non irretiri utrinque sermo procedens appendit, infert Christi miles Oswaldus sibi iam cecidisse in mentem se nudum saecularibus cunctis uelle amodo Christum sequi,<sup>20</sup> et uere monachum fieri. Exilit gaudio pontifex ad audita,<sup>c</sup> et erumpentibus lacrimis prae iubilo cordis, qua uoce exprimat quod prae se intus habet inuenire minime ualet. O hinc inter eos ex diuinis uerbis uitae perennis orta contemplatio; o in contemptum mundi nata suadibilis diuinaque collatio! <sup>d</sup>Quis ipsam edisserat?<sup>d</sup> Ortatur deinceps senex<sup>e</sup> iuuenem ne retro abeat, ne posita super aratrum manu post tergum aspiciat,<sup>21</sup> ne laqueos saeculi iam euadere incipientem suis laqueis inimicus inuoluat. Ad quae ille: ‘Ruptis uinculis uoluptatum carnalium, iam, inspirante Deo, libertati donatus sum, et iterum me traderem miserrimae captiuitati sub earundem uoluptatum uinculis uinciendum? Non estimabam me hoc <sup>f</sup>ordine Christum sequi debere.<sup>f</sup> Amorem sui<sup>g</sup> michi concessit ex notitia scripturarum suarum, et nunc eum desererem, talem uidelicet fructum capiendo ex meditatione earum? Immo, pater, si placet, dic, nec dubites ubi uelis perficiam quod proposui, aut certe si tibi graue non est, ipse proponam quod disposui.’ Ait: ‘Dic.’ ‘Regulam’, inquit, ‘beati Benedicti seruare sub oboedientia uolo, et iccirco in Gallia apud Floriacum ubi ipsius patris reliquiae dicuntur haberi monachus fieri mente reuoluo.<sup>22</sup> Nam iuxta quod michi mea estimatio dicit, nusquam rectius seruanda sunt nec forte seruantur quae idem pater instituit, quam in loco quem ipsemet sua corporali praesentia in perpetuum honorare non desistit.’ Antistes ad haec ‘idem’, inquit, ‘sentimus, idem sapimus, in idem nostra intentio tendit. Monachus

<sup>a</sup> Raine; quorum CJO <sup>b-b</sup> om. O <sup>c</sup> C appears to have written auditas, then partly erased final -s <sup>d-d</sup> om. JO <sup>e</sup> om. JO <sup>f-f</sup> modo debere Christum sequi J; modo debere sequi Christum O <sup>g</sup> suum O

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Matt. 19: 21.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Luke 9: 62.

<sup>22</sup> For discussion of Fleury in the time of Oswald, see J. Nightingale, ‘Oswald, Fleury and Continental reform’, in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 23–45.

away from his vocation by them if he were not removed from there, he rejected the worldly pomp which surrounded him, casting aside also the riches which overflowed there in abundance, and left behind the canons whose manner of life he had participated in until then; he returned to his uncle, the bishop, with the intention of discussing with him the business of the salvation of his soul. What more can I say? When he spoke with the bishop in heartfelt discussion and wept over the miseries of this mortal life, and they had considered in the conversation which ensued between them how difficult it is for a man advancing amidst the attractions of the world not to be ensnared by those allurements, Oswald, the soldier of Christ, said that it had now dawned upon him that he wished henceforth to follow Christ,<sup>20</sup> to be stripped of every worldly thing, and truly to become a monk. When he heard these things the bishop leapt to his feet with joy and the rejoicing in his heart caused tears to gush forth so that he was scarcely able to find words with which he could express what he plainly felt inside. O what contemplation of eternal life arose between them then from words of Scripture; what persuasive and sacred discussion ensued about contempt of the world! Who could describe this in words? The old man urged the youth repeatedly not to retreat or look back once he had set his hand on the plough lest the enemy entangle with his snares one just beginning to avoid the snares of the world.<sup>21</sup> To these words Oswald replied: ‘Now that I have broken the chains of carnal pleasures and have been freed by the inspiration of God, would I again surrender myself to be chained in most miserable captivity by the shackles of these same pleasures? I had never considered that I ought to follow Christ in such a way. He has granted me love of him through knowledge of his scriptures, and now should I abandon him; namely, by deriving such great pleasure from study of them? Indeed not, father. If it pleases you, tell me and have no doubt that I shall carry out what I have proposed wherever you wish. Or if it does not trouble you too much, I shall describe what I myself have decided to do.’ He replied: ‘Pray tell.’ He said, ‘I desire to observe the Rule of blessed Benedict obediently and for that reason I am turning over in my mind the idea of being made a monk at Fleury in Gaul where it is said that they preserve the remains of this same father.<sup>22</sup> For according to what my reason tells me the Rule which this same father set in place should be kept, and as it happens is kept, nowhere more strictly than in the place which he himself continues to honour in perpetuity through the presence of his body.’ To which the bishop replied, ‘I feel the same way, I reason the

loci illius sum, habitum enim religionis <sup>a</sup>ad onus<sup>b</sup> regiminis sub quo gemo uocatus<sup>a</sup> inde suscepi,<sup>23</sup> et propterea te quem specialius amo monachum ibi fieri potissimum opto.' Et quidem haec patriae demutatio 'ea re<sup>c</sup> tunc ita utriusque uoluntati complacuit, quoniam per id temporis religio monachici ordinis <sup>d</sup>quae cum propter barbarorum frequentes irruptiones,<sup>24</sup> tum propter quorundam malignantium turbulenta seditiones, dudum in Anglia pene tota obsoleuerat, necdum sui uigoris statu reformata claruerat.<sup>d</sup> Mittitur ergo iuuenis Floriacum, illic floribus fulciendus uirtutum. Mittuntur quoque cum litteris commendaticiiis dona quamplurima, iuuenem et dicto et facto abbati ac fratribus commendantia.<sup>25</sup> Suscipitur, et monachus habitu factus, uita quoque monachi in ipsis primordiis est decoratus. Qui igitur uenerat ab aliis doceri, alios imitari, talem se illis exhibuit ut satis haberent in eo quo<sup>e</sup> docerentur, quod imitentur. Erat enim somno parcus, cibo sobrius, in loquendo discretus, in oratione assiduus. In aliis autem uirtutibus (patientia, dico, humilitate, benignitate, mansuetudine, caeterisque huiusmodi) quam fortis, quam subditus, quam beniuolus, quam constans extiterit, ex sincera caritate qua supra humanam estimationem ad omnes erat diffusus conici potest; apostolo dicente, caritatem patientem esse, benignam esse, non emulari, non inflari, non agere perperam, non quaerere sua, non irritari, non cogitare malum, et caetera, quae michi breuitati studentis exequi longum est.<sup>26</sup> Hic idem Domini seruus secretum in aeclesia locum ab abbate acceperat, in quo pro modo conuersationis suae Deo familiariter adhaereret.<sup>27</sup> Illic igitur orationi, meditationi, contemplationi uitae perennis remotus ab aliorum inquietudine operam dare solitus, magnum humani generis hosti fomitem liuoris et odii suggerebat. Ille quippe attendens, et attendendo subuertere inhians studium strenuissimi iuuenis, multiplici eum uersutia pulsat, pulsando territat, terrendo fatigat,

<sup>a-a</sup> om. O    <sup>b</sup> bonus J    <sup>c-c</sup> care O    <sup>d-d</sup> in Anglia pene tota obsoleuerat, cum propter barbarorum frequentes irruptiones, tum propter quorundam malignantium turbulenta seditiones JO    <sup>e</sup> quod O

<sup>23</sup> See *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 9 for Eadmer's account of Oda's acceptance of a habit from Fleury before he became archbishop.

<sup>24</sup> The major Viking incursions into England began with the sack of Lindisfarne; see ASC s.a. 793.

<sup>25</sup> Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 413, names the abbot Wlfald. Wlfald or Wulhard is first attested as abbot of Fleury in 951; he became bishop of Chartres c.962, and his death is recorded on 2 Oct. 967 (J. Laporte in *DHGE*, xvii. 468). See also Nightingale, 'Fleury and Continental reform', p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 13: 4-5.

same way, my intention arrives at the same conclusion. I am a monk of that very place, for when I was called to the burden of the office under which I now groan, it was from there that I received the religious habit,<sup>23</sup> and on that account I desire most strongly that you, whom I love particularly, also be made a monk there.' And indeed for this reason the proposed journey from one country to another at that time coincided with the wishes of each man, because during that period the religious monastic life, which for a long time had been almost totally unobserved in England on account of both the frequent invasions of barbarians<sup>24</sup> and the turbulent seditious activities of certain wicked men, had not yet been reformed and begun to shine forth vigorously. Therefore the young man was sent to Fleury to be strengthened there by the flowers of its virtues. Very many gifts were also sent there, together with a letter of reference, recommending the young man both by word and deed to the abbot and the brothers.<sup>25</sup> He was taken in, made a monk by bestowing a habit, and, moreover, from the very beginning was distinguished in living a monk's life. And so he who had come to be instructed by others and to imitate others revealed himself to them to be of such quality that in him they discovered many things whereby they might be taught and which they could imitate. For he slept little, was temperate in taking food, discreet in his speech, and constant in prayer. In the other virtues (I mean patience, humility, kindness, gentleness, and other such things) it may be deduced from the sincere love which he showered upon all men beyond human imagining how strong, obedient, well intentioned, and constant he was; for the apostle says that love is patient, is kind, is not jealous, is not puffed up, does not deal falsely, does not seek its own, is not angered, does not contemplate evil, and many other things which are too numerous to relate since I am striving to be brief.<sup>26</sup> This same servant of the Lord had been given by the abbot a withdrawn location in the church in which he might attend more closely to God according to the manner of his religious life.<sup>27</sup> And so there, removed from the restlessness of others, he was accustomed to give his full attention to prayer, meditation, and contemplation of eternal life, and heaped up the kindling of envy and hatred in the enemy of the human race. Indeed he, while watching, and in watching yearning to subvert the zeal of this most vigorous young man, buffeted him with his manifold cunning, in buffeting terrified him, in terrifying exhausted him, and by exhausting

<sup>27</sup> For discussion of a similar instance in which Wulhard allowed a monk to dwell as a hermit outside the abbey, see Nightingale, 'Fleury and Continental reform', p. 43.

fatigando proturbare loco laborat. Vnde quadam uice, dum se in oratione per compunctionem cordis Deo noctu mactaret, affuit ipse malignus, et sonos horribiles edens, hominem terrori addicere moliebatur, cum ut coepto desisteret, tum ut aliis horis simile opus aut segnius aut nullatenus attemptaret. At Oswaldus, fidei Christianae scuto protectus,<sup>28</sup> non magis ad fremitum leonis uel<sup>a</sup> sibilum serpentis, quam ad balatum ouis uel<sup>b</sup> stridorem soricis (harum enim<sup>c</sup> et aliarum ei bestiarum improbus ille uoces ingessit) exterritus est, cuncta uidelicet nichili pendens, cum suo auctore<sup>d</sup> cuncta deridens. Quod demon aduertens, disparuit, sed in angelum lucis e uestigio transfiguratus, uiro apparuit. Eum quippe, iam tunc<sup>e</sup> noua de se uictoria usum, estimabat sibimet ipsi suasurum se scilicet non iniuria ab angelo uisitandum, quem firma fretum constantia mentis nullis potuit inimicus irretire figmentis. Sed sua sibi iniquitas mentita est. Nam ad hoc monstrum famulus Christi signo fidei se signauit, sciens exinde angelum lucis non irritandum, angelum autem tenebrarum eminus effugandum. Quod et factum est. Iuuenem nanque hac crucis armatura munitum, statim degener angelus qui apparuit territus fugit. Tunc ille<sup>f</sup> psallens 'a dextris est', ait, 'michi Dominus, ne commouear, propter hoc delectatum est cor meum, et exultauit lingua mea, <sup>g</sup>insuper et caro mea<sup>g</sup> requiescet in spe.'<sup>29</sup> Praeterea lectioni diuinae crebro intendebat, et quae, docente Domino, inde didicisset, hilari uultu, corde benigno minus scientes edocebat.

6. Haec inter exercitia eius, post susceptos inferiores aecclesiastici ordinis gradus gradum suscepit diaconatus. In quo ministrans Deum obsequio humillimae deuotionis, populum uero demulcebat eo quo magnifice praeminebat concentu dulcissimae uocis. Siquidem inter ea quae, ut praefati sumus, in eo fulgebant uirtutum insignia,<sup>h</sup> etiam in exteriore homine illius emicabat multiplex quaedam et supereminens gratia. In habitu enim quem oculis intuentium praeferebat, decens et

<sup>a</sup> JO add ad    <sup>b</sup> JO add ad    <sup>c</sup> etenim O    <sup>d</sup> auctore suo O    <sup>e</sup> tunc iam O  
<sup>f</sup> ipse JO    <sup>g-g</sup> C writes in mg.    <sup>h</sup> insignia uirtutum O

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ps. 118 (119): 114.

<sup>29</sup> Ps. 15 (16): 8-9.

him strove to drive him in disarray from his place. Thus on a certain occasion while Oswald offered himself to God at night in prayer through the remorse of his heart, the wicked one himself appeared and emitting horrific noises tried to instil terror in the man so that he might cease immediately what he had begun, and in the future be more reluctant to undertake such intent prayers or indeed refrain from attempting them at all. But Oswald, being protected by the shield of Christian faith,<sup>28</sup> was no more terrified by the roaring of the lion or the hissing of the serpent than by the bleating of a sheep or the squeaking of a shrew—the evil one had assailed him with the sounds of these and other beasts—for he plainly considered all of them to be ineffectual and laughed disparagingly at both them and their creator. The demon noticed this and disappeared, but in the next instant reappeared before the man transformed into an angel of light. For he reckoned that Oswald, who had just now enjoyed fresh victory over him, would convince himself that an angel would certainly not visit harm upon him, given that the enemy had been unable to entangle him with any of his illusions, so reliant was Oswald on the unwavering constancy of his mind. But the demon was deceived by his own iniquity. For when he saw this apparition the servant of Christ blessed himself with the sign of faith knowing that an angel of light would not be agitated by this, but that an angel from the shadows would be set to flight from a distance. And indeed that is what happened. For the fallen angel, who had appeared, immediately fled in terror from the young man who was fortified by the protection of the cross. Then Oswald sang a psalm, saying, 'the Lord is at my right hand that I be not moved: therefore my heart hath been glad and my tongue rejoiced: moreover, my flesh also shall rest in hope'.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, he frequently set his mind to divine readings and what he learned there with the Lord as his instructor he taught with cheerful demeanour and loving heart to others less knowledgeable.

6. While he was engaged in these spiritual exercises he took up the rank of deacon, having undertaken the minor grades of the ecclesiastical order. And while he served God in this position with most obedient and humble devotion, he also pleased the people because he excelled wondrously in the melodiousness of his most sweet voice. Indeed, among the indications of the virtues which, as we mentioned earlier, used to shine in him, there was an exceptional beauty which enhanced his exterior appearance in every way. For in the demeanour

appetibilis compositio inerat, non alicui pompae, non dissolutioni, non ostentationi, non seruiens hypochrisi.<sup>a</sup> In uultu nichilo minus formositas ampla, non cuiuslibet prauae uoluptatis incentiua, sed, quae caeterorum uultibus antestaret,<sup>b</sup> magna<sup>c</sup> honestatis praerogatiua.<sup>d</sup>

7. Talibus<sup>e</sup> donorum<sup>f</sup> insigniis uir Dei Osuualdus admirandus cunctis effectus, ad potioem diaconatu aecclesiastici ordinis gradum conscendere dignus est comprobatus, ac demum presbiterii honore sullimatus. In quo gradu Deo sacrificans, qua puritate cordis et corporis Christo inhaeserit, quamque benignum auditum precibus eius pius Deus accommodauerit, et ex qualitate uitae eius quae, dictante rerum<sup>g</sup> ueritate, describitur, et ex angelorum praesentia, quae<sup>h</sup> ei nonnunquam etiam uisibiliter affuisse monstrata est, luculenter intelligi datur. Locus siquidem, in quo sicut diximus iuxta concessionem abbatis orare solebat, cripta quaedam erat in occidentali aecclesiae parte, decenti<sup>i</sup> opere facta. Qui locus confessionis nomen pro more obtinuit.<sup>30</sup> Pro foribus autem criptae ipsius duodecim pauperes conuersari ex antiquo usu consueuerant, et cotidianum uictum ab ipsa aecclesia accipiebant.<sup>31</sup> Qui pauperes ita fuere dispositi, ut omnes litterarum scii,<sup>j</sup> omnes clerici essent. De his ergo reuerendus<sup>k</sup> pater Osuualdus unum delegerat, ut quotiens in ipsa cripta missarum uolebat solennia celebrare, eius ope ac ministerio tanti misterii officium celebraret. Quadam itaque die, cum ipse, altario praesens, coeptae missae officio insisteret, et post euangelium dicta offerenda in manus panem et calicem, sicut multorum mos esse dinoscitur, sumeret, oculisque in caelum directis, orationem 'Suscipe, sancta trinitas' intenta mente ad Deum praemitteret, uidit praefatus minister eius quandam reuerendi uultus personam in dextera parte

<sup>a</sup> hypochrisi seruiens *J*; hypocrisi seruiens *O*    <sup>b</sup> attestaretur *O*    <sup>c</sup> magnam *O*  
<sup>d</sup> praerogatiuam *O*    <sup>e</sup> *C. 7* is inserted in *C* on an additional leaf, slightly smaller than the other leaves of the codex, written only on the verso and facing p. 223; there is an insertion mark at the conclusion of c. 6. The inserted leaf has been ripped down the outer margin, and some letters are missing at the beginning of the last 10 lines. The text appears in the correct position in *O*, marked as a new chapter. *J* inserts this chapter following c. 11.    <sup>f</sup> douorum *O*    <sup>g</sup> rei *JO*  
<sup>h</sup> *J* p. c., *O*, *Raine*; quam *C*    <sup>i</sup> dicenti *J*    <sup>j</sup> socii *J*    <sup>k</sup> uenerandus *O*

<sup>30</sup> Odo of Cluny built a crypt in Fleury to contain the relics of St Benedict, although they were later moved from there back into the church by Wulfhard; see Nightingale, 'Fleury and Continental reform', p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> In his *Miracula S. Benedicti* Aimoin relates how a poor cripple was received by Abbot Richard (d. 979), the successor of Wulfhard, and included among the twelve paupers at

which he displayed in the eyes of those watching, there was present a fitting and desirable model, which was not subservient to any sort of ostentation, moral laxity, display, or hypocrisy. Nonetheless, in his face there was considerable beauty, not one that would provoke any sort of twisted desire, but rather a great and true emblem of honesty, which might stand out by comparison with the looks of others.

7. Oswald, the man of God, was admired by all because of the manifestations of such great gifts, and he was judged worthy to ascend to a higher rank of the ecclesiastical order than the diaconate; in due course he was honoured by elevation to the priesthood. From the way he performed his sacramental duties to God in this office it can clearly be perceived, both from the quality of his life which is illustrated here as the truth of events tells me to write, and by the attendance of angels who were also revealed to have been there visibly with him on several occasions, with what purity of heart and body he attended to Christ and how loving God lent a kindly ear to his prayers. For the place in which with the abbot's permission, as we have said, he was accustomed to pray was a certain crypt built with fitting craftsmanship in the western part of the church. According to custom this place was known as a 'confessio'.<sup>30</sup> And in front of the doors of this crypt twelve poor men had been accustomed, according to ancient practice, to live there and receive their food each day from this church.<sup>31</sup> These paupers had been stationed there in order that they might all know their letters and all hold orders. And thus the reverend father, Oswald, had chosen one from among them so that, as often as he wished to celebrate the solemn rites of the mass in the crypt, he would perform the office of this great mystery with the assistance and service of this man. And so on a certain day Oswald stood before the altar and was devoting himself to the order of the mass which he had begun; after the Gospel the offering had been spoken, he took into his hands the bread and the cup, as is known to be the established practice of many, and having directed his eyes towards heaven, he recited to God the prayer 'Receive, Holy Trinity' with total concentration. Then the servant mentioned earlier saw a certain person of venerable appearance standing on the right side of the altar with his face turned towards the altar, holding with fitting honour between his hands, which he held raised before his face, the

Fleury, who were nourished and clothed at Fleury according to ancient custom (*PL* cxxxix. 817).

altaris stantem, faciem ad ipsum altare uersam habentem, panem candidissimum non tamen adeo magnum inter manus, quas usque ad caput suum porrectas habebat, digno cum honore tenentem. Ad quod, licet nimio timore perterritus obstupuisset, sustinuit tamen, nec subitam uoluit inuadere fugam. Verum ubi eundem panem iuxta quod sacerdos in secretis orationibus procedebat paulatim crescere ac insolitae magnitudinis crescendo fieri conspexit, ultra residere non ausus, extra ostium fuga lapsus est. Remansit itaque presbiter solus, et qui uidebatur in dextera stans angelus eius. Minister uero quem pauor abduxerat foris, prope ostium latitando subsistens, per uices ostio caput ingerebat, et quid circa altare gereretur trepidus explorabat. Cunque Dei seruus 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum', et alia quae in audientia populi dici solent diceret in ordine missae, nec ullatenus respondere auderet uel accedere pro admiranda quae sibi apparebat uisione, audiuit angelum quem uidebat ad singula respondentem, et ministri obsequium ei deferentem. Consumpto autem sacrificio toto, caput ex more abditus minister ostio intulit, et illum quem uiderat iam non uidit. Introiit ergo ad sacerdotem palpitans et tremens, ac ne animum eius quoquomodo offendisset in eo, quod ipsum quasi solum reliquerat,<sup>a</sup> timens. Et exposita causa fugae suae, pallens sciscitatus est utrum et<sup>b</sup> ipse uiderit et audierit quae se uidisse ferebat et audisse.<sup>c</sup> At ille 'bene', inquit, 'uidi et audiui quae dicis. Sed benedictum sit nomen Dei omnipotentis, quia licet a te sim male deceptus, tamen in sacrosancto ministerio uiuifici corporis et sanguinis eius non sum ab eo desertus.' Interdixit tamen ei<sup>d</sup> modis quibus poterat ne, dum ipse uitae praesenti superesset, rem quae acciderat cuius hominum innotesceret.

8. Postquam<sup>e</sup> autem supra memoratus uenerabilis pontifex Odo certo relatu cognouit nepotem suum Oswaldum in bonorum operum culmen excreuisse, immensas omnipotenti Deo gratias agens, diebus ac noctibus eum praecabatur, quatinus illum et iugiter ad meliora proficere, et in uia perfectionis consummatum concederet post hanc uitam se Deum deorum in Syon uidere.<sup>32</sup> Missis praeterea diuersis muneribus abbati ac monachis pro suo Oswaldo, quas nouerat

<sup>a</sup> *JO add magnopere*

<sup>b</sup> *nam JO*

<sup>c</sup> *et audisse ferebat O*

<sup>d</sup> *ei tamen O*

<sup>e</sup> *New chapter in JO*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ps. 83 (84): 8 (7).

purest white bread; however, it was not particularly big. Although he was terrified and full of fear and was struck dumb by this sight, nevertheless he stood his ground and did not wish to rush suddenly from there in flight. But when he saw this bread grow little by little as the priest continued to recite the secret prayers, and in its growing to assume unaccustomed size, he slipped through the door in flight, not daring to remain any longer. And so the priest alone remained with his angel who could be seen standing to his right. But the servant who had been carried outside by fear waited in hiding next to the door and from time to time poked his head through the door, and spied on what was happening around the altar with trepidation. When the servant of God had said 'For ever and ever' and the other things usually said within the hearing of the congregation during the order of the mass and the pauper in no way dared to reply or to draw near on account of the wondrous vision before him, he heard the angel, whom he was watching, responding in turn and performing the duties of an attendant for Oswald. When the sacrifice had been completely consumed the servant who was hiding stuck his head inside the door as he had been doing and could no longer see the one whom he had seen before. And so he went in to the priest, quivering and trembling and afraid that he might have sinned against his wishes in some way because he had left Oswald, as it were, alone. And when he had explained the reason for his flight he grew pale and asked whether Oswald too had seen and heard those things which he said he had seen and heard. And Oswald replied, 'I clearly saw and heard those things which you relate. But blessed be the name of God Almighty; for although I have been badly let down by you, nevertheless I was not deserted by him in the most holy celebration of his life-giving body and blood.' And by all means available to him he ordered the man not to reveal to anyone whomsoever what had happened as long as he, Oswald, continued in this present life.

8. However, after the venerable bishop Oda, whom we have already mentioned, learned by reliable report that his nephew Oswald had achieved the pinnacle of good works, he gave bountiful thanks to Almighty God by day and night and begged him to allow Oswald to progress continually to better things, and to permit Oda himself, who had completed the path of perfection, to see the God of gods in Sion after this life.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, he sent various gifts to the abbot and monks on account of his relative Oswald and discharged thanks along



conuenire cum precibus grates exoluit. Indicauit etiam illis se ipsius praesentia magnopere uelle potiri, cum quia senio confinis mortem sibi propinquam sciebat, tum quia regulari conuersatione suae gentis uiros per eum instituere disponebat. Quae ubi fratribus relata sunt, graui merore deiecti, asseruerunt se sine illo nequaquam, si fieri posset, in hac uita uiuere uelle, propterea quod eius conuersationem sibi et in anima et in corpore sensissent ualde profuisse. Non audentes tamen uoluntati antistitis obuiare, parent ac Domini seruum debito cum honore ad nutum praesulis dirigunt.<sup>33</sup> At ille, citato itinere Angliam petens, terra marique ab omni periculo protectus est. Et hilari uultu, mente iocunda Dofris<sup>a</sup> appulsus,<sup>34</sup> extemplo ingenti est dolore percussus.<sup>b</sup> Illum etenim quem prae caeteris artius diligebat, illum cuius dulcem faciem prae omnibus uidere sitiebat, illum cui adhaerere ardentissima caritate cupiebat, et a quo se tam diu remotum fuisse non sine grandi angustia cordis recolebat, iam tunc nouiter non modo sibi sed et saeculo exemptum<sup>c</sup> audiens,<sup>35</sup> nulli mirandum si dolebat. Deus meus, quos gemitus ille tuus alumnus ad haec noua putamus emisit, quae suspiria edidit, quas lacrimas fudit? Quae fuit, obsecro, confusio animi eius, quando eum pro cuius amore ac reuerentia a cunctis sese amplecti solere meminerat, iam in terram conuertendum a conspectibus omnium sub terra detrusum didicerat? Quis meror inditam<sup>d</sup> piissimo uultui eius hilaritatem obduxit, quando et Angliam graui merore pro eius obitu consternatam repperit, cui nimirum impar meroris illius causa fuit? Veniens igitur Cantuariam, sed eam inueniens patre orbatam, quid faceret, quo gressum flecteret,<sup>e</sup> dubius haesit. Auctus<sup>f</sup> ad haec lacrimabilis dolor. Ii<sup>g</sup> enim qui eum prius agnouerant, uiso illo, ex recordatione defuncti patris lacrimis manant.

9. Praesidebat ea tempestate per curam officii pastoralis aecclesiae Dorcestrensi<sup>h</sup> quidam, Oschetel<sup>i</sup> nomine,<sup>36</sup> homo bonae famae, et

<sup>a</sup> deforis O    <sup>b</sup> dolore percussus est JO    <sup>c</sup> adeptum JO    <sup>d</sup> inclitam O  
<sup>e</sup> uerteret O    <sup>f</sup> O inserts est abbreviation s.l.    <sup>g</sup> Hii O    <sup>h</sup> Dorcestrensis O  
<sup>i</sup> Osketel J

<sup>33</sup> William of Malmesbury states that Oswald first refused to return to England, and was only persuaded when he learnt of Oda's failing health (*GP*, iii. 115).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 16: 'placido uultu et hilari pectore Ripum perrexit'.

<sup>35</sup> Oda died on 2 June, probably in 958; see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 15 and notes.

<sup>36</sup> Osketel was of Scandinavian descent; see D. Whitelock, 'The dealings of the kings of England with Northumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 70–88, at 75. Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxfordshire) was made the see of the Bishops of Leicester following the Viking invasions; see O'Donovan i, p. 37.

with prayers which he knew were appropriate. He also made known to them that he wished dearly to have Oswald present with him, partly because he knew that being on the threshold of old age death was near at hand, and partly because he was intending to use Oswald in the instruction of the men of his own race in the observance of the Rule. When the brothers were informed of these things they were overcome by great sorrow and declared that they did not wish to live this life without him, if it were at all possible, because they felt that his presence among them had been of enormous value to them both in body and soul. Not daring to obstruct the will of the bishop, however, they obeyed and sent the servant of the Lord on his way with fitting honour in accordance with Oda's command.<sup>33</sup> Oswald was protected from every danger on both land and sea as he sought England by the swiftest route. But putting in at Dover with a joyful countenance and happy mind he was suddenly afflicted with grievous sorrow.<sup>34</sup> For Oswald heard that Oda had been taken just a short time before, not only from him but from this world:<sup>35</sup> the man whom he cherished more dearly than any other, the man whose sweet face he thirsted to see above all others, the man at whose side he wished to be with most ardent love and from whom, he recalled with great anguish in his heart, he had been removed for so long; it was no wonder that he was filled with sorrow. O my God, I can only imagine what groans your disciple poured forth on learning these tidings, what sighs escaped him, what tears gushed out. What turbulent thoughts must he have had, I ask, when he learnt that one who was so loved and revered by all that he, Oswald, was customarily embraced by them (as he recalled), was taken from the sight of all men, thrust beneath the earth to be changed to dust? What grief obscured the joy which had graced his most holy face when he discovered that England too was laid low by deep sorrow at Oda's passing, though England, surely, had less cause to grieve than he? And so he came to Canterbury, but finding it deprived of its father, he was hesitant in deciding what to do or what direction to take. His tearful sorrow was increased as the eyes of those who had known Oda earlier moistened with tears because they recalled their deceased father when they saw Oswald.

9. During that period a certain man named Osketel presided over the church at Dorchester,<sup>36</sup> and was in charge of pastoral duties; he was of

Osketel probably became bishop of Dorchester c.949–50, and is first attested in charters in 951 (O'Donovan i, p. 39).

quae sua intererant disponere gnarus. Hunc uir Dei Oswaldus utpote sibi et carnis consanguinitate propinquum, et qua pollebat sapientiae luce conspicuum, ad cohabitandum adiit, uolens iuxta Salomonem gradiendo cum sapiente sapientior fieri, non ex consortio insipientium illis ipsis assimilari.<sup>37</sup> Suscepit autem illum idem episcopus benignissime ac sincere dilexit, secunquē degentem sui secreti conscium fecit atque consortem.

10. Post dies,<sup>a</sup> defuncto archiepiscopo Eboracensi,<sup>38</sup> praefatus Osketel<sup>b</sup> sedi illius subrogatur. Is<sup>c</sup> pro stola archiepiscopatus Romam petens, sanctum Oswaldum suae uiae<sup>d</sup> comitem habuit. Potitus autem desiderio suo, cum Roma digrediens in patriam remeandi iter acceleraret, Oswaldus, relicto consortio eius, Floriacum diuertit, clericum quendam, Germanum nomine,<sup>39</sup> aetate iuuenem, moribus senem, itineris sui e patria socium secum ducens. Exciipiunt autem illum abbas et fratres cum summa laetitia, ac, nonnullis diebus circa eum laete exactis, pro sola quam intellexerant uoluntate illius, quem adduxerat<sup>e</sup> Germano sanctae inter se conuersationis habitum tribuunt. Mansit uero uenerandus Osualdus in ipso coenobio aliquanto tempore, Deo per omnia seruiens, et uerbo ac facto qualiter ad caelestia tenderent cunctis illic commanentibus exempla praetendens.

11. [10 Raine] Interea memoratus antistes, missis nunciis, rogat eum Angliam redire ad se, quatinus uia<sup>f</sup> sanctae religionis cuius eum culmen attigisse certo cognouerat suae gentis homines instrueret. At ille petitioni eius mitis obtemperans, Angliam, Germano relicto,

<sup>a</sup> O adds paucos    <sup>b</sup> Osketel JO    <sup>c</sup> His O    <sup>d</sup> uiae suae O    <sup>e</sup> eidem JO  
<sup>f</sup> uiam O

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Prov. 13: 20.

<sup>38</sup> Wulfstan, Osketel's predecessor as archbishop of York, was arrested by King Eadred on unspecified charges (ASC (D) s.a. 952, John of Worcester s.a. 952), but was restored as bishop at a ceremony at Dorchester in 954. The ambiguity of the language of the chronicles leaves open the possibility that he might have swapped sees with Osketel at this point; see Whitelock, 'The dealings of the kings of England with Northumbria', p. 73, and McGurk's comment in John of Worcester, ii. 403 n. 8. However, Wulfstan's death is recorded on 16 Dec. in ASC (D) s.a. 957, in ASC (EF) s.a. 956 and on 26 Dec. in John of Worcester s.a. 956, and John also states that he was succeeded by Osketel. The evidence thus appears to place Osketel's accession to York before the death of Oda in June 958.

<sup>39</sup> Germanus may have been born at Winchester; *Chron. Ram.*, c. 18 states that he was 'Wyntoniae oriundus'. For discussion of his career and his possible influence on the litany contained in the Cambridge Psalter (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. I. 23), see M. Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', in *Words,*

good repute and well versed in administering those things under his jurisdiction. Oswald, the man of God, approached him so that he might dwell with him inasmuch as Osketel was both related to him by a common bond of flesh and was renowned for the light of the wisdom in which he excelled; he desired, following the words of Solomon, to become wiser by walking with a wise person, not to become like unto the foolish by associating with them.<sup>37</sup> And that bishop received Oswald most kindly and loved him sincerely, and so long as he dwelt with him he made him the sharer and confidant of his private thoughts.

10. After some time, when the archbishop of York had died,<sup>38</sup> this Osketel, of whom I have spoken, was transferred to his see. When he set off for Rome to receive the archbishop's pallium he had Saint Oswald as his companion for the journey. When Osketel had obtained the object of his desire, however, and had departed from Rome and was hastening to return to his homeland, Oswald withdrew from his company and turned aside to Fleury, taking with him a certain cleric named Germanus,<sup>39</sup> whom he had brought with him as companion on his journey from England, a man young by age but old in character. The abbot and the brothers received him with the greatest joy, and when they had spent several days happily in his company they presented the monastic robe of holy religious life at Fleury to Germanus whom he had brought with him, solely because they understood this to be the wish of Oswald. But venerable Oswald remained at that monastery for some time serving God in everything, and offering to all those dwelling there by word and deed example of how they should strive towards heaven.

11. [10 Raine] Meanwhile, Osketel, whom I mentioned earlier, sent messages asking Oswald to return to him in England so that he might guide men of his own race on the path of holy religious observance, whose pinnacle he knew for sure Oswald had attained. Oswald humbly obeyed his request and returned directly to England, leaving Germanus behind. For he was not yet fully knowledgeable in the

*Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Korhammer (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 99–129. About 961, Germanus was appointed by Oswald as prior of the community at Westbury, then went to Ramsey following the death of King Edgar in 975 (see c. 16 below and note). After Oswald's death, he was appointed abbot at Cholsey (Berkshire), and charter evidence indicates that he lived until 1013 (Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus', p. 122).

perrexit. Rudis enim adhuc in disciplinis regularibus erat, nec illum nisi perfecte edoctum a loco separari sinebat. Perueniens itaque ad episcopum, solito more in omni sanctitate et mansuetudine iuxta eum conuersabatur, et ideo a cunctis pio affectu, magno amore, summo studio amplectebatur, fouebatur, uenerabatur.<sup>a 40</sup>

12. [11 Raine] Inter haec ille praeclarus et gloriosus Dei amicus Dunstanus in cathedram pontificatus Cantuariensis praedicto Odoni successit,<sup>41</sup> uir Dei gratia a matris utero plenus,<sup>42</sup> et donec uitae praesenti superfuit <sup>b</sup>nunc caelestibus secretis admixtus,<sup>b</sup> nunc beatorum spirituum crebra uisitatione perfunctus, nunc in exhibendis miraculis celebri efficacia fretus. Hic, audita eximiae sanctitatis fama quae beatum Osuualdum circumquaque magnificabat, mittens accersiuu eum,<sup>c</sup> ex conuersatione illius pleniter ediscere gestiens uulgata opinio uerane extiterit necne. Post aliquot uero dies comperto, quod inuestigabat, multum praestare illis<sup>d</sup> quae fama disperserat, gauisus est, et in gratiarum actiones pio Deo corde et ore solutus. Verumtamen sepe agebat cum eo, non ut firmitudinem animi eius 'quasi suspectam habens' exploraret, sed sicut<sup>f</sup> eam in bono firmam<sup>g</sup> penes se habebat, ita ueraciter<sup>g</sup> esse aliis comprobaret. Et reuera in omni uirtutum<sup>h</sup> decore probatus repertus est, eoque 'non modo ab eo, uerum et ab aliis praestanti est affectu<sup>i</sup> dilectus. Vnde beati patris eius dignitate perpensa, tam uitae illius qualitas, quam morum probitas est in Oswaldo (praeter solam aetatem et pontificalem dignitatem) tota paene reperta.

13. [12 Raine] Dum igitur uita et mores in eo imitabantur dignitatem pontificis, ratus est beatus Dunstanus ipsam uitam et mores illius iure sullimandos dignitate pontificis. Quam ob rem, adito Edgardo,<sup>j 43</sup> quo rege <sup>k</sup>per id<sup>k</sup> temporis Anglia gloriabatur, uenerandum Osuualdum secum adduxit, eumque pro meritis suis ipsi commendatum

<sup>a</sup> *J* inserts chapter 7 at this point (see above). Then another new chapter in *J* <sup>b-b</sup> om. *O*  
<sup>c</sup> eum accersiuu *JO* <sup>d</sup> iis *J*; his *O* <sup>e-e</sup> om. *JO* <sup>f</sup> ut *JO* <sup>g-g</sup> om. *JO*  
<sup>h</sup> sanctitatis *O* <sup>i-i</sup> praestantissime ab eo *JO* <sup>j</sup> Edgardo *J* <sup>k-k</sup> tunc *O*

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 2: 'merito a maioribus . . . amaretur, ueneraretur, amplecteretur'.

<sup>41</sup> For Oda's designation of Dunstan as his successor and the chronology of Dunstan's succession, see *Vita S. Dunstani*, cc. 34, 40 and notes. Dunstan appears to have succeeded as archbishop in 959, and he obtained his pallium the following year.

<sup>42</sup> See *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Edgar reigned over northern England from 957 to 959, and over all England 959-75.

teachings of the Rule and Oswald would not give leave for him to be taken from that place until he was perfectly instructed. And so when he came to the bishop he dwelt by his side in a state of complete holiness and grace as had been his custom, and therefore everyone embraced, cherished, and revered him with holy affection, great love, and the utmost zeal.<sup>40</sup>

12. [11 Raine] While these things were happening Dunstan, that eminent and glorious friend of God, succeeded Oda,<sup>41</sup> whom I mentioned earlier, to the pontifical throne at Canterbury; he was a man of God, full of grace even while yet in his mother's womb,<sup>42</sup> and for as long as he remained in this present life he was at one moment privy to the mysteries of heaven, at another enjoying the frequent visits of blessed spirits, and still another relying on his renowned ability to work many miracles. When he heard the reports of the outstanding sanctity with which blessed Oswald was being praised everywhere, Dunstan sent messages summoning him, for he was eager for learn fully from passing time with him whether or not the widespread opinion of him was true. But when after some days he had confirmed what he had been investigating, namely that in reality Oswald far surpassed those things which report had spread far and wide about him, Dunstan rejoiced and gave unrestrained thanks to God the Father with heart and voice. Nevertheless, he continued to spend time with Oswald, not in order to spy on the constancy of his mind, as if suspicious of it, but so that he might truly prove to others that it was as constant in goodness as he himself found it. And in truth he was found to be upright in every aspect of grace and virtue, and thus he was loved with outstanding affection not only by Dunstan but also by others. And when people considered the worthiness of his blessed uncle, they found in Oswald an almost equal amount of good quality of life and probity of character, allowing only for the old age and pontifical rank of Oda.

13. [12 Raine] And so because in his life and character Oswald mirrored the dignified behaviour of a bishop, blessed Dunstan decided that his life and character ought to be ennobled formally by his elevation to the office of bishop. Therefore Dunstan approached Edgar,<sup>43</sup> the king in whom England gloried at that time, and he introduced venerable Oswald, whom he had brought with him, into the circle of the king's friends, recommending him to

familiaritati<sup>a</sup> illius induxit. Quid plura? Praedicatur a summo pontifice uirtus animi eius, constantia propositi eius, integritas morum eius, et ad hoc rex ipse tanto testimonio credens perducitur, ut suo iussu atque iudicio cathedram episcopalem apud Wigornam,<sup>b</sup> cui pater idem praesidere solebat,<sup>44</sup> antistes factus ascendat. Primo tamen requiritur uoluntas cleri et populi super re ipsa, et cum ingenti exultatione ac uociferatione fit uox omnium una. Concrepant, clamant Osuualdum dignissimum tantae sedis episcopatu, et magna prece deposcunt eum quantotius<sup>c</sup> in ipsum ministerium consecrari. Fit quod clerus et<sup>d</sup> plebs Wigornensis precatur, ac in summum sacerdotium felix Osuualdus a patre Dunstano sullimatur. Factumque est pia Dei dispositione ut sicut patruo Sancti Osuualdi Cantuariæ beatus Dunstanus, ita sancto Dunstano in episcopatum Wigornæ<sup>e</sup> succederet beatus Osuualdus.<sup>45</sup>

14. [13 Raine] Functus ergo uir Dei pontificatu, idem qui prius fuit in bonis actibus perstitit, immo quemadmodum alios dignitate, ita seipsum supergressus est in bonitate. Et licet omni fuerit uirtutum nitore insignis,<sup>f</sup> orationum tamen assiduitate, et elemosinarum promptissima largitate, summo et ultra quam dici possit opere praeditus erat. Coepit itaque iuxta apostolum omnibus omnia esse,<sup>46</sup> et is<sup>g</sup> quem nec amor nec ira cuiusquam posset a uia iusticiae quouis pacto declinare. Discretionem tamen in hoc quam maxima ferebatur, sciens neminem a discretionem nutantem iusticiae leges omni ex parte tueri.

15. [14 Raine] Clero igitur ac populo sub suo regimine posito, per uigil insistere et, qua graderentur<sup>h</sup> ad uitam, uerbo et exemplo uiam demonstrare. Verum cum multitudo eorum, quos a uia rectitudinis exorbitantes in uiam iusticiae reducere gestiebat, mentem suam

<sup>a</sup> familiaritate O      <sup>b</sup> Wigorniam JO      <sup>c</sup> om. O      <sup>d</sup> JO add uniuersa  
<sup>e</sup> Wigornie JO      <sup>f</sup> insignis nitore O      <sup>g</sup> his O      <sup>h</sup> gradentur J (perhaps over erasure)

<sup>44</sup> Dunstan's first appointment as bishop was to the see of Worcester, some time after his return to England c.957; see *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 33 and note.

<sup>45</sup> Oswald's succession to Worcester is recorded by John of Worcester s.a. 960, where he states that it occurred a few months after Dunstan's return from Rome, but since Dunstan was still in Rome on 21 Sept. (see *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 41 note), Oswald may not have been appointed until 961; see also D. Bullough, 'St Oswald: monk, bishop and archbishop', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 1–22, at 8. Oswald begins attesting charters as bishop in 961; for discussion of his language and use of grecisms in his earliest charter (Saywer, 690),

the king by his merits. What more need I say? The virtue of Oswald's mind was extolled by the archbishop, as was the commitment of his vocation and the integrity of his character; and in response to these words King Edgar, who gave credence to this weighty testimony, was persuaded that Oswald should by his command and decree be made a bishop and accede to the episcopal throne of Worcester over which father Dunstan had formerly presided.<sup>44</sup> First, however, the consent of the clergy and the people was sought in this matter, and they all responded unanimously with immense and clamorous joy. They shouted and proclaimed in unison that Oswald was most worthy to be bishop of such an important see and with great supplication they begged that he be consecrated to this ministry as quickly as possible. What the clergy and people of Worcester had begged for came to pass, and father Dunstan propitiously elevated Oswald to the highest rank of the priesthood. And thus, by the loving providence of God it was brought about that just as blessed Dunstan had succeeded the uncle of saint Oswald at Canterbury, so too blessed Oswald succeeded saint Dunstan as bishop of Worcester.<sup>45</sup>

14. [13 Raine] And so, while the man of God performed his episcopal duties he remained in his good deeds the same man he had been before; indeed, in the same way that he surpassed other men in dignity so too he outdid himself in goodness. And though he shone out in every aspect of virtuous behaviour, nevertheless words cannot tell how he was renowned more than anything else for preaching assiduously and for his great readiness and generosity in the giving of alms. And so in accordance with the words of the apostle he undertook to be all things to everyone<sup>46</sup> and one whom neither love nor anger for anyone could at all turn from the path of justice. However, he was guided in this by the greatest possible discernment, knowing that anyone who wavers in his discretion does not observe the laws of justice in every respect.

15. [14 Raine] And so after the clergy and people had been placed under his jurisdiction he devoted himself to watching over them, and pointed out by both word and example the path by which they should advance to life. But the great number of people who wandered from the path of righteousness and whom he yearned to lead back to the path of

see M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 89–117, at 92–3.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 9: 22.

interdum fatigaret, directo in Galliam nuncio, Germanum, cuius supra meminimus, et alios timore Domini praeditos uiros fecit uenire ad se,<sup>a</sup> ipsoꝝ uidelicet ope<sup>b</sup> ac religiositate c̄ illorum cupiens irreligiositatem<sup>c</sup> corrigere.<sup>d</sup> Itaque Germanus ad pontificem ueniens, honorifice susceptus est. Erat enim bene religiosus, sacris litteris et piis studiis apprime imbutus.

16. [15 Raine] Venerant praeterea ad beatum Osuualdum ante eius aduentum nonnulli ex Anglorum prosapia nati, sacro ipsius magisterio se subdentes, et eum sibi patrem atque rectorem in uia quae ducit ad uitam constituentes. Inter hos fuit quidam, Ednothus<sup>e</sup> nomine, qui gradu sacerdotii functus, ob sagacitatem et industriam suam Senior ab aliis cognominabatur.<sup>48</sup> Collecti itaque fratres duodenarii numeri summam complent. Quos pater Osuualdus ut iuxta sancti<sup>f</sup> propositi normam Domino<sup>g</sup> Christo die noctuque seruirent in uilla sui pontificatus, quae Westberi<sup>h</sup> dicitur, collocauit, instituens eis praefatum Germanum praepositum et institutorem,<sup>49</sup> necne delegans ex suis quae illis sufficerent ad eorum<sup>i</sup> sustentationem. Degebant igitur illo in loco, seruorum Dei per omnia et in omnibus uitam agentes. Quorum studiis sanctus uir eximie delectatus, eos frequenter uisitare, eis monita salutis aeternae ministrare, eos consolari, inter eos conuersari, et diuinis operibus in psalmis, ymnis, ieiuniis, uigiliis et orationibus, sanctis quoque meditationibus solebat operam dare, seque ab exterioribus curis ac saecularibus negotiis per internam mentis quietem magnifice recreare.

17. [16 Raine] His<sup>j</sup> ita dispositis, festum Dominicae resurrectionis instabat, et ad regis curiam totius regni nobilitas conuolabat.<sup>50</sup> Adunati principes laetos dies agunt ualdeque solennes. Iam soluta curia, in sua quique redibant, et ecce de regiis militibus unus diues ac

<sup>a</sup> ad se uenire O    <sup>b</sup> opere O    <sup>c</sup> om. O    <sup>d</sup> O adds quod per se non poterat  
<sup>e</sup> Ednotus J; Eadnothus O    <sup>f</sup> sui JO    <sup>g</sup> O adds Ihesu    <sup>h</sup> Westbiri J; Westbyrii O  
<sup>i</sup> sui JO    <sup>j</sup> New chapter in JO

<sup>47</sup> For the concept of *timor Dei* and its persistent influence in the Benedictine Rule, see M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 64–83, at 82.

<sup>48</sup> See below, c. 17 note.

<sup>49</sup> Westbury appears to have been founded soon after Oswald's consecration as bishop of Worcester, since Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 424, relates that the monks stayed there four years before moving to Ramsey. For the chronology, see J. Barrow, 'The community of Worcester, 961–c. 1100', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 84–99, at 94. Germanus stayed

justice at times caused his spirit to tire, so he sent a messenger to Gaul and directed Germanus, whom we mentioned earlier, and other men possessed of fear of the Lord to come to him,<sup>47</sup> wishing clearly to correct the lack of religious observance among his people with the aid of these men and their holy way of life. And so when Germanus came to the bishop he was received with honour. He was a very religious man with excellent training in sacred literature and divine studies.

16. [15 Raine] Further, before his arrival there a considerable number of the sons of the English nobility had come to blessed Oswald and subjected themselves to his holy teaching, designating him as their father and guide on the path which leads to life. Amongst them there was a certain man called Eadnoth who, after he had achieved the rank of priest, was customarily called Senior by others on account of his wisdom and industry.<sup>48</sup> All together, the brothers came to a total number of twelve. Father Oswald assembled them in a town in his bishopric called Westbury so that they might serve the Lord Christ by day and night according to the rule of the sacred way of life and appointed Germanus, whom I mentioned earlier, as their prior and teacher;<sup>49</sup> from his own possessions he also gave them supplies sufficient for their sustenance. And thus they dwelt in that place living their lives as servants of God in everything they did and in every way. The holy man was exceedingly delighted by their studies; he used to visit them frequently, advise and instruct them concerning eternal salvation, console them, dwell amongst them, attend to the works of God through psalms, hymns, fasts, vigils, prayers, and also holy meditations, and renew himself wondrously from external cares and worldly business through internal peace of mind.

17. [16 Raine] While these things were unfolding in this way the feast of the Resurrection of the Lord was impending, and the nobility from all over the kingdom flocked together at the court of the king.<sup>50</sup> The assembled princes spent days that were joyful as well as exceedingly solemn. Now the court had just been dismissed and everyone was

there as prior until his forcible eviction during the political upheavals which followed the death of King Edgar in 975 (for the background, see A. Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum gentis*: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, 956–83', *ASE*, x (1982), 143–72, at 165–8); he and his monks took refuge at Ramsey, where they stayed until Oswald's death in 992 (see Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus', pp. 119–22).

<sup>50</sup> For the date of this council, which was held probably in 965, see Barrow, 'The community of Worcester', p. 94.

potens, morti subactus, plangebatur a pluribus.<sup>a</sup> Huius exequiis pius interfuit pater<sup>b</sup> Osuualdus,<sup>51</sup> qui et ipse curiam inter primos Angliae proceres uenerat, regi acceptus, firmaque eius amicitia fretus. Hunc Ægelwinus,<sup>c</sup> quidam de potentioribus regni ducibus,<sup>52</sup> modesto incessu, demisso uultu funus sequentem atque psallentem attendens, in amicitiam illius euectus est. Antehac enim auditis probis ac mansuetis moribus eius, quos magistra uirtute comparatos induerat, magni eum prae se iam dudum habebat, et in hoc animum composuerat ut, si qua in re uoluntati eius obsequi posset, libens id ageret. Quam uoluntatem eius quibusdam indicibus uir Dei intelligens, inter alia quae cum eo de uera Dei ac proximi dilectione locutus est,<sup>53</sup> innotuit illi<sup>d</sup> se quosdam monachos in episcopatu suo religiose uiuentes habere, sed locum in quo debebant illorum conuersationi nimiae strictitudinis esse, praesertim cum paene cotidie in numerum eorum quidam current,<sup>e</sup> quos eo quod Deum quaerebant repellendos nullo modo iudicabat. Et subiunxit: 'Vellem igitur, si religioni tuae molestum non est, quatinus si aliquem locum sub tua dominatione monachorum habitationi accommodum habes, eum aut solius animae tuae obtentu, aut alicuius muneris interuentu michi concedas, quatinus inibi monasterium construam, et per memoratos fratres monachorum conuersationem Deo auctore illic constituam. Magnum enim quiddam est ante Deum uita monachi, et imitandum omni Christiano homini. Quicumque enim in hac uita ad uitam tendere et mortis laqueos cupit deuitare, profecto id nullo pacto efficere praeualet, nisi uita sua uitae monachorum quadam dispensatione concordet. Vita nanque monachi, quae uere uita monachi est, cuncta admittit quae docet perfectio Christiana, cuncta dimittit quae a Christi uestigiis eadem perfectio iudicat esse profana. Quapropter si nos, cum possimus, supersedemus monachos in suo proposito multiplicare, aut eorum religioni inuidere, aut eam non

<sup>a</sup> plurimis O      <sup>b</sup> pater interfuit O      <sup>c</sup> Ethelwinus O      <sup>d</sup> ei O  
<sup>e</sup> concurrerent O

<sup>51</sup> *Chron. Ram.*, c. 22, states that the thane was buried at Glastonbury.

<sup>52</sup> Æthelwine's descent is recorded in Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 428, and *Chron. Ram.*, c. 4, where it is stated that he was the youngest of four sons born to Æthelstan, known as the 'half-king', who lived from the reign of King Æthelstan (r. 924–37) through to that of Edgar (r. 957/9–75), and who ended his life as a monk at Glastonbury, and to Ælfwynn, who was a nurse to Edgar. Æthelwine's brothers obtained important positions within the kingdom; his eldest brother Æthelwold, who seems to have preceded him as ealdorman of East Anglia, was the first husband of Ælfthryth, who following his death married King Edgar c.964 (see *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 59 and note; also John of Worcester s.a. 964 and Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 428–9). Æthelwine seems then to have become

returning to his own affairs when, behold, one of the king's thanes, who was wealthy and powerful, was taken by death; he was mourned by many. Devout father Oswald was present at his funeral,<sup>51</sup> for he had also come to court amongst the first nobility of England; he was acceptable to the king and enjoyed his lasting friendship. Æthelwine, one of the more powerful ealdormen of the kingdom,<sup>52</sup> supported Oswald as he followed the corpse singing psalms with a humble step and downcast face, and was afterwards elevated to his friendship. He had previously heard of Oswald's upright and gentle character, and following his virtuous example had clothed himself similarly. For a long time in his mind Æthelwine had considered Oswald to be a man of great worth, and he had determined that he would willingly obey Oswald's wishes in any matter whatsoever, were he able to do so. The man of God perceived this willingness on Æthelwine's part by certain signs, including the words he spoke to him concerning the true love of God and of one's neighbour,<sup>53</sup> and he mentioned to him that he had several monks in his bishopric leading a devout life, but that the place in which they were dwelling was far too cramped for their common life, especially since nearly every day certain others hastened to join them and, because they were seeking God, he reckoned that on no account should they be turned away. And he added: 'Therefore I should wish, if it does not weigh too heavily upon your sense of religious duty, that, if you have some place among your estates in which it would be suitable for monks to live, you grant it to me either thanks to the intercession of your soul alone, or by the intervention of some divine gift, so that I may build a monastery there and according to God's design establish in that place monastic religious life by means of the brothers I have mentioned. For the life of a monk is something special in God's eyes and ought to be emulated by every Christian man. Whosoever desires in this life to aim for eternal life and shun the snares of death does not in any way have the strength to accomplish that unless by some providence his life conforms to the life of a monk. For the life of a monk which is truly the life of a monk includes all things which perfect Christianity teaches and excludes all things which this same perfection judges to deviate from the footsteps of Christ. Wherefore if we miss the opportunity of increasing the

ealdorman of East Anglia, and evidence from charters shows that he was the senior ealdorman of the kingdom from 983 to his death in 992 (see S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' (978–1016): A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 157).  
<sup>53</sup> Cf. Matt. 22: 37–9.

amare uel sequi nolle conuinci poterimus. Sed haec a nobis procul arceat omnipotens Deus. Quare fili karissime, nulla te saecularis ambitio teneat quae te ab institutione et adiumento monachicae religionis impediatur. Nam sicut ad aeternam uitam quis optat peruenire, ita debet conari et alios secum ad eandem perducere. Illum quippe illic maior honor et gloria suscipiet, qui maius lucrum hic de aliorum salute Christo acquirit.' Gaudio ex his dux ipse repletus, dicta comi uultu suscipit, et responsum ita paucis absoluit: 'Fundus michi est<sup>a</sup> Ramesia<sup>b</sup> dictus, aquis et paludibus circumcinctus, talium hominum, qualium memoras, conuersationi ut estimo congruus.<sup>54</sup> In quo etiam tres uiri nunc<sup>c</sup> mansitant, sanctae religionis amore feruentes, et sub regula beati Benedicti uitam ducere, si doctorem haberent, magnopere gestientes. Hunc locum, si tibi placet, eamus inspicere, et si uisus fuerit rei de qua loqueris aptus existere, demus operam ut in opere Dei caelesti<sup>d</sup> fiat habitatione praeclarus.' Haec uir Domini mira cordis alacritate amplectens, ac deinde comitatus ipso duce ad locum usque perueniens, ubi aduertit eum habitationi monachorum accommodum, gratias Deo, gratias quoque egit uenerabili uiro qui illum perduxit eo. Instituta itaque cupito operi citius imponere manus, uerens ne si bonum propositum differretur, aliqua postmodum maligni hostis uersutia praepediretur. Quod et uiro consulendo suggestit, ac ut opem sua ingenuitate operi ferret studiosus admonuit. Quid plura? Credit consilio, adquiescit admonitioni, conducuntur operarii, instatur operi. Laboratur, et fretum tam multiplicibus rerum impensis sanctissimi patris, quam et eius instantissimis orationibus, mira celeritate opus perficitur. Post dies sub immensa frequentia populi, diuitum scilicet, mediocrium,<sup>e</sup> minusque habentium, perfecta aecclesia sub patrocinio beati Benedicti Deo sollemniter dedicatur, et de monachis qui apud Westberiam<sup>f</sup> morabantur idem locus instituitur, et in breui alii et alii illuc colliguntur.<sup>55</sup> Ad quorum uictum atque uestitum, necne

number of monks in their vocation, though we are able to do so, it will be possible to bring the charge against us that either we envy their religious life or do not love it or, indeed, do not even wish to follow it. But may Almighty God remove any such things far from us. Therefore, my most beloved son, let no worldly ambition, which might deter you from establishing and supporting the religious life of monks, restrain you. For just as a person desires to attain eternal life, so too should he attempt to lead others towards the same goal with him. Indeed, greater honour and glory will befall the man there who earns greater profit for Christ here by ensuring the salvation of others.' The ealdorman was filled with joy by these words; he received this advice with an agreeable smile and replied briefly thus: 'I have an estate called Ramsey which is completely encircled by water and swamps which, in my opinion, would suit the religious life of men such as you have described.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, three men are already dwelling there who burn with love for the holy life of a religious and yearn greatly to lead their lives according to the Rule of blessed Benedict, if only they had a teacher. If it please you, let us go and inspect this place; if it seems suitable for what you are describing, let us make efforts so that amidst the heavenly works of God it becomes renowned because of its inhabitants.' Embracing these words with wondrous enthusiasm in his heart and arriving at that site in the company of the ealdorman, the man of the Lord gave thanks to God and also to the praiseworthy man who had led him there when he realized that it was a suitable dwelling place for monks. He hastened to set his hands quickly to this deed he so desired, fearing that if this worthy project were deferred it might later be hindered by some devious plan of the hostile enemy. He also put this to the ealdorman when he consulted him and advised him by means of his nobility to lend his help zealously to the task. What more need I say! Trusting in this advice he heeded the warning; artisans were brought in and the work was begun. They continued working and the task was completed with wondrous speed; it relied as much on the great expenditure on materials by the most holy father as on his incessant prayers. After some days amidst a huge gathering of the people, namely of the rich, the not so rich, and those who had little, the finished church was dedicated solemnly to God under the patronage of blessed Benedict. The foundation was established by a group of the monks who were living at Westbury, and soon more gathered there from this place and that.<sup>55</sup> In order to feed and clothe

<sup>a</sup> est mihi O    <sup>b</sup> Ramesia J    <sup>c</sup> om. O    <sup>d</sup> caelestis O    <sup>e</sup> mediocrum CJ  
<sup>f</sup> Westbirig J; Westbyrii O

<sup>54</sup> The situation of the island of Ramsey and the origin of its name are described in *Chron. Ram.*, cc. 2-3 and Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 431-3. For discussion of the early settlement of the district prior to Oswald's foundation of the monastery, see J. A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey* (Toronto, 1957), pp. 2-6.

<sup>55</sup> Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 430-4, relates that some temporary buildings (an oratory, dormitory, and refectory) were raised at Ramsey during the summer (probably in 965), and that Oswald led the monks of Westbury there on 29 Aug. Further building did not take place over the winter, but masons were gathered, and the foundations of the church were laid the following March (i.e. 966). See Barrow, 'The community of Worcester', p. 95.

ad Dei seruitium celebrandum, plurimae terrarum possessiones, plurimae diuersorum ornamentorum donationes loco eidem ab utroque collatae sunt.<sup>56</sup> Facta est igitur decens et habilis monachorum habitatio. Hinc<sup>a</sup> praeposito adunatis fratribus Eadnotho,<sup>b</sup> cuius supra meminimus, uiro prudenti et religioso qui et Lincolniae aecclesiae postea pontifex fuit,<sup>57</sup> ipse Wigornam<sup>c</sup> reuertitur, et inter suas oues eis et sibi superintendens bonus pastor conuersatur.<sup>58</sup>

18. [17 Raine] Per<sup>d</sup> id<sup>e</sup> temporis ex sanctione et auctoritate Iohannis, apostolicae sedis antistitis,<sup>59</sup> beatus Dunstanus archiepiscopus Cantuariiae et primas totius Britanniae,<sup>60</sup> cuius paulo superius mentionem fecimus, coacto generali concilio, statuit, et statuendo decretum<sup>f</sup> confirmauit, uidelicet ut canonici omnes, presbyteri omnes,<sup>g</sup> diaconi et subdiaconi omnes,<sup>h</sup> aut caste uiuerent, aut aecclesias quas tenebant una cum rebus ad eas pertinentibus perderent. Habebat autem regem Edgarum<sup>i</sup> in hoc negotio fidelem fautorem, constantem adiutorem, firmum defensorem. Qui rex ipsius patris consilio utens, curam exequendi decreti huius super totum regnum duobus uiris iniunxit, Osuualdo scilicet episcopo Wigornensi,<sup>j</sup> et Athelwoldo<sup>k</sup> Wintoniensi.<sup>61</sup> Quod illi zelo domus Dei succensi, et diuinitatis amore subnixi, et insuper praedicta auctoritate muniti, strenuissime sunt executi. Nam, ut de aliis taceam, beatus Osuualdus septem monasteria in sua diocesi regulari disciplina, eiectis clericis feminarum<sup>l</sup> consortium aecclesiis anteponentibus, instituit, delegato eis super ea quae aecclesiae prius habebant tanto ex munificentia regis et aliorum

<sup>a</sup> Huic O <sup>b</sup> Eadnoto J <sup>c</sup> Wigorniam JO <sup>d</sup> New chapter in JO <sup>e</sup> idem O  
<sup>f</sup> decreuit O <sup>g</sup> om. JO <sup>h</sup> om. JO <sup>i</sup> Eadgarum J <sup>j</sup> Wigornensi episcopo O  
<sup>k</sup> Ætheluuoldo J; Ethelwoldo O <sup>l</sup> feminarium O

<sup>56</sup> See Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey*, pp. 6–19, for detailed discussion of the grants, both of land and money, made to Ramsey abbey in the first years of its foundation.

<sup>57</sup> Eadmer appears here to confuse Eadnoth Senior, who led the community at Westbury (see c. 16 above) and whom Oswald appointed as the first prior of Ramsbury, with Eadnoth Junior. The *Chron. Ram.*, c. 57, relates that when Eadnoth Senior became too old to carry out his duties at Ramsey, he was replaced by Eadnoth Junior. Eadnoth Junior was the son of Æthelstan Mannessune (d. 986) and a relative of Oswald on his mother's side; he was appointed abbot of Ramsey in 992 following Oswald's death, and became bishop of Dorchester c. 1009 (cf. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, table 3). In 1016 he was killed at the Battle of Ashingdon by Cnut's army; ASC (DEF) s.a. 1016, John of Worcester s.a. 1016. See also C. Hart, 'Eadnoth, first abbot of Ramsey, and the foundation of Chatteris and St Ives', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, lvi and lvii (1962–3), 61–7.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. John 10: 11.

<sup>59</sup> Eadmer may mean either John XII (955–64), who granted Dunstan his pallium and who seems to have been the author of a letter authorizing the removal of canons from

them, and also to support the celebration of the service of God, many donations of land and a multitude of different kinds of jewellery were collected in that place by both men.<sup>56</sup> And in this way a fit and habitable dwelling place was established for the monks. Then Eadnoth, whom we mentioned earlier, a prudent and religious man who was afterwards also the bishop of Lincoln,<sup>57</sup> was placed in charge of the assembled brothers, and Oswald returned to Worcester and spent his days amongst his sheep watching over both them and himself like a good shepherd.<sup>58</sup>

18. [17 Raine] In those days, with the sanction and authority of John, bishop of the Apostolic See,<sup>59</sup> blessed Dunstan the archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all Britain,<sup>60</sup> whom we mentioned a little earlier, gathered together a general council; he promulgated a statute and proclaimed a decree, namely that all of the canons, all of the priests, and all of the deacons and sub-deacons should either live in chastity or lose control of the churches that they held, together with the goods belonging to them. And in this matter he had a faithful supporter, King Edgar, who was a constant collaborator and a reliable defender. This king, following the advice of father Dunstan, enjoined the task of carrying out this decree throughout the whole kingdom upon two men, namely Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester.<sup>61</sup> And kindled with zeal for the house of God those men carried out this task most vigorously, relying on the love of the Divinity and, moreover, with the protection of the authority we have just mentioned. I pass over some things in silence, but must mention that blessed Oswald established seven monasteries observing the Rule in his own diocese after he had expelled the clergy who had put living with women before their churches; in addition to those things which the churches had possessed earlier, he distributed to them so much assistance from the generosity of the king and other

Winchester (see *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 57 note), or his successor John XIII (965–72). A council convened by Dunstan concerning the adoption of uniform monastic practices throughout England was held at Winchester and was attended by King Edgar. In the preface to the *Regularis concordia*, written by Æthelwold and adopted at this council, Queen Ælfthryth is also named, which places it some time after Edgar's remarriage in 964 (see *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 59 note); however, a date of between 970 and 973 seems more likely (see *Councils*, pp. 133–5).

<sup>60</sup> Eadmer's claim that Dunstan was primate over all Britain reflects the assertions of the archbishops of Canterbury in his own day; see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 14 note.

<sup>61</sup> Æthelwold (c. 905–84) was appointed bishop of Winchester in Nov. 963. See *Vita S. Dunstani*, cc. 57, 61 and notes.



principum regni subsidio rerum, ut cohabitantibus sufficeret ad uictum atque uestitum. Wincelcumbensi uero monasterio,<sup>62</sup> quod de septem unum erat, supramemoratum Germanum in abbatem ordinauit, et aliis singulis singulos in religione probatos abbates praeposuit. De quibus quidam, Folberhtus<sup>a</sup> nomine,<sup>63</sup> Perscorensi<sup>b</sup> aeccliesiae,<sup>64</sup> quae una de septem abbatibus est, in abbatem praelatus est, uir moribus grauis, et feruentissimus cultor monachicae institutionis, sed in subditos, quod ualde in eo reprehendebatur, nimiae et indiscretae seueritatis. Is ad extrema perductus, et huic uitae subductus,<sup>c</sup> atque in feretro mortuorum more<sup>d</sup> locatus, recepto spiritu trepidantibus cunctis, erexit se. Igitur fugientibus aliis, praefatus Germanus accessit, sciscitans quo uel a quo ductus sit, quid uiderit, quid illi contigerit, et ob quid reuersus sit. At ille se a beato Benedicto in uisionem Dei perductum fuisse, et Deum sua peccata meritis<sup>e</sup> dilectoris sui Osuualdi sibi indulsisse, atque ad intimandam sanctitatem ipsius patris se reuixisse respondit. Rursus quaenam forma, qui habitus, quis patris Benedicti comitatus extiterit percunctatus, formam eius ultra humanam estimationem decoram, habitum gemmarum nitore praefulgidum, comitatum innumeris candidatorum milibus<sup>f</sup> monachorum et speciosissimarum sanctimonialium respondit esse compositum.<sup>g</sup> Quo dicto, conticuit, et accepto uiatico Dominici corporis, dimidium diem superuixit, itaque uitam obitu iterato finiuit.

19. [18 Raine] Praeter haec in aliis Angliae partibus ad parochiam suam nil pertinentibus, insignes aeccliesias ob praefixam causam clericis euacuauit, et eas memorata auctoritate subnixus uiris monasticae<sup>h</sup> institutionis sullimauit. Sunt autem hae: Aeccliesia pretiosi martyris Christi Albani, aeccliesia sanctae Ætheldrithae uirginis in

<sup>a</sup> Foldberhtus *J*; Flodbertus *O*      <sup>b</sup> Persorensi *O*      <sup>c</sup> sublatus *JO*      <sup>d</sup> more mortuorum *O*      <sup>e</sup> *JO* add dilecti      <sup>f</sup> milibus candidatorum *JO*      <sup>g</sup> compositam *J*  
<sup>h</sup> manasticae *J*

<sup>62</sup> The abbey of Winchcombe (Gloucestershire) is said by William of Malmesbury (*GP*, iv. 156) to have been founded by King Coenwulf of Mercia (d. c.819); a charter of 811 (Sawyer, 167) purportedly records its foundation. The abbey's chief claim to fame was the possession of the relics of Coenwulf's murdered son Kenelm; see *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, pp. cx–cxiii.

<sup>63</sup> A cleric named Foldbriht went with Æthelwold to Abingdon during the reign of King Eadred (r. 946–55), and appears to have become a monk there (*Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 11). For the rareness of this name and the possible identification of him with the abbot of Pershore, see the comment of Lapidge and Winterbottom in *Life of St Æthelwold*, p. 20 n. 3.

princes of the kingdom that it sufficed to feed and clothe those who dwelt together there. He ordained Germanus (whom I have mentioned earlier) as abbot of the monastery of Winchcombe,<sup>62</sup> which was one of the seven, and placed over each of the others abbots who were tried and tested in their religious observance. One of these men, Foldbriht by name,<sup>63</sup> was appointed abbot of the church at Pershore,<sup>64</sup> which is also one of these seven abbeys; he was a man stern in character and the most fervent observer of the monastic way of life, but was severe and excessively intemperate towards those placed under him, for which he was strongly criticized. When this man had reached his final moments, and been taken from this life and placed on a bier, as is the custom with the dead, his spirit was restored and everyone shuddered with fear as he arose. Though all the others fled, the aforementioned Germanus advanced towards him, asking him where and by whom he had been led, what he had seen, what had befallen him, and why he had come back. He replied that he had been conducted into the sight of God by blessed Benedict and that God had forgiven him his sins on account of the merits of loving father Oswald, and that he had been restored to life so that he might proclaim Oswald's holiness. When questioned again as to the appearance of father Benedict, his clothing, and his companions, he replied that his appearance was handsome beyond human comprehension, his clothing was radiant with glittering jewels, his train was made up of countless thousands of monks dressed in white and the most beautiful nuns. When he had said this, he fell silent and having received the Lord's body as viaticum he lived just half a day longer, and thus brought his life to a close with a second death.

19. [18 Raine] In addition to these things, in other parts of England which did not belong to his diocese Oswald expelled the clergy from well-known churches in compliance with the agenda he had announced, and with the support of the authority mentioned earlier he raised to new heights men following the monastic way of life. The churches are these: the church of the beloved martyr of Christ, Alban, the church of St Æthelthryth the virgin at Ely, and the one located at

<sup>64</sup> A charter of Edgar dated 972 (Sawyer, 786) restores privileges and grants additional lands to the abbey of Pershore (Worcestershire). William of Malmesbury (*GP*, iv. 162) states that it was founded by Æthelweard, the ealdorman of Dorset, during the reign of Edgar, while John of Worcester s.a. 1095 states that it was founded by a relative of the Mercian king St Æthelred (r. 675–710).

Heli, et illa quae apud Beamfletam constituta honorabilis habebatur.<sup>65</sup> Praelati quoque et istis per eum sunt singuli patres, Ælfricus scilicet, quem aecclesia Cantuariensis pastorem postmodum habuit, Albanensi, Brihtnothus<sup>a</sup> Heliensi, Beamflytensi<sup>b</sup> Godemannus.<sup>c</sup><sup>66</sup> Coenobium uero Ramesiense,<sup>d</sup> ut descripsimus, eius instinctu et operatione a fundamentis aedificatum est. Aucta est ergo per Angliam obseruantia disciplinae regularis, in tantum ut quadraginta octo monasteria partim uiris, partim feminis, stabilirentur per hos uiros; Dunstanum uidelicet archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Osuualdum pontificem Wigornensem, et Atheluuoldum<sup>e</sup> episcopum Wintoniensem. Iis<sup>f</sup> autem quae beatus Osuualdus edificauerat (de aliis enim scribere a proposito nostro remotum est),<sup>g</sup> ipse magna semper cura et sollicitudine inuigilabat, ne diabolus, qui sicut leo circumit quaerens quem deuoret,<sup>67</sup> ullum fratrem a professionis suae norma deuiantem inueniret quem deuoraret. Vnde et eadem monasteria circumire, ac in singulis prout nouerat expedire morari consueuerat, uerbo simul et opere fratribus quae saluti cuiusque utilia fore aduertere poterat paterno affectu sumministrans.

20. [19 Raine] Super haec nonnullis aecclesiis, quibus ipse non eo quo superioribus modo intendebat, tam disciplinae regularis quam et grammaticae liberaliumque artium magistros postulat, dirigebat<sup>h</sup> qui aut in Galliis docti ac per eum in Angliam ducti, aut certe, sua sagacitate in monasteriis suis imbuti, sapientes et praeclari habebantur. Inter quos quidam Floriacensis monachus erat, Abbo uocatus,<sup>68</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Brithnodus *ƿ*; Brichtnothus *O*      <sup>b</sup> Beamfletensi *ƿO*      <sup>c</sup> Godmannus *O*  
<sup>d</sup> Ramesiensi *ƿ*      <sup>e</sup> Ætheluuoldum *ƿ*; Ethelwoldum *O*      <sup>f</sup> Hiis *O*      <sup>g</sup> *ƿO* add iis  
 [hiis *O*] inquam quae OSVVALDVS aedificauerat      <sup>h</sup> direxerat *ƿO*

<sup>65</sup> According to Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 427, these three monasteries were initially offered to Oswald by Edgar before he met Æthelwine and visited Ramsey. For Alban, who was martyred by the Romans during the persecution under Diocletian, see *HE*, i. 7. Æthelthryth (d. 679/80), the queen of Northumbria who separated from her husband with the assistance of St Wilfrid, founded Ely monastery in 672; her vocation and sanctity are described in *HE*, iv. 19, in *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 28, and in the *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, (RHS, Camden 3rd series, xcii; London, 1962), *passim*. Benfleet (Essex) is problematic. There is no evidence outside of Byrhtferth and Eadmer for an abbey there, apart perhaps from a reference in *DB* Essex 6.1 to lands owned there by an otherwise unknown church of St Mary before the Conquest, which were then given to St Peter's Westminster. Eadmer in any case seems to have assumed this abbey was Thorney (Cambridgeshire).

<sup>66</sup> Ælfric appears to have been the tenth abbot of St Albans and to have been succeeded there by his brother Leofric (*Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (RS, 1867), pp. 31–8 and 30n. 6); he was archbishop of Canterbury 995–1005. Brihtnoth was a monk from one of Æthelwold's foundations, where he was prior, and was appointed by him,

Benfleet, an establishment held to be honourable.<sup>65</sup> In addition, abbots were set over each of these by Oswald; namely, Ælfric, whom the church at Canterbury later had for its shepherd, over St Alban's; Brihtnoth over Ely; and Godemann over Benfleet.<sup>66</sup> But the monastery of Ramsey, as we have explained, was built from its very foundations at his instigation and by his efforts. Thus the observance of regular life increased throughout England to such an extent that forty-eight monasteries, some for men and others for women, were established by the efforts of these men, namely, Dunstan the archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald the bishop of Worcester, and Æthelwold the bishop of Winchester. But over those churches which blessed Oswald had built—for it is far removed from our purpose to write about the others—he himself always kept an eye with great care and concern lest the devil who prowls about them like a lion seeking someone to devour might discover any brother straying from his professed career whom he could devour.<sup>67</sup> And for this reason it was his habit also to travel round to these monasteries and to pass time in each of them as he thought appropriate, providing for the brothers by both word and deed, and with paternal affection, those things which he was able to perceive would be useful for the salvation of each man.

20. [19 Raine] Furthermore, Oswald, when asked, sent teachers of both the Benedictine Rule and of grammar and the liberal arts to several churches that he did not supervise in the same way as those mentioned earlier; these men had either been schooled in Gaul and brought by Oswald to England or had been imbued with his wisdom in his own monasteries and were held at any rate to be both excellent and wise. Among them was a certain monk from Fleury named Abbo,<sup>68</sup> who was renowned for his holy way of life, and who was

not Oswald, as the first abbot of the reformed monastery of Ely c. 970; he probably died after 996 and before 999 (cf. *Life of Æthelwold*, c. 23 and *Liber Eliensis*, ii. 1–4, 6, 56 and p. 411). Godemann is recorded not as the abbot of Benfleet, but was of Thorney, which again was a foundation of Æthelwold; he does not appear in any charters before 990 (*Life of Æthelwold*, c. 24 and p. 41 n. 9; Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, table 4). Godemann was also the scribe of the Benedictinal of St Æthelwold (London, BL Add. MS 49598) and author of the introductory poem to this work, which was copied between 971 and 984 (A. Prescott. 'The text of the Benedictinal of St Æthelwold', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 119–47, at 120).  
<sup>67</sup> Cf. I Pet. 5: 8.

<sup>68</sup> Abbo's life and miracles are recounted by Aimoin of Fleury (*PL* cxxxix. 387–414); for discussion of his career, see M. Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury* (Hilversum, 1987), pp. 17–8, 40–64, and *Abbon de Fleury: Questions grammaticales*, ed. A. Guerreau-Jalabert (Paris, 1982), pp. 24–6. Probably born between 940 and 950 (*ibid.*, p. 24 n. 47), he was a child oblate at Fleury, and was educated there as well as in Reims and

morum sanctitate praeclarus, ac litterarum tam saecularium quam diuinarum scientia apprime instructus. Hunc pater Osuualdus posuit in coenobio Ramesiensi, monachos docere, scholas regere et, quibuscunque ualeret, cum in disciplina regulari tum in scientia litterali prodesse.<sup>69</sup> Quod et fecit. Hinc ergo processit ut cum religionis augmento liberales artes, quae prius<sup>a</sup> ob diuersos casus in neglectum per Angliam uenerant, quaquaersum patris Osuualdi industria et sollicitudine euentilatae multipliciter pullularent. Praefatus uero Abbo ob multam sui dignitatem beato quoque Dunstano familiaris ualde extitit, eiusque instinctu et dispositione passionem beati Edmundi<sup>b</sup> gloriosissimi regis Anglorum stili officio posteriorum memoriae tradidit.<sup>70</sup> Post haec et alia innumera bona quae in Anglia fecerat ad monasterium suum Floriacum reuersus, abbas in eo factus est, et postea martirii palma a Deo pro iusticia coronatus.

21. [20 Raine] Beatus<sup>c</sup> autem Osuualdus ubi se correctioni clericorum Wigornensium intromittere aggressus est, ipsi aduertentes in quas, quantum suos mores attinebat, eos angustias uellet detrudere, statim uerbis eius aditum sui cordis occluserunt, nec ea sensum suum penetrare ulla ratione passi sunt. Qua de re sumpto a patre Dunstano, cuius<sup>d</sup> consueuerat inniti, prudenti consilio, annuente iam sepe memorato glorioso rege Eadgaro,<sup>e</sup> monasterium infra ipsam sedem episcopalem construere coepit in quo quibuscum<sup>f</sup> conuersaretur monachos adunaret.<sup>71</sup> Et iam maceries operis altius leuata profecerat. Non longe uero ab opere ipso quidam lapis quadrus iacebat, ad operis fabricam omnino aptus ac necessarius. Ad hunc pro iussu pontificis suo loco mouendum, et in structuram templi componendum, artifices

<sup>a</sup> pridem *J*    <sup>b</sup> Eadmundi *J**O*    <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in J**O*    <sup>d</sup> cui *O*    <sup>e</sup> Edgardo *O*  
<sup>f</sup> cum quibus *O*

Paris. In 985 following the election of Abbot Oylbold at Fleury he went to England, and stayed at Ramsey until 987, when he returned to Fleury and became abbot there. On 13 Nov. 1004 he was killed during a brawl at the priory of La Réole (Gironde).

<sup>69</sup> For discussion of Abbo's teaching and influence at Ramsey, not only in the fields of literary studies but also computus, see *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. P. S. Baker and M. Lapidge (EETS s.s. xv; London, 1995), pp. xx–xxiii and xlii–xlv. Works he composed at Ramsey include his *Quaestiones grammaticales* (cf. Guerreau-Jalabert, pp. 28–30) and his *Passio S. Eadmundi*, which is dedicated to Dunstan (pr. in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972)).

<sup>70</sup> Edmund was the king of East Anglia who was killed in battle with the Vikings led by Ingvar (see *Vita S. Odonis*, c. 1) either in 869 or 870 (for the date, see ASC s.a. 870, John of Worcester s.a. 870, and McGurk's comment at John of Worcester ii. 286 n. 3).

especially well versed in the knowledge of both secular and divine literature. Father Oswald placed this man in the monastery of Ramsey in order to instruct the monks, to oversee the schools, and to be useful in teaching the regular life and the study of literature in every way he could.<sup>69</sup> And indeed this is what he did. And from this it came to pass that together with the growth of religious life the liberal arts, which formerly had fallen into neglect throughout England for various reasons, sprouted forth abundantly everywhere, winnowed by the industry and care of father Oswald. And because of his great dignity Abbo, whom we mentioned earlier, also became a close friend of blessed Dunstan, and at his instigation and desire he recorded for posterity in his capacity as a writer the passion of blessed Edmund the most glorious king of the English.<sup>70</sup> After these and innumerable other good deeds which he had accomplished in England, he returned to his own monastery at Fleury where he was made abbot and afterwards was justly crowned by God with the palm of martyrdom.

21. [20 Raine] But when blessed Oswald undertook to become involved in reforming the clergy of Worcester, the men living there realized into what confines he wished to force them with respect to their moral life and immediately shut off access to their hearts for his words, nor did they allow them to penetrate their minds in any way. Therefore having taken advice from father Dunstan, on whose prudent counsel he was accustomed to rely, and with the approval of the oft-mentioned and glorious King Edgar, he began to construct a monastery within the episcopal city itself in which he might bring together these monks with whom he was living.<sup>71</sup> And soon the encircling walls of the work had advanced and were raised on high. And not far from this site a particular square stone was lying which was wholly suitable, and indeed essential, for the structure of the work. What was considered to be an adequate number of workers approached this stone in order to move it from its place in accordance with the bishop's orders and to place it within the construction of the

<sup>71</sup> For discussion of the date of Oswald's building the new cathedral at Worcester, see Barrow, 'The community of Worcester', p. 95; she examined the evidence from Byrhtferth and the Worcester leases and concluded that it occurred soon after his foundation of Ramsey in 966. The exact locations of the two churches at Worcester, the old cathedral of St Peter's and Oswald's new foundation St Mary's, are unknown, although it is assumed that St Mary's covered part of the area of the present cathedral, while St Peter's was adjacent to it; see N. Baker and R. Holt, 'The city of Worcester in the tenth century', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 129–46, at 143–4.

qui sufficere estimati sunt accesserunt. At dum illum, quasi radicitus terrae haereret, nullo conatu uel leuiter mouere ualerent, adiuncti sunt eis alii et alii uiri qui pari modo ad pondus lapidis nichil uirium habere sunt deprehensi. Stupor ingens occupat omnes. Mandatur de negotio patri Osuualdo qui tunc aberat, et rogatur quantotius ueniat considerare quidnam monstri res ipsa praetendat.<sup>a</sup> Adest, et multitudinem circa praedicti lapidis motum casso labore sudantem aspiciens, miratus est. Et attonitus stans, Deumque silentio deprecans, aspexit in lapide illo Aethiopem quendam sedere, et obscenis nutibus laborantes subsannando deridere.<sup>72</sup> Itaque uir Domini statim contra demonem signum sanctae crucis intorsit, et illum e uestigio territum sibi fuga consulere compulit. At lapis, quem octoginta uiri ante mouere nequibant, a paucis hominibus facillime statim leuatus est et in opere collocatus. Populus qui ad hoc spectandum<sup>b</sup> undique fluxerat, considerans rei gestae potentem uirtutem, Deo super mirabilibus suis immensas gratias retulit. Patrem quoque suum atque pontificem eximia laude praedicauere, intelligentes ueraciter esse amicum Dei ad cuius nutum tam inerti pauore percussus tremens disparuit aduersarius Dei. Perfectam aecclesiam ipse in honorem sanctae<sup>c</sup> et perpetuae uirginis Dei genetricis Mariae dedicauit, ibique, ut proposuerat, monachos in sancta conuersatione Christo seruituros congregauit. Clerici ergo in sede episcopali quae sub nomine gloriosi apostolorum principis Petri fundata antiquitus fuerat conueniebant, et monachi in noua aecclesia sub patrocinio sanctae Mariae una degebant. At plebs nunc istam, nunc illam aecclesiam uicissim aliquandiu frequentabat.<sup>73</sup> Sed post dies, admirantes et admirando uenerantes monachorum religiositatem, paulatim se clericorum collegio coeperunt absentare, et seruitio Dei quod monachi faciebant praesentes adesse, propterea quod quemadmodum sibi ratio mentis suae dicebat, decentius et Deo dignius seruitio clericorum fiebat.<sup>74</sup> Vnde et<sup>d</sup> factum est ut sicut plebis mutatio ab

<sup>a</sup> pretendebat O    <sup>b</sup> spectaculum O    <sup>c</sup> beatae JO    <sup>d</sup> om. O

<sup>72</sup> For Eadmer's depiction of devils as black Africans, see also *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 36 and note.

<sup>73</sup> Oswald's construction of the new church appears to have coincided with rapid growth of the urban population at Worcester; see Baker and Holt, 'The city of Worcester in the tenth century', p. 143, who concluded that St Peter's may have been too small for the urban congregation.

<sup>74</sup> For discussion of whether the replacement of clerics by monks at Worcester cathedral was a gradual process, as suggested here by Eadmer, or rather happened in one sudden, dramatic episode, as stated by John of Worcester s.a. 969, see Barrow, 'The community of

temple. But when they were unable to move it by any means, not even a little bit—it was as if it were rooted in the ground—more and more men joined with them who, in like manner, were found to have no strength at all when it came to the weight of the stone. Great amazement overcame them all. A message reporting this matter was sent to father Oswald, who was away at that time, and he was asked to come as quickly as possible to consider what kind of strange portent this event suggested. He arrived, and when he observed the crowd sweating in their futile effort to move the stone, he was astonished. As he stood thunderstruck and beseeching God in silence he notice that a certain Ethiopian was sitting on the stone and mocking the labourers with obscene gestures and rude signs.<sup>72</sup> And so the man of the Lord at once made the sign of the holy cross before the demon; immediately it was terrified and forced to preserve itself by fleeing. And the stone which eighty men had earlier been unable to move was very easily raised at once by a few men and set in the building. The people who had flooded in from everywhere to watch this spectacle reflected upon the miraculous power of the act which had been accomplished and rendered great thanks to God for his wondrous deeds. Moreover, they spoke everywhere with outstanding praise for their father and bishop, recognizing that he was truly a friend of God upon whose gesture the enemy of God was struck by such incapacitating terror that he had disappeared in trembling state. Oswald dedicated the completed church in honour of the holy and perpetual virgin mother of God, Mary, and gathered together there, as he had proposed, monks who would serve Christ in the sacred way of life. And so the secular clerks came together in the episcopal see which had been established in ancient times under the name of the glorious prince of the apostles Peter, while the monks dwelt together in the new church under the patronage of St Mary. And for a little while the common people used to attend in turn now one church, now the other.<sup>73</sup> But after a time, admiring the religious life of the monks and venerating it in their admiration, they began little by little to absent themselves from the assembly of the clerks and to attend the service to God which the monks conducted, because their mind's reasoning told them that the manner in which things were done by them was more fitting and worthy of God than was the service of the clerks.<sup>74</sup>

Worcester'; she concluded that the evidence from leases and other sources shows that the process was very gradual, and the two communities existed side by side well into the 11th c. (pp. 98–9).

una aecclesia in aliam facta est, ita et plebis oblatio mutata sit. Dum igitur in eo quod illi perdunt isti lucrantur, in quo illi deficiunt isti multiplicantur. Quid moror? Qui maior natu et honorabilior inter clericos habebatur, Wensinus<sup>a</sup> nomine,<sup>75</sup> abiectis saecularibus cunctis, se et omnia sua, factus monachus, monachis largitus est. Super quo famulus Dei mire laetatus eum, elapso breui tempore, studiis caelestibus pleniter erudiendum Rameseiam dirigit, et eruditum inde reducens, adunatis monachis Wigornae<sup>b</sup> morum praeceptorem constituit. Quem enim in clericatu iuxta mores antiquos semper amatorem honesti sciebat, hunc nichilo minus in monachatu fautorem 'et executorem fore honesti' spe certa sibi promittebat.<sup>d</sup> Vnde nec falsus<sup>e</sup> est. Bonum quippe quod pater de eo sperabat, ipse magnopere in bonis actibus accumulabat. Quae omnia clericorum nonnulli attendentes, et mente compuncti, consilium contra Deum non esse perpendentes, spreto saeculo, spreta omni pompa saeculari, iugo se Christi subiciunt, et inter monachos, quos paulo ante nimium execrabantur, monachi fiunt. Audires ad haec quam plurimos hominum stupendo cantare: 'O uere mutatio dexteræ excelsi.'<sup>76</sup> Hoc itaque modo a beato Petro in matrem Domini saluatoris, a clericis in monachos translata est sedes pontificalis honoris.

22. [21 Raine] His<sup>f</sup> ita sese habentibus, praefatus Eboracae ciuitatis antistes uitae praesenti adimitur,<sup>77</sup> et grauis exinde meror Anglorum populis procreatur. Fama igitur obitus eius agili lapsu discurrens, regias pertingit ad aures, nec beati Dunstani noticiam segnius attigit. Volens autem idem pater pro suo officio uiduatae aecclesiae consultum iri, regem petit, et consilium quod salubrius sibi de substituendo pastore occurrit regi proponit. Praedicat dignitatem uenerabilis uiri Osualdi, quo uidelicet quantoque parente nobilitatus, qua religione a puero institutus, quibus uirtutum praerogatiuis

<sup>a</sup> Wensinus JO      <sup>b</sup> Wigorniae JO      <sup>c</sup> honesti et executorem fore JO  
<sup>d</sup> applaudebat JO      <sup>e</sup> falsatus O      <sup>f</sup> New chapter in JO

<sup>75</sup> Winsige appears in leases from Worcester cathedral from 977 onwards at the head of the witness lists, and attests once as 'primus' or senior monk. Although a monk, he also inherited property (see Bullough, 'St Oswald', pp. 14–15, and Barrow, 'The community of Worcester', pp. 97–8).  
<sup>76</sup> Cf. Ps. 76 (77): 11.

<sup>77</sup> Osketel's death at Thame (Oxfordshire) is recorded in ASC (BC) s.a. 971 on 1 Nov., and by John of Worcester s.a. 972. Simeon of Durham states that it occurred in 970, and that Osketel was briefly succeeded by a certain Eadwald who, however, found the position too difficult, and who retired to a quieter life after a year (*Epistola de archiepiscopis Eboraci*, c. 5, in *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (RS, 1882–5), i. 226).

Whence it also happened that just as there was a shifting of the people from one church to another, so too the people's offerings were redirected. Therefore, while these men accrued wealth from what the others were losing, so also they increased their numbers from the others' losses. Why do I hesitate to illustrate this? A man advanced in years and considered very honourable among the clerks, named Winsige,<sup>75</sup> rejected all things of this world, and once becoming a monk gave both himself and all of his possessions to his brothers. The servant of God was wondrously happy on account of this and after a short time had elapsed sent him to be fully educated in divine studies at Ramsey. When Winsige had received this learning, Oswald brought him back from there and appointed him to watch over the morals of the congregation of monks at Worcester. For Oswald clearly expected and hoped that the one whom he had known always to have been a lover of virtue in accordance with ancient customs while a clerk would be no less a promoter and follower of virtue as a monk. And he was not deceived in this. Indeed, by his good deeds he accrued in abundance the good which the father had expected of him. Some of the clerks noticed all of these things and were pricked by their conscience; judging that this course of action was not against God they rejected the world, spurned all worldly pomp, subjugated themselves to the yoke of Christ, and became monks amidst the brothers whom they had been cursing exceedingly a little earlier. You could have heard a multitude of people singing out in amazement: 'O truly this is the change of the right hand of the most High.'<sup>76</sup> And so in this way the seat of the eminent bishopric was transferred from the church of blessed Peter to that of the mother of the Lord Saviour and from the clerks to the monks.

22. [21 Raine] While these things were in this state Osketel, the bishop of the city of York, whom we mentioned earlier, was taken from the present life;<sup>77</sup> this occasioned profound grief among the peoples of the English. And the rumour of his death flitted about in nimble flight and made its way to the king's ears, and it came no less slowly to the notice of blessed Dunstan. And desiring to be consulted on account of his official role in the bereaved church, this same father sought the king and put to him a salutary plan which had occurred to him for replacing that shepherd. He emphasized the worthiness of venerable Oswald, in particular, the renowned parents from whom he took his nobility, the religious practice by which he had been shaped

fuerit<sup>a</sup> insignitus. Super haec quam strenue cathedram pontificalem cui eo usque praesidebat gubernari edisserit, ac per hoc <sup>b</sup>quo iure<sup>b</sup> merito debeat celsiorem ascendere, pandit,<sup>c</sup> probat, asserit. Placent regi quae feruntur, quodque Dunstanus de Oswaldo fieri laudat (uelit solummodo clerus et populus Eboracensis) uult, suadet, ortatur, iubet, ut fiat. Rogatur uoluntas illorum, et uoce consona simul omnes respondent unum. Velle se illum prae caeteris sibi praefici concrepant, et id, rupta omni mora,<sup>d</sup> fiat magnis postulationibus instant. Nec mora. Vir ascitus aduenit, sed petentibus suscipere regimen uiduae ecclesiae non statim annuit. Intonat uox populi, ut dubio procul attestareri scripturae, uocem populi uocem esse Dei.<sup>78</sup> Par caritas, sententia concors, una uoluntas populi in bono fuit, et Deus pacis, qui inhabitare facit unanimes in domo,<sup>79</sup> quique est inter duos uel tres congregatos in nomine suo,<sup>80</sup> non faueret rei cui tanta multitudo fauebat,<sup>e</sup> non sentiret quod sentiebat, non uellet quod uolebat? Volebat plane. Sed esto. Quod Deus fieri uult, fiat necesse est.<sup>81</sup> Vult autem quod secundum se uolunt fideles sui. Alioquin bene possent uelle sine illo, et ueritas non esset ueridica quae dicit nichil sine se quenquam posse.<sup>82</sup> At secundum se uoluerunt fideles sui sanctum<sup>f</sup> Osuualdum <sup>g</sup>fieri pontificem Eboraci.<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup>Quoniam igitur hoc ipsum Deus uoluit,<sup>h</sup> ut fieret necesse omnimodis fuit. Quapropter adqueiuit ille Deo, adquiescendo uoluntati seruorum Dei.

23. [22 Raine] Factus igitur archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Romam pergit, pallium ecclesiae suae debitum ab Apostolico requisiturus, plurimaque negotia regni, prout ea rex sibi delegauerat, cum ipso tractaturus. Hinc patriam egressus, transito mari, transitis terris periculorum diuersitatibus plenis, Romam peruenit, Romana

<sup>a</sup> fuerat *J*    <sup>b-h</sup> quod *O*    <sup>c</sup> proponit *JO*    <sup>d</sup> *O* adds ut    <sup>e</sup> multitudo cui fauebat tanta *O*    <sup>f</sup> beatum *JO*    <sup>g-h</sup> Eboracensem archiepiscopum fieri *JO*  
<sup>h-h</sup> Voluit igitur hoc ipsum Deus et ideo *JO*

<sup>78</sup> The phrase is not scriptural, but cf. Isa. 66: 6: 'Vox populi de ciuitate, uox de templo, uox Domini reddentis retributionem inimicis suis'. The phrase itself appears in a different context in Alcuin, *epist.* clxvi, to Charlemagne (pr. *PL* c. 438): 'Nec audiendi sunt qui solent dicere uox populi uox Dei.'

<sup>79</sup> Ps. 67 (68): 7 (6).

<sup>80</sup> Matt. 18: 20.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, ii. 16 (pr. in *Sancti Anselmi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh and Rome, 1940-61), ii. 121): 'Sed uidemus econtra quia, quod deus immutabiliter uult, non potest non esse, sed necesse est esse.'

<sup>82</sup> Cf. John 1: 3.

since childhood, and the indisputable signs of the virtues by which he had been made conspicuous. In addition to these things, he revealed how vigorously Oswald was governing the episcopal see over which he had presided until then, and in this way he made known, approved, and asserted the lawful right by which he deserved to ascend to a higher rank. Once uttered, these words pleased the king; the things that Dunstan said in his tribute about what to do with Oswald, provided only that the clergy and people of York wanted it, the king too desired, encouraged, urged, and ordered to be enacted. He asked them what they wanted, and with one voice they all replied instantly and unanimously: they exclaimed that they wished for Oswald more than any other to be put in charge of them, and with powerful entreaties they insisted that all obstacles be removed in order to make this happen. And there was no delay. Once summoned the man arrived, but he did not immediately agree to the request of those beseeching him to take up the governance of the bereaved church. The voice of the people thundered out so that without any doubt you could have confirmed the words of Scripture that the voice of the people is the voice of God.<sup>78</sup> There was an equal amount of love, harmonious opinion, and a single resolve among the people in this good deed, and would the God of peace, who makes people of one mind to dwell in a house<sup>79</sup> and is amongst two or three who have gathered in his name,<sup>80</sup> not support a thing which such a great multitude supported, not feel what they felt, not desire what they desired? Clearly he too desired it. But let that rest. For whatever God wishes to happen must happen of necessity.<sup>81</sup> However, he wants whatever his faithful want in accordance with his wishes. Otherwise they might well wish without him, and the truth would not speak true when it says no one can do anything without it.<sup>82</sup> But in accordance with his desire, his faithful wished that saint Oswald be made archbishop of York. And so because God wished this same thing it was necessary in every way that it come about. Therefore Oswald trusted in God by trusting in the will of God's servants.

23. [22 Raine] And so, when he had been made archbishop of York he travelled to Rome in order to ask the pope for the pallium associated with his own church and to negotiate extensive affairs of the realm with him, as had been delegated to him by the king. Therefore he departed his homeland, crossed the sea, and traversed lands filled with manifold dangers; he arrived at Rome and entered within the

moenia subit. Inde Iohanni apostolico praesentatus,<sup>83</sup> uoti compos efficitur. Denique, suscepto pallio quod petebat, functus quoque responsis regiae legationis quam ferebat, honorifice a papa dimissus, Angliam reuertitur; reuersus, a principe regni ac regno gloriose recipitur. Post quae, reddito regi legationis suae responso, et ipso quod in omnibus prudenter egisset sullimi praeconio a cunctis praedicato, magna regis beniuolentia fretus, ad sedem suam Eboracam uadit. Vbi egregio cum honore susceptus, cum<sup>a</sup> iubilo plebis, cum sonoris clericorum concentibus, cathedram est archiepiscopalem indeptus. Quo facto, non quasi rudis et inscius, sed ut uere emeritus ac perspicax pastor ouium Dei, die illa confluentem multitudinem tam documento uitae manentis, quam alimento uitae labentis copiosius pauit.

24. [23 Raine] Exin tractans secum illud sapientis, quia cui plus committitur plus ab eo exigitur,<sup>84</sup> omni hora sollicito curabat ita sibi commissa dispensando tractare, et tractando dispensare, ut nichil a se in futuro quod detrimentum sibi gigneret exigeretur,<sup>b</sup> sed quod beata remuneratione donaretur. Quam ob rem idem qui fuit in uisitatione monasteriorum quae instituerat semper extitit, idem in consolatione fratrum inibi degentium perstitit, idem in sustentatione illorum omniumque sua ope indigentium mansit. In nullo igitur sanctitatis opere defectum passus est propter<sup>c</sup> onus sacerdotale, sed aut idem qui fuerat<sup>d</sup> perstitit, aut se ipso sullimior in huiusmodi opere factus ad uidendum Deum deorum in Syon aciem suae mentis indeficienti contemplatione dirigebat. Hic igitur quamuis Eboracensi pontificatu sullimatus extiterit, curam tamen episcopatus Wigornensis non amisit.<sup>85</sup> Siquidem beatus Dunstanus, quem sollicitudo omnium aecclesiarum in Britannia constitutarum respiciebat, uerens ne

<sup>a</sup> O writes cum twice    <sup>b</sup> insurgeretur O    <sup>c</sup> om. O    <sup>d</sup> fuit JO

<sup>83</sup> Eadmer appears to identify this pope as John XIII (965–72); John died on 6 Sept. 972. Simeon of Durham states that Oswald became archbishop in 972, and that he travelled to Rome and received the pallium from Pope Benedict (*Epistola de archiepiscopis Eboraci*, c. 5); Benedict VI succeeded John XIII and died in Aug. 974. John of Worcester s.a. 973 states that Oswald received his pallium from a Pope Stephen, whom he erroneously makes the successor of John.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Luke 12: 48.

<sup>85</sup> Oswald held the sees of Worcester and York in plurality, which contravened canon law (see note to *Vita S. Dunstani*, c. 38). However, his successor Bishop Ealdulf (see *Miracula S. Oswaldi*, c. 4) also held both sees, and D. Whitelock argued that the monarchy had sound political reasons for placing southern English bishops with strong Anglo-Danish connections, but who were unlikely to act independently, over York, which was heavily

walls of the city. He was then presented to John, the pontiff,<sup>83</sup> and he achieved his goal. When at length he received the pallium which he had sought and also obtained responses for the royal mission which he had led, he was dismissed honourably by the pope and returned to England; on his return he was received triumphantly by the ruler of the realm and his subjects. After this reception he delivered to the king the responses he had received as his legate, and after everyone had praised him for being an excellent ambassador because he had acted so prudently in all matters, Oswald took himself to his own see at York, justly confident of the king's good wishes. When he had been received there with outstanding honour, to the people's delight and with the clergy singing resoundingly he took possession of the archiepiscopal throne. And when this has been done, Oswald fed the multitude streaming in on that day abundantly, as much with lessons about the life awaiting them as with nourishment for this waning life, not like an uneducated and ignorant person, but like a truly deserving and discerning shepherd of the sheep of God.

24. [23 Raine] From then onwards, reflecting in those words of wisdom, that more is demanded from him to whom more is entrusted,<sup>84</sup> he took care anxiously every hour of the day to manage the things entrusted to him by administering them and to administer them by managing them, so that nothing would be demanded of him in the future which would be detrimental to him, but only that which would be rewarded with blessed remuneration. Therefore he continued as always in visiting the monasteries which he had founded; he remained diligent in consoling the brothers who dwelt in them, and constant in sustaining them and all others who were in need of his help. And so he did not permit any omission of holy works because of the burden of his priestly duties, but he remained as he always had been, or excelled himself in work of this kind, directing the focus of his mind with incessant contemplation upon the vision of the God of gods in Sion. And though Oswald had been promoted to the bishopric of York, nevertheless he maintained his concern for the see of Worcester.<sup>85</sup> For blessed Dunstan, to whom all the established churches throughout Britain used to look for care, feared that the

settled by the invaders; as well, the connections with the south allowed the church in the north, which had suffered enormously from the Viking invasions, to be revitalized and to come into contact with the Benedictine reforms ('The dealings of the kings of England with Northumbria', pp. 75–6).

monachi in ipsa Wigorna<sup>a</sup> per eum tunc nouiter instituti, aliqua ultra quam ferre ualere temptatione concuterentur, si pastorali cura destituti non haberent quo munirentur, praecepit ei ex auctoritate summi pastoris, quatinus ea qua solebat diligentia illis intenderet, quoad personam tantae rei idoneam,<sup>b</sup> Deo monstrante, illi substituere posset.

25. [24 Raine] Post<sup>c</sup> haec instabant dies rogationum,<sup>86</sup> et <sup>d</sup>seruus Dei<sup>d</sup> Osuualdus, sumpto itinere, Ramesiam petit, uisitare scilicet et consolari fratres quos, ut supra meminimus,<sup>87</sup> iam dudum ibi posuerat. Adest, et monachi pro more nominatorum dierum procedunt ad ecclesiam beatae Mariae quae ob interiacentem paludem non nisi longo circumitu per siccum adiri ualebat.<sup>88</sup> Vbi celebrata missa, et a pontifice solenni<sup>c</sup> peracto praedicationis officio, monachi longitudinem uiae qua uenerant compendio mutare uolentes, nauem ascendant, ad monasterium per fluuium qui interfuit redituri. Verum dum maior numerus hominum in nauem fugeret quam nauis ferre ualeret, onerata nimis mergi coepit. Turbantur in naui consistentes, et mori metuunt. Exclamant, opem beati Benedicti ac sui patris Osuualdi affore sibi postulantes. Nam ipse pater in ripa fluminis adhuc stans, iis qui secum erant utilia quaedam ac necessaria disponebat. Vt autem auribus eius clamor insonuit, stupore attonitus, mox illuc lumina flexit. Et uidens filios suos in mortis periculo positos, cor ad Deum, dextram tetendit ad illos. Qua signo beatae crucis edito, ilico nauis ab aquarum profunditate emergens, quasi nichil oneris ferret, in ulteriorem fluminis ripam prosperrimo lapsu cum omnibus quae portabat euecta est. Magno timori securitas magna succedit, ac pro re quae acciderat Dei laus ex corde omnium et ore procedit.<sup>89</sup> Dein aliquanto tempore ibi, ut suae consuetudinis erat, inter monachos degens, aedificationi uitae illorum diebus ac noctibus intendebat.

<sup>a</sup> Wigornia *JO*      <sup>b</sup> idonea *J*      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in JO*      <sup>d-d</sup> beatus *JO*  
<sup>c</sup> solenniter *O*

<sup>86</sup> The Rogation Days, days set aside to ask God for forgiveness for sins, for protection from disasters, and for a bountiful harvest, were observed on 25 Apr. (Major Rogation), and the three days preceding Ascension Thursday (Minor Rogation). For their history and liturgical observance in the Anglo-Saxon period, see *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. M. Lapidge (Henry Bradshaw Society, cvi; London, 1991), pp. 8–13, and M. Bradford Bedingford, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 191–209.

<sup>87</sup> See c. 17.

<sup>88</sup> For possible identification of this church, see Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', p. 80 n. 61; he identified three churches of St Mary within 12 km. of Ramsey which could be meant here.

monks at Worcester, who were only recently organized by Oswald, might be shaken by temptation greater than they could bear if they were deprived of any pastoral care and had not the means by which they might be protected, and with his authority as the highest ranking bishop commanded Oswald to attend to them with his customary diligence until with God's direction he could substitute for him a person suitable for such great office.

25. [24 Raine] After this the Rogation Days were coming on,<sup>86</sup> and Oswald, the servant of God, made a journey to Ramsey in order to visit and console the brothers whom he had assigned there a long time earlier, as we mentioned above.<sup>87</sup> He arrived, and following the custom of the Rogation Days the monks made a procession to the church of blessed Mary, which because of the intervening marsh could not be approached except by taking a long circuitous route over dry land.<sup>88</sup> When mass had been celebrated there and the bishop had concluded the solemn duty of delivering the sermon, monks who wished to save time by shortening the length of the route by which they had come boarded a boat intending to return to the monastery by crossing the river which flowed between. But when a greater number of men than the boat was able to carry piled into it, the overloaded vessel began to sink. Those in the ship became distressed and feared that they might die. They cried out, beseeching that they might receive the help of blessed Benedict and their own father Oswald, for that same father was still standing on the bank of the river and deciding upon certain useful and essential matters for those who were with him. However, when their shouting resounded in his ears, he was struck with dismay and immediately turned his gaze towards them. And seeing his sons placed in mortal danger he stretched out his heart to God and his right hand towards them. And when he had made the sign of the blessed Cross the boat emerged immediately from the depths of the waters as if it bore no burden and was conveyed in a most agreeable motion to the other bank of the river with all of its cargo. A great feeling of security followed upon their great fear and, because of what had happened, praise of God poured forth from the hearts and mouths of all those present.<sup>89</sup> Afterwards, remaining there among the monks for some time, as was his custom, Oswald attended both day and night to the edification of their lives.

<sup>89</sup> Eadmer's account derives from Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 447–8, who makes an explicit association of this miracle with one of St Cuthbert, when his prayers saved some



26. Et ecce nuncius quidam a monachis Heliensibus directus adueniens, innotuit unum ex illis, de maceria aecclesiae praecipitatum, subita morte occubuisse.<sup>90</sup> Ad quod<sup>a</sup> Osuualdus uehementi merore deiectus (nouerat enim hominem non usquequaque uitam duxisse felicem), confestim quod debuit officium ei<sup>b</sup> caritatis impendit. Etenim monachis sub uno uocatis, pandit euentum rei, subiungendo preces quibus exortando perorat, quatinus pro anima defuncti Dominum studiosius orent. Parent illi monitis eius, et pro aeterna salute fratris instant uigiliis, instant psalmis, instant lacrimis, pulsantes ad ianuam misericordiae mundi redemptoris. Super haec quoque singulis diebus offertur pro eo id quod his omnibus antecellit, illud scilicet sacrificium laudis quod in ara crucis filius Dei obtulit patri suo pro nobis. Quae dum fiunt, una noctium pontifici in oratione Christo apud Eboracam intendenti defunctus idem uisibiliter apparuit. A quo percunctatus quis esset, illum se pro quo et ipse per se et alii per ipsum Deum interpellabant esse respondit. At ille suspirans, 'qualiter' inquit, 'frater tibi fuit, uel qualiter nunc est?' 'Hactenus' ait 'ualde male, nunc autem ualde bene. Tuis quippe meritis et precibus, a poenis quibus cruciabar per angelum suum me die hesterna eripuit Deus. Quod et tibi insinuando ueni gratias agere, quoque<sup>c</sup> aduerteres, licet id optime scias, quam gratus pro hoc et aliis iure debeas Deo<sup>d</sup> existere.' His dictis, non comparuit. Vir autem<sup>e</sup> Domini, magno gaudio ad ista repletus, benedixit Deum super ineffabili misericordia eius. Facto mane, quid factum sit, quid uiderit, quid audierit suis retulit. Dehinc exultans et gaudens in Spiritu Sancto, pro re quae contigerat gratias egit Deo patri per oblationem corporis et sanguinis dilectissimi filii sui, in quo solo, sicut ipse testatur, bene complacet sibi.<sup>91</sup> Mandauit etiam hoc ipsum filiis suis, monachis uidelicet<sup>f</sup> Ramesiensibus simul et Wigornensibus, et quo pro animae fratris absolutione pio Deo grates exoluerent, monuit<sup>g</sup> et ortatus est. Quod ipsi diligenti studio executi sunt.

<sup>a</sup> O adds beatus    <sup>b</sup> om. O    <sup>c</sup> quo O    <sup>d</sup> Deo debeas O    <sup>e</sup> om. O  
<sup>f</sup> scilicet JO    <sup>g</sup> JO add eos

monks on rafts who were being blown away by the wind; see Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 3, in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940). For the development of the cult of Cuthbert at Ramsey under Oswald's direction, see A. Thacker, 'Saint-making and relic collecting by Oswald and his communities', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 244–68, at 250–1. For another story Eadmer reports which may have been influenced by the legends of Cuthbert, see *Miracula S. Oswaldi*, c. 6.

<sup>90</sup> In Eadmer's source, Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 453–4, the monk is named Huna. The elements of the man's unhappy life and his salvation from damnation through Oswald's merits are new in Eadmer.

26. And behold, a certain messenger sent to him by the monks of Ely arrived and informed him that one of them had fallen headlong from the wall of the church and had died on the spot.<sup>90</sup> Oswald was overwhelmed with profound grief upon hearing this news, for he knew that the man had not led an altogether happy life, and at once he performed the act of charity owed to him. He summoned the monks together in a group and revealed to them what had happened, and then adding prayers to these words he beseeched and begged them to pray most zealously to the Lord for the soul of the dead man. They obeyed his advice and sought after the eternal salvation of their brother with vigils, psalms, and tears, beating upon the door of mercy of the world's Redeemer. In addition to these things, another that surpasses them all, namely the praiseworthy sacrifice which the Son of God offered to his Father for our sake upon the altar of the Cross, was offered up for him each day. While these things were happening, one night this same dead man appeared in a vision to the bishop at York as he was deep in prayer to Christ. When Oswald asked him who he was, he replied that he was the man on whose behalf both he and the others through him were interceding to God. And sighing he asked, 'My brother, how has it been for you and how are things now?' 'Till now', he replied, 'extremely bad; now, however, extremely good. For on account of your merits and prayers God yesterday directed his angel to snatch me from the punishments with which I was being tortured. And I have come to give thanks to you and to put these things in your mind; and so you will realize, though you know it most well, how grateful you should be to God in this and other matters.' And when he had said these words he disappeared. The man of the Lord was filled with great joy upon hearing these things and he blessed God on account of his ineffable mercy. When morning came he recounted to his brothers what had happened, both what he had seen and what he had heard. And then, exulting and rejoicing in the Holy Spirit, he gave thanks to God the Father for what had happened by offering the body and blood of his most beloved Son in whom alone he is well pleased as he himself tells us.<sup>91</sup> And Oswald encouraged his own sons—that is, the monks of Ramsey and Worcester—to do the same thing, and instructed them as to how they ought to render thanks to loving God because of the freeing of their brother's soul and urged them to do so. And this they did with loving zeal.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Matt. 17: 5: 'Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui.'

27. [25 Raine] Praeterea<sup>a</sup> diocesim suam opportunis temporibus peragrans, quicquid ediscere poterat in moribus suorum oculos summi Dei offendere, paterna castigatione corripere atque corrigere satagebat. Haec agentem contigit uice quadam uenisse Rhipum,<sup>b</sup> ubi beatus quondam Wilfridus<sup>c</sup> nobile construxerat templum in quo ipse, mundo sublatus, scitur fuisse sepultus.<sup>92</sup> Hoc templum ante tempus beati Osuualdi barbarorum irruptioni patuit, qui illud, magna ex parte dirutum, non ministeriis diuinis sed latibulis ferinis fecerunt accommodum.<sup>93</sup> Huius templi conseptum uir Dei subintrans, noctu peruigil in orationibus inibi mansit. Illic ergo diuina reuelatione lustratus, didicit ipso loco sanctorum corpora condita esse, quae inuestigans cum nominibus singulorum dubio procul inueniret. Facto<sup>d</sup> mane, suos conuocat, quid noctu acceperit eis enarrat. Ad audita cuncti exultant. Igitur ad iussum pontificis semirutae ecclesiae pauimentum effoditur,<sup>e</sup> promissus thesaurus sancta<sup>f</sup> curiositate inuestigatur, sanctorum corpora cum tabula haec continente reper-iuntur: 'Hic requiescit sanctus Wilfridus antistes Eboracensis, et reuerendi abbates, Tydbertus,<sup>g</sup> Botwinus, Albertus, Sigredus, atque Wildengus.'<sup>h</sup><sup>94</sup> Ex his seruus Dei omnipotentis gaudens hilarisque effectus, repertas reliquias loco interim apto collocauit.<sup>95</sup> Postmodum uero, ad corpus sancti Wilfridi feretro conuenienter aptato, illud in eo magna cum<sup>i</sup> reuerentia condidit, utpote quem magno Wilfrido

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in JO*    <sup>b</sup> *Hripum JO; O underpoints H- and adds gloss ripum proprium nomen est in mg.*    <sup>c</sup> *Wilfridus quondam O*    <sup>d</sup> *O adds autem*    <sup>e</sup> *offoditur J om. O*    <sup>f</sup> *Tilbertus JO*    <sup>g</sup> *Wildenus JO*    <sup>i</sup> *cum magna O*

<sup>92</sup> Eadmer refers here to the elder St Wilfrid (634–709/10), one of two bishops of York by this name, who was granted lands at Ripon by Alhfrith, the sub-king of Deira between 655 and 672. For his construction of a church there, see *Vita S. Wilfridi*, cc. 9, 21, and pp. 198 and 208.

<sup>93</sup> Wilfrid's church at Ripon was burnt down, probably by English forces, during a campaign of King Eadred against the Vikings in Northumbria; see ASC (D) s.a. 948, John of Worcester s.a. 950. Like the passage here, Eadmer's account of the church at Ripon in *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 63 uses the description of the ruinous state of Ripon in Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 462, but his account then differs markedly from Byrhtferth's by stating that Oda translated the remains of the elder St Wilfrid to Canterbury. Ripon always claimed to possess the relics of the elder Wilfrid, a claim which was fiercely disputed by Christ Church (cf. *Vita S. Wilfridi*, pp. 245–7). Eadmer's accounts in *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 63 and here attempt to explain the origins of this dispute and resolve it in Canterbury's favour. In the *Vita S. Wilfridi* he states that when Oda was presented with Wilfrid's body, a small portion of it was allowed to remain in Ripon, which Wilfrid had loved above all places while alive (*Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 63: 'Ne tamen locus . . . ipsis reliquiis penitus priuaretur, aliquantula earum pars ab eis est cum puluere tenta, atque in loco conuenienti reposita'), but there is no mention of this in the present account, which explains that the remains exhumed by Oswald were those of the younger Bishop Wilfrid.

27. [25 Raine] Meanwhile, he travelled about his diocese at appropriate intervals and busied himself in discovering anything in the behaviour of his people that might offend the eyes of God on high, and in reproving and correcting it with fatherly castigation. While he was doing these things, it happened on one occasion that he arrived at Ripon where long before blessed Wilfrid had constructed a fine temple,<sup>92</sup> in which he is known to have been buried after he was taken up from this world. Before the time of blessed Oswald this temple had lain exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, who destroyed it for the most part, making it more suitable as a den for wild animals than for the Divine Office.<sup>93</sup> The man of God entered the precincts of this temple and remained there awake all night in prayer. And he was inspired there by divine revelation and discovered that the bodies of saints had been buried in that same place, which without doubt he would discover upon searching, together with the names of each of them. In the morning he called his brothers together and told them what he had discovered during the night. On hearing what he had to say they all rejoiced. And so, on the order of the bishop the paving of the ruined church was dug up, the treasure, which had been foretold, was examined with devout curiosity, and the bodies of the saints were discovered together with a tablet containing these words: 'Here rests saint Wilfrid, bishop of York, and the reverend abbots Tatberht, Botwine, Albert, Sicgfrid, and Wilgegel.'<sup>94</sup> The servant of almighty God rejoiced in these things and was happy; he placed the remains which had been found in an appropriate temporary location.<sup>95</sup> But shortly thereafter, when a suitable shrine had been made ready for the body of saint Wilfrid, he enclosed it there with great reverence, because he knew him to be related by blood to the great Wilfrid, that is the founder of that place; he knew

<sup>94</sup> Tatberht was a kinsman of the elder Wilfrid, whom he appointed abbot of Ripon upon his death, and who together with Bishop Acca commissioned Eddius to write Wilfrid's Life; see *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), prol., cc. 63, 65, and pp. 150–1. The death of Abbot Botwine is recorded in ASC (E) s.a. 785; that of Aldberht in ASC (DE) s.a. 788. Wilgegel is probably to be identified with Wilgils, the father of St Willibrord (658–739), apostle to the Frisians, who was educated at Ripon. In later life Wilgils founded an abbey at the mouth of the Humber; see J. Blair, 'A handlist of Anglo-Saxon saints', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), pp. 495–565, at 560–1.

<sup>95</sup> After raising these relics, Oswald may also have sent portions of all of them to Peterborough, since they are recorded as being enclosed within the high altar there; see *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), p. 55 and Thacker, 'Saint-making and relic collecting', pp. 254–5.

fundatori uidelicet loci ipsius consanguinitate iunctum nouerat, quem in regimen aecclesiae Eboracensis, sicut uenerabilis Beda prope finem historiae gentis Anglorum refert, ei successisse sciebat,<sup>96</sup> quemque uti nominis eius consortem, ita et uitae morumque heredem fuisse acceperat. Corpus siquidem illius maioris Wilfridi quod semotum ab aliis per se in eminenti loco in ipsa aecclesia tumbam habuerat, quam et epitaphium, ut idem Beda in eadem historia narrat,<sup>97</sup> digniter decorauerat, a glorioso Cantuariorum antistite Odone, cuius in initio huius opusculi paucis meminimus,<sup>98</sup> translatum Cantuariam fuerat, quemadmodum ipsemet in prologo uitae ipsius Wilfridi quae per eum herioco metro composita<sup>a</sup> est attestatur,<sup>99</sup> ita scribens: 'Igitur uenerabilissimas beati confessoris Christi Wilfridi reliquias, indecenti senticosae uoraginis situ marcidas, immo quod dictu quoque meticulozum est praelatorum horripilatione neglectas, cum inde, fauente Deo, scilicet a loco sepulchri eius quidam transtulissent, reuerenter excepi, atque intra ambitum metropolitanae cui gratia Dei praesideo aecclesiae collocaui, praesertim cogente illo euangelistae testimonio, meo uidelicet apologetico, quia ubicunque fuerit corpus congregabuntur et aquilae.<sup>100</sup> Itaque tantae tamque Deo dignae affinitatis delectatus uicinitate, et editiore eas entheca decusare, et excerptis de libro uitae eius flosculis, nouo operae<sup>b</sup> praetium duxi carmine uenustare.'

28. [26 Raine] Leuatis ergo reliquiis et conuenienter, ut dixi, locatis, aliud ab illo quod fecerat primo par omnimodis et aequale beatus Osuualdus feretrum fabricauit, ipsumque a se consecratum Wigornam<sup>c</sup> destinauit. In cuius consecratione rogatus ad quarumnam reliquiarum conditionem illud aptaret, hoc se ad honorem Dei respondit composuisse, et illi cuiusnam reliquiae forent in eo condendae notissimum esse. Seruatam<sup>d</sup> est itaque Wigornae<sup>e</sup> feretrum idem, ac reliquiae ipsius admirandi patris Osuualdi a terra post multos annos leuatae, magno cum honore sunt <sup>f</sup>in eo<sup>f</sup> collocatae.<sup>101</sup> [27 Raine] His ita dictis, coeptae narrationi insistamus.

<sup>a</sup> compositus *O p. c.*    <sup>b</sup> opere *CO* (cf. *Friethgod*, Breuiloquium, *Epistola l. 38*, reading opere)    <sup>c</sup> Wigorniam *JO* (*O adds -i- s.l.*)    <sup>d</sup> Scrutatam *O*    <sup>e</sup> Wigornie *JO* (*O adds -i- s.l.*)    <sup>f</sup> *om. O*

<sup>96</sup> The younger Wilfrid was educated at Whitby, and succeeded John of Beverley as bishop of York in 721 (*HE*, v. 6). He was succeeded as bishop by Egbert in 732, but seems to have lived until 29 Apr. 744/5; see ASC (E) s.a. 744 and the Continuation to Bede's Chronicle s.a. 745 (*HE*, p. 574).

<sup>97</sup> *HE*, v. 19.

<sup>99</sup> The poem and most probably the letter as well were in fact written by Friethgod; see above, c. 4 note.

<sup>98</sup> See cc. 2, 3.

<sup>100</sup> Matt. 24: 28.

that the former had succeeded the latter in governing the church of York, just as venerable Bede relates near the end of his *Historia Gentis Anglorum*,<sup>96</sup> and he considered that just as he had shared the same name, so too was he Wilfrid's heir with respect to his life and morals. For the body of the more renowned Wilfrid, which had had a tomb of its own apart from the others in a prominent location within the church and which was worthily adorned by an epitaph (as this same Bede relates in that history),<sup>97</sup> had been translated to Canterbury by the glorious prelate of the Kentish people, Oda, whom we mentioned briefly at the beginning of this little work,<sup>98</sup> in the manner in which he himself attests in the prologue to the life of this same Wilfrid which he had composed in heroic metre,<sup>99</sup> writing thus: 'And so when certain men having the favour of God had translated the most venerable remains of the blessed confessor of Christ, Wilfrid, from there (that is, from the place of his burial), which were rotting away in the unfitting neglect of a thorny swamp—nay rather what is frightful to say—they were neglected through the revulsion of the prelates, I received them in reverence and gathered them together within the precincts of the metropolitan church over which I preside by the grace of God, compelled especially by the testimony of the evangelist (which is my defence), that wheresoever there will be a body, there the eagles will also be gathered.<sup>100</sup> And so, delighted by the proximity of such a great kinsman and one so worthy of God I have thought it worthwhile both to adorn the remains with a more stately reliquary and to sweeten them with a new poem, using flowers plucked from the book of his life.'

28. [26 Raine] And so when the remains had been raised and positioned suitably, as I have described, blessed Oswald made another shrine, in addition to the one that he had first made, which was alike and equal to it in every way, and after he had consecrated it, he sent it on to Worcester. However, while he was consecrating it, he was asked what relics the shrine he was making would preserve, and he replied that he had built it for the honour of God and that it was most surely known to him whose remains would be buried in it. And so this shrine was kept at Worcester and the remains of this same admirable father Oswald, which were elevated from the earth many years later, were placed in it with great honour.<sup>101</sup> [27 Raine] With these things thus related, let us continue the story that we have undertaken.

<sup>101</sup> Oswald's remains were translated at Worcester by his successor Ealdulf on 15 Apr. 1002; see *Miracula S. Oswaldi*, c. 4.

29. Diffusa<sup>a</sup> igitur sanctitatis fama sancti<sup>b</sup> Osuualdi, eo prodiit ut languoribus uariis pressi ei de longinquo id ipsum mandarent, sibi ab illo subuentum iri nullo modo diffidentes. Nec fallebantur. Verbi gratia: uir quidam potens regi Edgardo<sup>c</sup> ex ministerio quo ei deseruire solebat notus erat. Hic ualida infirmitate corporis tactus, per nuncium uiro Dei se oppido infirmari simpliciter insinuauit. At ille benedicens panem eique transmittens,<sup>d</sup> ut plena fide recuperandae sanitatis inde comederet iussit.<sup>e</sup> Fecit ille quod praecepit, nec unius horae spatium prius transiit quam se, degustato pane, melius habuisse percepit.

30. [28 Raine] Alio tempore dum idem famulus Dei<sup>f</sup> in multitudine suorum apud Eboracam pransurus consedisset, iamque panem sua sacratissima manu signatum considentibus<sup>g</sup> distribuisset, forte micæ decidentes sorex superueniens auido simul et pauido morsu colligere coepit. Qui dum in medium nullo eum deterrente prodisset, succubuit nec usquam progredi ualuit. Benedicti etenim panis reliquias famelicus uorans, suffocari subito, nec quod uorauerat euomere ullatenus quibat. Remansit itaque mortuus. Quod factum ne suae laudi quiuis ascriberet, exanimem bestiam a conspectibus intuentium abici uir prouidentissimus<sup>h</sup> iussit.<sup>102</sup> Denique animaduertit nonnullos inter se inde loqui, et rem ultra quam sibi cordi esset extollendo admirari. Et michi quidem duo haec quae de pane signato proxime facta retulimus consideranti, non alienum ab admiratione esse perpendo: hoc scilicet irrationale animal praecipitasse de uita in mortem, quod animal rationale sulleuauit a morte in uitam. Profecto natura panis eadem in illo quae in isto fuit, et quemadmodum homo pane, sic et sorex alitur pane. Quod igitur homini uitalis,<sup>i</sup> sorici factus est exitialis, non substantiam panis, sed meritum respicit sanctissimi patris. Qui ubique et in cunctis paruus<sup>j</sup> et humilis<sup>j</sup> extans in oculis suis, magnus erat in oculis Dei atque sullimis. Quod inter alia eo probatur, quia ne dicam illi, sed quod minus est, locis quibus<sup>k</sup> per uices insistere<sup>k</sup> solebat sua Deus protectione et correptione ne ab indignis occuparentur intendebat.

<sup>a</sup> New chapter in *JO*      <sup>b</sup> beati *JO*      <sup>c</sup> Eadgaro *J*      <sup>d</sup> *O* adds mandauit  
<sup>e</sup> om. *O*      <sup>f</sup> Domini *O*      <sup>g</sup> considentibus *O*      <sup>h</sup> prudentissimus *O*      <sup>i</sup> salutaris  
*JO*      <sup>j-j</sup> om. *O*      <sup>k-k</sup> persistere *O*

29. And so when the report of saint Oswald's holiness had spread far and wide it came to the point that those who were afflicted with various illnesses sent the same messages repeatedly to him from afar, trusting utterly that he would offer them help. And they were not mistaken. For example, a certain powerful man was known to King Edgar because of his office in which he customarily served him with devotion. This man was afflicted by a virulent bodily disease and revealed to the man of God through a messenger simply that he was extremely ill. So Oswald blessed bread and sent it to him, and ordered him to eat it, in the full hope of afterwards recovering his health. He did as Oswald had instructed, and before a single hour had elapsed he could tell that having tasted the bread he was now better.

30. [28 Raine] On another occasion when this same servant of God had sat down to dine at York amidst a multitude of his brothers and had just distributed to those sitting about him the bread blessed by his most sacred hand, it chanced that a shrew appeared and began to collect the crumbs that had fallen, nibbling greedily yet with trepidation. No one scared it away, but after it had scurried into their midst it was overcome and could advance no further. For as the starving creature gobbled up the remains of the blessed bread, it had suddenly choked and was completely unable to cough up what it had swallowed. And thus it lay there dead. So that no one would praise Oswald for what had happened there, he acted most prudently in this matter and ordered the dead animal to be cast aside from the sight of those looking on.<sup>102</sup> For he noticed that many of them were speaking amongst themselves about what had happened and were admiring and praising it more than was agreeable to him. Indeed, speaking for myself, when I consider these two events concerning the blessed bread that I have just now recounted, I think it nothing short of amazing that that which raised up a rational animal from death into life plunged an irrational animal from life to death. For the nature of bread was the same for one as it is for the other, and in the same way that man is nourished by bread so too is the shrew. Therefore that bread proved life-giving for a man but death-dealing for a shrew has not to do with the substance of the bread, but with the merit of the most holy father. He who at all times and in every respect was in his own eyes of little consequence and humble was great and sublime in the eyes of God. This is proved, among other things, by the fact that God watched with his protecting and reproving eye over not just him, dare I say, but what is less, over the places in which he was accustomed to stay in turn, so that they might not be

<sup>102</sup> This miracle is based on Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 455; Eadmer adds the explanation that Oswald wished to avoid taking any credit for the miraculous event because of his deep humility.

Sed forte non credetur iis<sup>a</sup> quae dicimus, si ea declarans exemplum non subicimus.

31. [29 Raine] Frater quidam erat, professione et habitu monachus, nomine Ægelricus.<sup>103</sup> Hic, laxatis balneo membris, cum fessus quiescere opus haberet, locus<sup>b</sup> quietis, uae misero,<sup>b</sup> is primus occurrit quem uenerandus praesul Osuualdus sedere frequentius morem habebat. Non ergo ueritus sanctitatem loci quam fuerat ex assiduitate pontificis nactus, in eo sese deiecit, somno inibi ac dulci quiete uelut sibi pollicebatur fruiturus. Et iam quiescentem lenis sopor inuoluit, sed absque mora eum ab ipsa quiete irruens demonum multitudo atrociter euoluit. Astant quippe illi plures teterrimi spiritus, et ab eo districta examinatione perquirunt quanam illius mentem dementia<sup>c</sup> ceperit quae sibi, ut se in loco tanti pontificis collocaret, surripere potuit. Ad quod rationem quam pro sui excusatione proferret nullam habentem, inuadunt, torquent, laniant, hac et illac trahunt, ab imo sursum rapientes, de sursum ad ima deicientes. Quid miser ageret? Sciebat ubi erat, nec se tanta angustia inuolutum uel loco auellere,<sup>d</sup> uel ad subueniendum quenquam poterat<sup>e</sup> interpellare. Tandem tamen uiolento conatu erupit in uocem, et horrido clamore infremuit. Qui circa erant ex abrupto dormientis sono perterriti, accurrunt, uociferantem pulsant, pulsantes excitant, excitatum quid dormiens passus sit diligenter interrogant. At ipse pauens ac pallens quo ausu, quid fecerit, quid aut a quibus audierit, quid pertulerit ex ordine pandit. Ad quorumcunque<sup>f</sup> ergo noticiam istud perlatum est, non soli uiro, sed et iis<sup>g</sup> quae sua intererant deinceps honorem ac reuerentiam per omnia deferebant. De quibus licet plurima scribere fortasse possemus, tamen ne cui tedio simus illa omittimus, intendentes uidelicet breuitati qua nos scripturos fore decreuimus.<sup>h</sup><sup>104</sup> Itaque ad sacrum ipsius transitum stili officium conuertamus, et opus quod paucis huc usque protraximus suo, sicut Deus concesserit, fini subdamus.

<sup>a</sup> hiis O (h- inserted s.l.)      <sup>b-b</sup> quieti sue misere O      <sup>c</sup> dementia illius mentem O  
<sup>d</sup> O adds poterat s.l.      <sup>e</sup> om. O      <sup>f</sup> quorumcunque J      <sup>g</sup> his O      <sup>h</sup> New chapter in JO

<sup>103</sup> Perhaps a monk of Worcester who attests numerous charters as 'Æthelric diaconus' between 962 and 991 (*Hemingi Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723), pp. 123-233).

<sup>104</sup> See above, prol.

occupied by unworthy people. But perhaps these things which we say will not be believed if while declaring them we do not offer an example.

31. [29 Raine] There was a certain brother named Æthelric who was a monk both by his vows and in his dress.<sup>103</sup> When this man had relaxed his limbs in the bath, he was weary and felt a need to sleep; alas for the wretch, the first place of rest which suggested itself to him was that which quite frequently the venerable bishop Oswald was accustomed to occupy. And so, not intimidated by the sanctity of the place which it had obtained from its frequent use by the bishop, he laid himself down upon it intending to enjoy sleep and sweet rest there, just as he had promised himself. And when gentle slumber had just enfolded him in rest, without delay a multitude of hideous demons rushed upon him, and rudely snatched him from that peacefulness. For many extremely ugly spirits stood around him and asked him with insistent cross-examination what sort of madness had overrun his mind, which might seduce him in this way to set himself down in the place of such a great bishop. He had no justification which he could offer in response to this as an excuse for himself and so they attacked him, tortured him, mangled him, dragged him back and forth, snatching him up on high from the depths and then casting him down again to the depths from on high. What was the miserable wretch to do? He knew where he was and yet was unable either to tear himself away from the place in which he was so tightly constrained or to cry out for someone to come to his aid. Nevertheless, with violent effort he finally recovered his voice and roared loudly with a hideous scream. Those who were nearby were thoroughly terrified by the unexpected cry of the sleeping man; they ran to him, struck him as he cried, by striking they awoke him and when he had awakened they persistently questioned him about what he had experienced in his sleep. And, terrified and pale, he revealed step by step how bold he had been and what he had done, what things he had heard and from whom, and what he had suffered. Whenever this event was later brought to the attention of anyone, they paid honour and reverence in all matters not only to Oswald himself, but after that to those things which were important to him. Although, to be sure, I could write at length about these matters, nevertheless I am leaving them out lest I should cause anyone tedium, for I am striving for the brevity with which I declared I would write.<sup>104</sup> And so let the task of my pen be directed to the blessed passing of Oswald and let me bring this work, which I have taken up to this point, to its conclusion just as God will have granted me.

32. [30 Raine] Referre etenim qualiter ipse pater Oswaldus Ramesiam postremo reliquerit, quantis lacrimarum imbribus praesagis, ut autumo, illum amplius eo non rediturum a fratribus dimissus sit,<sup>105</sup> forsitan coniectando quis possit, certe autem<sup>a</sup> rei ueritate neminem pronuncio posse.<sup>106</sup> Discedentem uero non modo monachi quos illic adunauerat, sed et plebs hinc inde sub uno coacta deducunt, singuli se illius sanctitati commendantes, sibi ab illo benedici supplici deuotione flagitantes.

33. [31 Raine] Discessum autem illius subsecutus in ipsa aecclesia terribilis fragor, qui tercio intonans audientes nimio pauore concussit, sagaces animos illum non multo post saeculo adimendum, et ex hoc plerosque graui tumultui<sup>b</sup> subdendos edocuit, praemonuit, praemuniuit. Denique nonnulli nosse uolentes unde qui audiebatur sonus prodierit, e domibus prodeunt, et in aecclesiam peruenientes, omnia sana, omnia integra, omnia suis in locis solito consistentia mirantes inueniunt.

34. [32 Raine] Iam quod aliquibus per uisum fuit ostensum, ruinam uidelicet duarum turrium factam fuisse, praetermitto ne, si dixero illarum<sup>c</sup> turrium casus beati Osualdi et praefati ducis Æthelwini praesignasse in mortem occasus, estimer michi futurorum scientiam, quam non habeo, ex iis<sup>d</sup> quae facta scio iure deridendus arrogasse.<sup>107</sup> Illo igitur, ut diximus, praetermisso, nos gloriosum patrem Osualdum, iam proxime caelos petiturum,<sup>e</sup> descripturos, sua prece rogamus idem pater tueatur et adiuuet.

35. [33 Raine] <sup>f</sup>Vt<sup>g</sup> igitur<sup>f</sup> famulus Christi Osualdus<sup>h</sup> Ramesiam liquit, Wigornam<sup>i</sup> adiit. Spiritus quippe caritatis, qui in eo circa

<sup>a</sup> om. O      <sup>b</sup> tumultu *f*      <sup>c</sup> O adds duarum      <sup>d</sup> hiis O (h- inserted s.l.)  
<sup>e</sup> petentem *JO*      <sup>f-f</sup> Et O      <sup>g</sup> New Chapter in *JO*      <sup>h</sup> O adds igitur  
<sup>i</sup> Wigorniam O

<sup>105</sup> Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 467, states that after leaving Ramsey, Oswald lived for three months in good health at Worcester; this would place his final departure from Ramsey around Nov./Dec. 991.

<sup>106</sup> Accounts of Oswald's final departure from Ramsey are found in Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, pp. 466–7 and *Chron. Ram.*, c. 58. Byrhtferth does not mention the sorrow of the monks, amongst whom he includes himself, but in the *Chron. Ram.* they are represented as being devastated by Oswald's departure ('multa utrinque fusa sunt fletuum suspiria', etc.).

<sup>107</sup> In Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 469 and *Chron. Ram.*, c. 59, the vision of the collapse of the two towers and the clap of thunder are interpreted as portending the

32. [30 Raine] Perhaps someone might through speculation be able to relate the circumstances in which this same father Oswald left Ramsey for the last time and with what great floods of tears he was seen off by the brothers (which anticipated, in my opinion, that he would never again return there);<sup>105</sup> I truly declare, however, that no one could depict the real situation.<sup>106</sup> Not only the monks whom he had brought together there accompanied him as he departed, but also the common folk drawn together from here and there, each one commending himself to Oswald's sanctity and seeking his blessing earnestly and with humble devotion.

33. [31 Raine] Once Oswald had departed, however, a tremendous clap of thunder was afterwards heard there in that church, booming out for a third time and causing excessive fear to overwhelm those who heard it; it instructed, forewarned, and fortified discerning minds with the knowledge that he would be taken from this world not long afterwards and that because of this many men would be subject to acute anxiety. Finally, wishing to learn whence the sound which they had heard had come, several men rushed out of their homes, and entering the church they discovered to their amazement that everything was safe, everything was intact, that everything was standing in its usual place.

34. [32 Raine] I shall now pass over something that was revealed to several people in a vision—namely, that two towers fell to ruins—lest by saying that the collapse of those towers prefigured the descent into death of blessed Oswald and ealdorman Æthelwine, whom I mentioned earlier, I might be held to have claimed for myself, based upon those things I know for a fact, knowledge of future events, which I do not possess, on which account I would rightly be mocked.<sup>107</sup> And so having passed over that, as I have just said, I beseech that father Oswald look upon me and assist me with his prayers as I turn to describe this same glorious father at the point just when he was about to seek the heavenly kingdom.

35. [33 Raine] And so, after leaving Ramsey the servant of Christ, Oswald, arrived at Worcester. For the Spirit of love, who in his grace

imminent deaths of both Oswald and Æthelwine. Eadmer's digression here may indicate scepticism about these accounts, either on his own part or that of the monks of Worcester priory who commissioned this work.

Wigornenses per gratiam suam semper feruentior erat, ea re illuc eum non iniuria creditur adduxisse, quia nouerat illum eo potiori aeternae uitae praemio debere remunerari quo in maiori uerae caritatis affectu, huic uitae decedentem, contingeret inueniri. Mansit itaque ibi quamdiu in corpore mansit, diebus ac noctibus Deo intendens, et iter suum eundi ad Deum toto conamine purum ab omni obstaculo faciens. Ob quae labore et insuper senio fessus, languore corripitur graui per quem se intellexit alias de ista uita uocari. Aderant sacri quadragesimae dies,<sup>108</sup> dies scilicet in quibus diuersis modis diluitur quod in aliis anni diebus uaria demonum illusionem delinquitur, seu bono quod alio tempore exercetur diligentiori studio inuigilatur. In usu<sup>a</sup> habebat idem antistes singulis diebus, praeter alios quos cotidie innumeros alebat, duodecim pauperum pedes abluere, deosculando crine ac lintheo tergere, manibus aquam fundere, denarios praebere, et ipsis, apposita mensa, cibum et potum sufficienter ministrare, eosque in pascha uestibus nouis indutos, per aliquot dies ipsius festiuitatis in curia sua honorifice<sup>b</sup> secum habere.<sup>109</sup> Nulla eum infirmitas corporalis ab istis retardabat, sed quo se corpore sentiebat debiliorem, eo sibi ad seruiendum eis ingessit uim ualidiorem.

36. [34 Raine] Et iam Dei regnum<sup>c</sup> ascendere cupidus, die quodam oratorium, quo continue in Dei seruitio tenebatur, cum suis egreditur. Et sub aere stans, acies oculorum caelo intentissime fixit, Christum ad quem anhelabat pio corde et ore intentius orans. Nec erecta lumina, ut fit, cito deflexit, sed quasi aliquid noui ac delectabile contemplaretur ubi ea defixerat diutissime fixa tenebat. Vnde praesentes admodum admirati, quid<sup>d</sup> tanto opere<sup>d</sup> intueretur sciscitanti sunt. Quibus ipse ait: 'Considero quo tendo. Quapropter, filii, sustinete, quaeso, quatinus iuxta quod michi conceditur, praegustem gaudia quae expecto. At tamen quod percunctamini si quid sibi uelit

<sup>a</sup> usum O    <sup>b</sup> om. O    <sup>c</sup> regnum Dei O    <sup>d-d</sup> tantopere O

<sup>108</sup> In 992 Ash Wednesday fell on 10 Feb.

<sup>109</sup> For the washing of feet, cf. John 13: 5. The twelve paupers sustained by Oswald appear to be modelled on those sustained at Fleury (see above, c. 7 and note).

was always more fervent towards the people of Worcester on Oswald's account, is believed to have fittingly guided him there for this reason, that he reckoned that Oswald deserved to be paid back with a more effective reward of eternal life there in the place where he happened to be when he departed this life surrounded by a deeper feeling of true love. And so he resided there for as long as he remained in the flesh, concentrating on God both night and day, and with concerted effort making his advance towards God free of every impediment. Therefore he became exhausted by his work and also by his advanced age, and a grave illness seized him, which he knew was summoning him elsewhere from this life. The holy days of Lent arrived,<sup>108</sup> namely the days on which one atones in various ways for sins committed on the other days of the year because of the manifold illusions of demons or, alternatively, strives to maintain the good things, which have been practised at other times, with even greater zeal. In addition to the innumerable other people whom he used to nourish daily, it was the custom of this bishop to wash the feet of twelve paupers each day, to dry their feet with his hair and linen while kissing them, to pour water on their hands, to give them money for alms, to serve them abundantly with food and drink when a table had been set for them, and to honour them and keep them, dressed in new garments for Easter, near him at his court throughout the several days of this same feast.<sup>109</sup> No bodily infirmity could keep him from these duties, but the weaker he felt himself to be in body, the greater the strength he summoned up in himself in order to minister to these men.

36. [34 Raine] And now, eager to ascend to the kingdom of God, on a certain day he went with his brothers out of the oratory where he continually occupied himself with the service of God. And standing beneath the open sky he fixed the gaze of his eyes most resolutely upon the heavens and with pious heart and mouth prayed very intently to Christ, for whom he yearned. And he did not quickly redirect his raised eyes downwards, as is commonly the case, but he held them fixed for a very long time there where he had directed them, as if contemplating something new and delightful. Therefore those who were present were quite amazed and asked him what he was looking at so intently. He said to them: 'I am contemplating the place for which I am bound. Wherefore I beseech you, my sons, bear with me, so that in accordance with what has been granted to me I may have a foretaste of the joys to which I am looking forward. But concerning what you are asking me

nosse uultis, cras uobis et, me tacente, res ipsa notabit. Salus enim aeterna pro qua hucusque laboraui in terra instat, nec ante transibit crastina dies quam me in eam Dominus meus, sicut est pollicitus, introducat.' Dixit, et unde fuerat egressus in oratorium reuersus est. Conuocatis deinde fratribus, ortatur eos impendere sibi ministerium sacrae inunctionis cum uatico Dominici corporis, quod iuxta ritum aecclesiasticae institutionis debetur Christianis de hac uita transi-turis. Quo illi audito, in gemitus et lacrimas erumpunt, non illius gloriae perenni ad quam properabat inuidentes, sed cum paternae pietati qua priuabantur pios affectus impendentes, tum suam desolationem quam tanto patre orbati se passuros non dubitabant amare deflentes. Exhibent tamen illi quod petebat, et grandi merore consternati, sequentem noctem per multa saecula, si fieri posset, optabant protelari. In qua nocte ipse pater ac si languoris quo premebatur oblitus, horam nocturnae uigiliae praeueniens prout suae consuetudinis iugiter esse solebat aecclesiam petit, ibique noctis officium explens, residuum spatii quod diem usque tendebatur diuinis laudibus pro more peruigil expendit. Et tali quidem modo nocte illa suis dimensionibus terminata, fratribus illuxit metuenda dies, in qua te, reuerende pater Oswalde, susciperet felix et nullo claudenda termino quies. Hac etenim die percantato psalterio quod singulis diebus cum floribus inde exceptis decantare solitus erat, unicum redemptionis humanae sacrificium coram se Deo patri fecit offerri. Cuius dein participatione refectus, obitum suum quem instare sciebat eius inuicta uirtute muniuit. Ac demum totius diei officio in honorem Dei percelebrato, quasi conualuisset de infirmitate surrexit, et monachis nequiquam insistentibus ut suae parceret imbecillitati, solito more lintheo praecinctus, pedes pauperum lauit, et osculans eos, crine lintheoque detersit. Quibus lotis, et quindecim graduum psalmis quos inter ipsum ministerium psallere semper moris habebat percantatis,<sup>110</sup> subiunxit 'gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto'. Ad quod cum pauperes ei assurrexissent,

<sup>110</sup> Pss. 119-33.

about, should you wish to know what it means, though I say nothing, tomorrow events will make it known to you. For the eternal salvation for which I have laboured on earth up until now is at hand, and tomorrow's day will not pass before my Lord will lead me to that salvation, just as he has promised.' Thus he spoke, and he then returned to the oratory from which he had emerged. After he had called the brothers together he urged them to administer to him the sacrament of holy anointing together with the bread of the Lord's body, which according to the formal rites of the Church is due to Christians who are about to depart from this life. When they heard this they groaned and burst into tears; they were not envious of Oswald's eternal reward towards which he was hastening, but just as they were devoting their reverent affection to his paternal love, of which they were being deprived, so also were they weeping bitterly on account of their own desolation, which they knew they would undoubtedly suffer once they were deprived of such a great father. Nevertheless, they brought him what he had asked for and, overwhelmed by their intense grief, they hoped, if it were in any way possible, that the coming night might be protracted indefinitely. As if he had forgotten the illness by which he was oppressed, during that night that father left for the nocturnal vigil early, as had always been his practice, and sought out the church; and when he had completed the night office there he remained awake right up until daybreak using the rest of the time to praise the Lord, as was his wont. And indeed when that night had reached its conclusion in this way, the light of day, so dreaded by the brothers, broke forth, on which happy and never-ending peace was to carry you off, O beloved father Oswald. For on this day when he had finished chanting the psalter (he was accustomed each day to sing extracts from it), he had the unique sacrifice of our human redeemer offered up to God the Father in his presence. Then refreshed by partaking in this, he fortified himself with Christ's victorious strength against the death which he knew was imminent. And finally when all the offices of the day had been celebrated for the glory of God he rose as if he had recovered from his weakened state and, while the monks insisted in vain that he spare himself in his sickness, clad in linen he washed the feet of the paupers in his accustomed fashion, and kissing them he dried them with his robe and his hair. When he had washed them and had sung the fifteen Gradual Psalms,<sup>110</sup> which it had always been his custom to chant during this ritual, he concluded, 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit'. Thereupon, when



ac solitas grates exoluissent, ipse dicendo Spiritui Sancto sanctam est resolutus in mortem, emittens spiritum suum ante pauperum pedes in manus Christi, cui in ipsis pauperibus ipse ministrarat.<sup>111</sup> Ipso denique<sup>a</sup> teste sibi fit, quod uni ex minimis suis fit.<sup>112</sup> Transiens itaque<sup>b</sup> a Christo susceptus est, quatinus iuxta uerbum illius illic esset, ubi et ille. O uere ministerium felix, quod sui executorem sub tanta celeritate regni Dei fecit haeredem. Et tu, o beatissime pater, non minus, immo multo excellentius felix, qui functus ministerio ipso, eodem momento quo illud fideliter peregristi in gaudium Domini tui, cui seruisti, felici praemio remuneratus, felicissimus introisti. Iam gloria qua coronaris innuit tuis, quantum possis sibi prodesse ante Deum, si dignaris. Et quidem, inclite pater, felix fuit uita tua, felix fuit et mors tua, atque utinam sentiant in se alumni tui quod sit felix memoria tua, sibi que salubris atque benefica quam ad te habent humilis deuotio sua.

37. [35 Raine] Itaque fratres patrem suum iam defunctum cognoscentes, accurrunt et, complois manibus, lugubres eiulatus emittunt. Inter quos tamen trepidi ac<sup>c</sup> gementes exanime corpus accipiunt, cilicio sternunt, abluunt, sacerdotalibus, uti moris est, uestibus induunt.<sup>113</sup> Perciperes ad haec pietatis officia quam pio affectu uiuens pastor a suis ouibus diligebatur, cum in extinctum procederet tantae caritatis ostensio ut nullus illi putaretur satis honoris detulisse<sup>d</sup> qui non lacrimantibus oculis manibus eius ac pedibus deuota oscula impressisset.

38. [36 Raine] Hinc superpositus feretro, fertur ad aecclesiam beatissimae uirginis uirginum, quam sicut supra meminimus<sup>e</sup> a fundamento ipse construxit.<sup>114</sup> Et ecce dum in sullimi gestaretur, ac

<sup>a</sup> quippe O    <sup>b</sup> ita JO    <sup>c</sup> atque JO    <sup>d</sup> detulisse honoris JO    <sup>e</sup> diximus O

<sup>111</sup> Oswald died on 29 Feb. 992. Our early sources give us the date of his feast according to the Roman calendar still used in England during Eadmer's time ('pridie kalendas Martias'); this corresponds in the modern Gregorian calendar to 29 Feb. in leap years, and 28 Feb. in non-leap years. The year of Oswald's death, but not the day, is recorded in ASC (CDEF) s.a. 992. The day is recorded in John of Worcester s.a. 992 and the Metrical Calendar of Ramsey, which was probably written very soon after Oswald's death, either in 992 or 993; see M. Lapidge, 'A tenth-century metrical calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, xciv (1984), 326–69, at 352. This day is also given as Oswald's feast day in two calendars written in Worcester or its vicinity in the late 11th c. (contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 113 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391; see *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (London, 1934), pp. 199, 213).

the paupers had stood up before him and rendered their thanks as usual, even as he uttered the words 'Holy Spirit' Oswald was freed into holy death, sending forth at the feet of the paupers his own spirit into the hands of Christ, whom he had been serving in the persons of these poor men.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, as Christ bears witness, what happens to one of the least of the brothers happens to him.<sup>112</sup> And so, going forth he was received by Christ, so that according to his words Oswald was there where Christ was as well. O what a truly happy ministry which made his follower heir to the kingdom of God with such great swiftness! And you, O most blessed father, are not less happy, but indeed happier by far, since when you had performed this same ministry, indeed at the very moment you completed it faithfully you entered most happily into the joy of your Lord, whom you had served, rewarded with blessed remuneration. Now the glory by which you are crowned signifies to your brethren what a great benefit you can be for them before God, if you so deign. And indeed, O renowned father, fortunate was your life, fortunate too your death, and may your children feel in themselves that your memory is fortunate, and may the humble devotion which they have towards you be beneficial and bring them health.

37. [35 Raine] And so, realizing that their father had just now died, the brothers ran towards him clapping their hands and raising up cries of lamentation. Amidst these cries, though trembling and lamenting, they nevertheless lifted the lifeless body, laid it on a sackcloth, washed it, and as is the custom clothed it in priestly vestments.<sup>113</sup> By these loving offices you could tell with what devoted affection the shepherd had been cherished by his sheep while alive, since there was such great display of affection for the dead man that anyone who did not press kisses of devotion upon his hands and feet with tears flowing from his eyes was thought not to have conferred sufficient honour upon him.

38. [36 Raine] Thereupon Oswald was placed upon a bier and carried to the church of the most blessed Virgin of virgins which, as we recalled earlier, he had built from its very foundations.<sup>114</sup> And while

<sup>112</sup> Matt. 25: 40.

<sup>113</sup> Eadmer's account of the preparations for Oswald's funeral is based partly on Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 472; however, he adds the detail that Oswald's body was laid out on a sackcloth, which was the custom for monks at Christ Church in his own day (cf. Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, c. 112 and the account of Edward's death-bed scene in *Miracula S. Dunstani*, c. 23).  
<sup>114</sup> See c. 21.

praecedentibus iis<sup>a</sup> qui sonoris concentibus Deo laudes et preces offerebant, subsequente autem populo qui amissum pastorem una cum monachis miseranda uoce plangebant, apparuit gloria Dei quae doctas mentes docuit intelligere meritum<sup>b</sup> mortui. Viderunt etenim qui conuenerant niueam columbam de superis uenientem, expansis alis lento uolatu protegere corpus antistitis.<sup>c</sup> Igneam quoque speram ad scuti teretis instar, una caelo delapsam<sup>d</sup> super feretrum intuebantur, et admirantes unum et aliud signum rogant ut qui non aduerterant intueantur. Insonat clamor hinc et inde, fitque diruptio uocum laudationis diuinae. Laus autem ipsa quo magis dirumpitur, magis augetur. Rumpitur in canoris uocibus, augetur in iubilo cordis. Iubilant nanque Deo pro gratia quam in tanta multitudine monstrare in patre suo dignatus est, per columbam uidelicet<sup>e</sup> ostendens simplicitatem et innocentiam pectoris eius, per igneam speram feruens studium quo praeditus<sup>f</sup> erat in dilectione Dei et proximi animus eius.<sup>115</sup> Interim uenerabile corpus oratorio infertur, coeptae protectionis praefati ignis atque columbae continuatione comitatum. At ipso deposito coram altari, uisio quae apparuit in australem aeccliesiae plagam prope altare diuertit, quasi locum designans corporis sepeliendi. Quo facto, intuentium oculis caelum remeans elapsa est.

39. [37 Raine] Fama igitur obitus eius circumquaque perlabitur, et illo die ac nocte subsequente, quibus a sepultura corpus suspenditur, undique parui ac magni utriusque sexus homines aduolant, eorumque clamores suspiriis atque lamentis permixti aera complent. Hos inter acerbior fletus monachos et inopes cruciabat, hos quia pastorem, patrem et aduocatum, illos quia se in eo perdidisse aduerterant totius uitae subsidium, spem et consolationem. Fit igitur luctus omnium inestimabilis, et adunata multitudo innumerabilis. Qua circumstante, seseque<sup>g</sup> super inuicem comprimente, sepeliuntur sacratissimi

he was being carried on their shoulders and prayers and praises were being offered up to God in harmonious strains by those walking at the front of the procession with the populace following, who together with the monks were lamenting with pitiful voice the father whom they had lost, behold, the glory of God appeared, which led the minds of those properly instructed to recognize the worth of the dead man. For those who had gathered saw a snowy dove gliding down from on high on wide-spread wings to guard the bishop's body with its gentle flight. At the same time they saw a fiery sphere resembling a round shield descending over the bier from the sky together with the dove, and as they marvelled at both of these signs they begged those who had not noticed to look. Cries broke out on every side, and the voices that were praising the Lord in the procession were interrupted. But the more it was interrupted the more the praise increased. When an interruption occurred to their melodious singing, the praise only increased in their joyous hearts. For they rejoiced in God on account of the favour which he deigned to show for their father before such a great multitude, in that he signified by the dove the simplicity and innocence of Oswald's heart and by the fiery sphere his special gift of ardent zeal for the love of God and his fellow man.<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile, the venerable body was brought into the oratory with the accompaniment and protection of the fire and dove which continued, just as it had begun (as I have mentioned). But when Oswald had been set down in front of the altar the vision which appeared turned towards the southern side of the church near the altar as if pointing out the place for the burial of the body. After this, the vision disappeared from the sight of the onlookers and returned to heaven.

39. [37 Raine] News of Oswald's death spread everywhere; during that day and the following night, while the body was awaiting burial, men and women hastened from all about, both the great and the unimportant, and their cries, mingled with sighs and laments, filled the air. And amongst these people, the monks and the needy in particular were most bitterly wrenched by grief—the former because they realized that in him they had lost a shepherd, a father, and an advocate, the latter because they had lost the foundation of their lives, their source of hope, and their consolation. The grief of everyone was beyond description and the size of the assembled multitude beyond reckoning. While all who were standing were pressing against each other, the limbs of the most holy bishop were buried in the church of

<sup>a</sup> hiis O (h- inserted s.l.)      <sup>b</sup> meritum intelligere O      <sup>c</sup> pontificis JO  
<sup>d</sup> delapsa O      <sup>e</sup> scilicet O      <sup>f</sup> praedictus J      <sup>g</sup> sese O

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Matt. 22: 37-9.

praesulis artus in praefata nobilissimae uirginis ede, loco uidelicet diuinitus pridem designato. Post haec annunciatu depositio eius his et illis, id est uel quos regendos sub pastoralis cura susceperat, uel quos a saeculari conuersatione abstractos, qualiter Deum in monachico habitu sequerentur instruxerat. Vnde ex dulcedine recordationis eius cunctis qui intelligebant se fuisse filios eius indicitur luctus communis.

40. [38 Raine] Vbi autem sepe memoratus Æthelwinus dux<sup>a</sup> resciiuit gloriosum Osuualdum huic uitae modum imposuisse, prae nimia angustia<sup>b</sup> cordis infirmitas corporis quae illum tunc forte premebat in tantum conualuit, ut post modicum temporis sancto fine quiescens, uniuersae carnis uiam intraret, sepultus in aecclesia quam ‘in Ramescia<sup>c</sup> ipse et pater Oswaldus<sup>d</sup> de suo fabricarant.<sup>116</sup> Transiit autem uenerandus<sup>e</sup> Deoque dilectus antistes Osuualdus ab<sup>f</sup> hac uita ad uitam aeternam II<sup>g</sup> kalendas Martii, transactis ab episcopatu quo primo functus erat triginta uel amplius annis, conditumque est uenerabile corpus illius uti praediximus Wigornae<sup>h</sup> in aecclesia gloriosissimae Dei genetricis et perpetuae uirginis Mariae. Sane ut gratia Christi designet mortalibus Osuualdum mundo mortuum sibi uiuere, qui eum non quasi penitus mortuum requirunt, uere uiuentis et ante se multum ualentis indicia in eo reperiunt. Quod ut eidentibus probemus argumentis, quae per eum post mortem suam facta et ad nostram noticiam sunt perlata paucis subnectere rati sumus. Sed ne iudicemur de percipiendis indigni, si inuenimur de perceptis ingrati, pro iis<sup>i</sup> quibus scribendis animum dedimus, et iam effectum prout Deus dedit nacti sumus, sit ipsi omnipotenti Deo patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto laus et gratiarum actio per immortalia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

EXPLICIT VITA <sup>j</sup>BEATI OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI ET  
CONFESSORIS<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> dux Ethelwinus O    <sup>b</sup> tristitia O    <sup>c</sup> om. O    <sup>d</sup> O adds in Ramescia  
<sup>e</sup> uenerabilis O    <sup>f</sup> de O    <sup>g</sup> pridie O    <sup>h</sup> Wigorniae J    <sup>i</sup> hiis O (h- inserted s.l.)  
<sup>j</sup> BEATI OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI J; SANCTI OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI O

<sup>116</sup> The *Chron. Ram.*, c. 60 records that Æthelwine fell ill in April, and died on 24 Apr.; the year is given in ASC (CDE) s.a. 992 and John of Worcester s.a. 992.

the noblest of virgins (mentioned above), specifically, in the place which had earlier been designated by divine portent. After these events his burial was announced to all and sundry, both to those whom he had undertaken to guide with his pastoral care and to those drawn away from secular life whom he had instructed in how to follow God in the monastic habit. Thus on account of the sweetness of his memory universal mourning was proclaimed among all those who realized that they had been his children.

40. [38 Raine] But when the ealdorman Æthelwine, who has been mentioned frequently earlier, discovered that glorious Oswald had reached the full measure of this life, the weakness in his body, which by coincidence afflicted him at that time, grew to such an extent because of the very great anguish in his heart that after a short period a peaceful and saintly death befell him and he went the way of all flesh; he was buried in the church which he and father Oswald had built with his money at Ramsey.<sup>116</sup> Oswald, the worshipful bishop beloved of God, crossed from this existence to the eternal life on the twenty-ninth of February, after thirty years or more had passed since his appointment to the first bishopric over which he had presided, and his venerable body was buried, as we have said, at Worcester in the church of Mary the most glorious Mother of God and perpetual Virgin. And so that the grace of Christ may demonstrate to those living that Oswald, though dead with respect to this world, still lives for them, those who seek Oswald as if he is not fully dead discover in him signs of one truly alive and more powerful than he was. So that I may demonstrate this with clear proofs, I have decided to append in a few words an account of those things which were done through his agency after his death and which have been brought to my notice. But so that I am not judged unworthy on account of those things which will be received by you, even if I am found ungrateful for what I have received myself, for those things, which I have devoted my mind to writing about and which I have just now completed, by the grace of God, may there be to this same Almighty God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, praise and thanks throughout eternity, world without end. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE LIFE OF BLESSED OSWALD,  
ARCHBISHOP AND CONFESSOR

INCIPIVNT "QVAEDAM DE MIRACVLIS  
EIVSDEM PATRIS"

[PROLOGVS]

TRANSCVRSIS, iuxta quod Deus dare dignatus est, iis<sup>b</sup> quae de uita beati Osualdi scire potuimus, et calamo, licet uili, eorum qui legere uel audire dignantur considerationi propositis, proposui etiam illa quae post obitum eius diuina per eum pietas operata est illorum ipsorum intuitui eiusdem calami uilitate proponere.<sup>1</sup> Videor enim michi uidere ad firmitudinem factorum quae in uita quis bene gessit plurimum ualere, si qua post mortem diuinitus ad corpus eiusdem miracula fiunt. Siquidem homines dum non omnia quae ab aliquo penes se conuersante iusteque uitam agente peraguntur animo comprobant, euenit ut, illo de medio sublato, uaria de iis, etiam quae praeclarissime fecit, estimatio surgat, maxime si quae in sinistrum queunt torqueri qui non bonae mentis sunt, pro bonorum, ut fit, offuscatione depromunt. Quare si Deus inter haec arbiter non sederit, et suo libramine quod bonum malo praeponderet aliquo euidenti indicio monstret, contingit aliquando ex malitia mundi<sup>2</sup> ut bonum<sup>c</sup> malo quam malum bono in hominum estimatione succumbat. Fitque peruerso ordine ut, dum hos infrunitas reddit audaces, audacia multiloquos, multiloquium mendaces, mendacium faciat in incepto pertinaces. Quibus dum quidam ultra aequum in audiendo adquiescunt, optima siqua fuit de bonitate iam defuncti fama decurrit, et quae in uiuente signa patrata sunt utrum a Deo coronanda an damnanda sint in dubium uenit. Ex quo procedit, suggerente humani generis hoste, ut nec probi mores propriam sui dignitatem

<sup>a-a</sup> MIRACVLA EIVSDEM O    <sup>b</sup> hiis O (h- inserted s.l.)    <sup>c</sup> O adds potius

<sup>1</sup> For Eadmer's self-deprecating remarks about his own style, see note to *Vita S. Oswaldi*, prol.

<sup>2</sup> For the phrase 'malitia mundi', see Anselm, *epist.* ccxi. 12-13.

HERE BEGINS THE NARRATIVE OF  
SOME OF THE MIRACLES OF THE  
SAME FATHER

[PROLOGUE]

Now that I have briefly recounted the things which I was able to discover in accordance with what God deigned to reveal about the life of blessed Oswald, and have set them out with my pen (though it be unworthy) for the consideration of anyone who may wish to read or listen to them, I am undertaking something further, that is, to set out for the consideration of this same audience with this same unworthy pen those things that our loving Father worked through Oswald's agency after his death.<sup>1</sup> For as I understand, it has considerable weight in confirming the good deeds which a person has performed during his life, if by divine agency any miracles occur at his tomb after his death. Indeed, once he has been taken from our midst, men who in their hearts disagree with some of the things that were done by that person, someone who had dwelt amongst them and led a just life, can voice various dissenting opinions, even about the most celebrated things that the other had done, especially if those harbouring wicked intentions mention anything that can be distorted into something sinister in order to conceal his good deeds. And so because of the evil in this world<sup>2</sup> it sometimes happens that from the human perspective good seems to succumb to evil rather than evil to good, as if God himself were not sitting as judge in these matters and demonstrating by some clear sign with his scales that the good outweighs the bad. And by a perverse sequence of events it happens that when foolishness renders these men daring, daring then makes them garrulous, garrulity makes them into liars, and lying then makes them obstinate in their undertakings. When some people act contrary to reason and accept what they are hearing from these men, an excellent reputation can go downhill, even if a person who is now dead was renowned for most excellent goodness, and doubt arises about whether the wonders that were effected through that person while he was alive are to be rewarded by God or damned by him. As a result it happens at the prompting of the enemy of the human race

obtineant, nec qui illos imitetur, praesertim cum is qui in eis conuersatus est despectui habetur, facile reperiatur. Quod quando fit, cui iudicio<sup>a</sup> Dei magis ascribendum sit difficile aduertitur. Equidem multa sunt iudicia Dei, et iudicia eius abissus multa.<sup>3</sup> Quando autem uirtutes, quas in uiuente operatur, in eodem huic uitae exempto siue per corpus eius, siue per aliquam memoriam eius, siue per rem ullam quae dum uiueret fuerat eius, aut quomodo libet aliter operatur gratia sua,<sup>4</sup> profecto quamuis ipsi seruo suo quem assumpsit hoc ipsum fortasse non multum conferat, tamen superstitibus suis procul dubio fructum plurimum confert. Nam et mala quae paulo ante commemorauimus eis omnimodis<sup>b</sup> aufert, et bona quibus inseruierat quam sint amplectenda, quam ueneranda, quam imitanda designat. Vnde laus et gratiarum actio Deo redditur, honor et reuerentia Dei famulo exhibetur, salus et remissio peccatorum comparatur eis quorum in talibus cor et caro exultant et iubilant Deo uiuo.<sup>5</sup> Fructuose igitur fiunt signa per suffragia defunctorum, quando per ea tot bona creantur ad opus atque profectum Christianorum. Et quidem Christianorum profectus gaudium generat coram Deo et angelis eius. Cum itaque ob meritum alicuius fidelis sui pius Deus ea facit in terris ex quibus coram se et angelis suis gratulatio prouenit in caelis, forte probari potest eundem ipsum in sua uita magnum quod<sup>c</sup> ac praestans obsequium Deo exhibuisse, pro quo Deus in suo regno id illi recompensat honoris quod toti caelo ingerat causam nouae exultationis. Et istum quidem honorem suo dilecto ac fideli dilectori Osuualdo concessit, quoniam ad comprobandum merita eius multa per eum uirtutum insignia post obitum illius operari dignatus est. Quorum hoc primo loco ponimus, quasi a sanctuario suo hinc exordium narrandi sumamus.

1. Frater<sup>d</sup> quidam Wigornensis aecclesiae monachus acerrima febre torquebatur. Nanque modo frigore, modo illum afficiens eadem febris immoderato calore, pene singulis horis usque ad ultimi spiritus

<sup>a</sup> iudicio *J*; iudiciorum *O*    <sup>b</sup> omnibus *O*    <sup>c</sup> aliquod *O*    <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in JO*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 35 (36): 7.

<sup>4</sup> For the development of the distinction between primary and secondary relics within the early church, see D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 10–11.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ps. 83 (84): 3.

that virtuous conduct does not receive the respect it deserves, nor can anyone easily be found who will imitate that life, particularly when one who has lived amidst them is held in contempt. Whenever this happens, it is indeed difficult to figure out what sort of judgement of God is in operation, for many are the judgements of God, and his judgements are a great deep.<sup>3</sup> But God in his grace always works the kind of virtuous deeds that he brings about in a living person in that same person once he has been taken from this life—whether through this person's body, some shrine to him, something which was his while he was alive, or in whatsoever way pleases him.<sup>4</sup> Though this very thing perhaps does not earn anything for his servant whom he has taken up into heaven, nevertheless it without doubt bestows the greatest fruit upon those who survive him here. For he dispels entirely from these people the evil words that we have just described and shows how the good deeds to which he had devoted himself ought to be embraced, venerated, and imitated. And so praise and thanksgiving are rendered to God, honour and reverence are demonstrated towards his servant, and salvation and the remission of sins are provided for those whose hearts and bodies rejoice and sing praise amidst such matters to the living God.<sup>5</sup> Thus miracles are worked to good purpose through the intercession of those departed whenever they perform so many good deeds for the need and advancement of Christians. And truly the advancement of Christians creates joy before God and his angels. And so, when by the merits of a loyal servant of his God the loving Father works wonders throughout the earth, causing thanks to be raised up in heaven before him and his angels, it can perhaps be demonstrated that this same person while alive showed some great, or even outstanding, obedience to God, for which he is rewarding him in his kingdom with the kind of honour that gives rise to fresh exultation throughout heaven. And indeed he conceded that kind of honour to his beloved and faithful worshipper, Oswald, since after his death he deigned to work many potent miracles through him to prove his merits. From these I set down this one first, as if I were starting my ensuing narration from his sanctuary.

1. A certain brother, a monk of the church at Worcester, was being tormented by the most acute sickness. For this illness, afflicting him now with chill, now with the excessive heat of fever, brought fatigue upon him virtually every minute of the day, and almost brought him

exalationem defatigabat. Et miser quamuis in frigore sibi calorem, et in calore frigus adesse optaret, tamen transitum unius in alterum uicaria successione fieri in se summopere perhorrebat. Itaque cruciatur utrisque, permixto dolore qui nichil substantiae suae uacuum a cruciatu relinquebat. Quid ageret, quem ad succurrendum anxius interpellaret ignorabat. Medici aderant, medicamina diuersa praebebant, nam pretiosus inter illos habebatur, sed nichili profecerant.<sup>a</sup> Igitur uno dierum, dum iam se prae nimia uexationis molestia ferre nequiret, ut ad tumbam beatissimi patris Osuualdi perduceretur obnixè rogauit. Quod ubi factum est, solo prostratus, precibus incubuit, iis<sup>b</sup> uidelicet quas sibi dictabat magnitudo doloris quo uexabatur, et desiderium sanitatis recuperandae quo raptabatur. Nec mora. Nam non prius ab oratione surrexit, quam se integerrimae sanitati restitutum intellexit. Et quod forte magis stupeas, ita pristinus uigor et qui in pallorem uersus fuerat color uultus eius repente in integrum rediit, ut eundem ipsum non ambigeres ei suam opem contulisse quem socrum Petri nouimus a simili languore eripuisse.<sup>6</sup> Ast<sup>c</sup> alii fratres, intuentes in illo fratre tam subitam et integram curationem, ualde laetati sunt, et pium Deum per carissimum patrem suum mira operatum conuenientes magnificent, magnificentes praedicant, praedicantes multa cordis deuotione<sup>d</sup> ac sullimi uocis exultatione collaudant.

2. Hinc<sup>e</sup> euoluto non longi temporis spatio, uenit quidam homo, natione Saxonicus, litteris imbutus, poenitentiae addictus, ferro scilicet artissime uinctus, ad aecclesiam beatissimae matris Dei in qua quiescebat gloriosum corpus eximii confessoris Christi Osuualdi. Hic multiplici angustia cinctus, per diuersa loca leuamen quaeritans uagabatur. Ferrum quippe carnes illius circumcingens, paene ad ossa consumpserat, et inde cum foetore tabes erumpens, sibi seipsum grauem exhibebat ad tolerandum. Accessit huic et aliud malum. Exul a patria sua, communionem priuatus in aliena, nulli notus, nusquam tutus, uictum mendicando perquirebat. Finis uel remedium poenitentiae huius sola misericordia Dei, et per ipsum Deum sine humano

<sup>a</sup> profecerat *J*    <sup>b</sup> hiis *O*    <sup>c</sup> At *O*    <sup>d</sup> deuotione cordis *O*    <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in JO*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Matt. 8: 14–15.

to his final gasp of breath. And although the poor man wished for warmth in himself when he was cold and cold for himself when he was hot, nevertheless he greatly feared the incessant change in him from one to the other. And so he was tortured by them both with an admixture of grief, which left no part of his being free of torment. In his anxiety he knew not what to do nor whom to ask for help. Doctors were present and proffered various medicines—for he was held precious among them—but they had been of no avail. And so one day, when he was no longer able to tolerate his condition because of the extreme discomfort of his sickness, he pressed them to take him to the tomb of the most blessed father Oswald. When this had been done, he prostrated himself on the ground and began to pray, saying prayers that the magnitude of the sickness afflicting him and his longing to recover especially suggested to him. And there was no delay in this. For no sooner had he risen from prayer than he perceived that he had been restored to the most perfect health. And what will perhaps amaze you even more, his pristine strength and the colour of his face, which had turned exceedingly pale, suddenly returned completely, so that you could not doubt that the same One had granted his help to him as we know snatched the mother-in-law of Peter away from a similar illness.<sup>6</sup> And the other brothers, witnessing such a sudden and complete cure in their brother, were overjoyed and coming together they praised God, who had lovingly worked marvels through their own most beloved father; in praising they recommended it, and recommending it they praised him together, with great devotion in their hearts and voices raised on high.

2. After this, when a brief period of time had passed, a certain man, Saxon by race, imbued with learning and given to penance, in that he was very tightly constrained by iron chains, came to the church of the most blessed mother of God in which the glorious body of Oswald, the pre-eminent confessor of Christ, rested. This man, who was tightly bound all around, was trudging from place to place seeking release. For the iron encircling his flesh had eaten it almost to the bone and the stench of the rotting flesh oozing out made it difficult for the man to live with himself. And further evil had befallen this man—an exile from his native land, unable to communicate in a foreign land, unknown to anyone, nowhere safe, he sought food by begging. An end to this and a cure for his penance were brought about only by the pity of God, and the iron that bound him was loosened by God and fell

adminiculo facta dissolutio ferri quo uinciebatur. Peragratis ergo quampluribus locis sanctorum, nec ullum tanti mali suffragium assecutus, tandem, ut diximus, ad praedicta piissimae dominae limina errabundus accessit. Et ingressus, uidet e regione sepulchrum beati patris Osuualdi, pulchrum quidem et decenter pro gloria tanti uiri adornatum. Interrogat quid hoc sit, et nomen meritumque sepulti ab iis<sup>a</sup> qui ea bene nouerant discit. Tum<sup>b</sup> ille cominus tumbae assistit, et nichil de clementia Dei, nichil de subuentione amici Dei diffusus, precibus sicut pro semet ipso insistit. Agnoscit crimen admissum, seque inflictam poenam fatetur non iniuria pati, immo atrociori si inflingeretur meruisse iure affligi. Orat tamen conditionem sortis humanae in se pium patrem attendere, et ea pietate, qua Deus illum seruauerat inter mundi laqueos gradientem, absoluat se a reatu quem a Deo derelictus incurrerat, ipsis laqueis succumbendo. Ac ut certus de peccati uenia fiat, poenam eius sua prece, perfusus lacrimis, precatur amoueat. Vere pia et inestimabilis miseratio Dei, uere praeclarum atque praecipuum meritum beati Osuualdi pontificis ante Deum! Necdum precibus modum uincolatus posuerat, necdum genae lacrimis manare cessauerant, et ecce colligatum ferrum dissoluitur, dissilit, decidit, oculosque cunctorum ob tantae pietatis spectaculum in se conuertit. Accurrunt insuper<sup>c</sup> quique, et<sup>d</sup> carnes hominis iam tunc cruditate, inflatione, sanie, putredine horridas, stupentes intuentur sanissima cute obductas, uix uulneri uestigium aliquod reliquisse. Si dixerimus ad haec ora omnium in laudem Dei atque praeconium sancti uiri relaxata, ridendi potius quam attendendi nostro iudicio sumus. Quis enim se contineret? Homo sanus et incolumis natiuum solum gratiosus repetit, praedicaturus suis et aliis quam misericordiae oculo Deus illum<sup>e</sup> respexerit, quam praedicabili pietate sibi per intercessionem et meritum sancti<sup>f</sup> Oswaldi salubri remedio subuenerit.

off without human intervention. And so having passed through a great number of places dedicated to the saints and not having obtained any relief for such a great evil, finally, as I have said, he arrived in his wanderings upon the threshold of the church of the most loving Lady, as we have just mentioned. And when he had entered, he saw directly ahead the tomb of the blessed father Oswald, which indeed was beautiful and fittingly adorned, in keeping with the renown of such a great man. He asked what this might be and discovered the name and reputation of the man buried there from those who were well acquainted with those things. Then he stood right next to the tomb, and trusting completely in the clemency of God and in the intercession of God's friend, he immersed himself in prayer on his own behalf. He acknowledged the sin that he had committed and also that he was suffering a justly inflicted punishment, and indeed he said that he had rightly deserved to be afflicted with an even crueller punishment, should that be visited upon him. Nevertheless, he begged his loving Father to consider the human condition allotted to him and, by that same love with which he had preserved Oswald as he trod among the snares of this world, that he might release him from the guilt which he had incurred, abandoned by God, by succumbing to those enticements. And so that he might be sure of the pardoning of his sin, he implored in his prayer with tears welling from his eyes that God remove from him the punishment for this offence. Truly loving and boundless is the mercy of God! Truly renowned and outstanding the merits of blessed Oswald the bishop before the face of God! For the man in chains had not yet finished his prayers and the tears had not yet stopped flowing down his cheeks when, behold, the constraining iron loosened, sprang apart and fell away; this demonstration of such great divine love drew everyone's eyes towards him. Whereupon they all ran up to him and were amazed to see that his body, which had previously been horrible on account of its rawness, its swelling, its gore and putrefaction, was covered with the most wholesome skin and that scarcely any trace of his injuries remained. In my opinion I should be laughed at rather than listened to if I were to tell you that the praise of God and the commendation of the holy man were on everyone's lips. For who could restrain himself in this situation? Safe and sound and giving thanks the man once again sought his native soil, intending to preach to his own people and others, telling with what merciful gaze God had looked upon him, and with what praiseworthy love he had helped him through the intercession and by the merits of blessed Oswald with a health-giving cure.

<sup>a</sup> hiis O    <sup>b</sup> Tunc JO    <sup>c</sup> om. O    <sup>d</sup> om. O    <sup>e</sup> illum Deus O    <sup>f</sup> beati O

3. Post<sup>a</sup> dies paucos facti huius adest alter unus simili poenitentiae pro scelere suo iniectus. Adduxerat enim illum<sup>b</sup> diuulgata fama patratae uirtutis in alio, et spes qua se eandem uirtutem confidebat experturum in semet ipso. In cuius rei expositione nulla nobis morandi necessitas est, breui quid actum sit exprimi potest. Qui? Adiunxit se afflicto tumulo sancti, orauit, exauditus, liberatus est, et exultantibus cunctis, exultans et ipse discessit.

4. His<sup>c</sup> ita tenui relatu digestis, qualiter sacri artus beatissimi patris<sup>d</sup> a primo sepulturae suae loco sumpti et alias conditi sint, dirigente nos Domino, depromamus. Ab illo itaque tempore quo gloriosus Christi confessor Osuualdus, praesentis uitae cursu peracto, gaudia uitae perennis subierat, duodecimus aderat annus, noua laetitia sanctam<sup>e</sup> Wigornensem aecclesiam de ipso suo dulci aduocato glorificaturus.<sup>7</sup> Praesidebat illis diebus aecclesiae Eboracensi loco summi pontificis Ealdulfus<sup>f</sup> quidam nomine, uir strenuus, professione et habitu monachus, qui religiosis actibus pollens, beatum Osuualdum, cui successerat in regimen eiusdem aecclesiae,<sup>8</sup> multo affectu diligebat. Quam eius animi dilectionem superna clementia intuens, intuendo approbans, approbando perlustrans, perlustrando corroborans, per reuelationem eum admonere dignatus est, quatinus sacrum dilecti sui Osuualdi corpus a sepulchri loco leuaret, leuatum alibi dignius collocaret. Ea siquidem tempestate cura officii pastoralis super<sup>g</sup> Wigornam<sup>h</sup> eidem antistiti fuerat delegata, cum quia monachica religione pollebat, tum quia monachum qui nouellum gregem monachorum inibi loco pontificis gubernaret, tueretur ac defenderet eo tempore inuenire, praeter eum, leue non erat. Ille igitur reuelationi credulus, hilaris effectus est. Quod enim prius se facturum cogitabat, nunc sibi diuinitus imperatum uehementer exultabat. Ante haec quippe, considerato apud se quantis ipse beatus Osuualdus in terra

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in JO*    <sup>b</sup> *cum O*    <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in JO*    <sup>d</sup> *O adds nostri*  
<sup>e</sup> *om. O*    <sup>f</sup> *Aldulfus JO*    <sup>g</sup> *sub O*    <sup>h</sup> *Wigorniam J; Wigornia O*

<sup>7</sup> The translation of Oswald in fact occurred ten years after his death.

<sup>8</sup> Ealdwulf is said by Hugh Candidus to have been a chancellor of King Edgar; following a family tragedy, he was made a monk by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, and in 972 became the first abbot of the reformed abbey of Peterborough (*The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949), pp. 29–31, 136; see also ASC (E) s.a. 963 and *Life of St Æthelwold*, c. 24). He succeeded Oswald at Worcester in 992, but not immediately at York, since his charters of 995 still describe him as archbishop elect (Sawyer, 885 and 886). For his activities in establishing the cults of saints, including Oswald, at Worcester and the monasteries within its sphere of influence, see A. Thacker, 'Saint-making and relic

3. A few days later another man, who on account of his sins had had a similar penance inflicted upon him, arrived there. For the account of the miracle which had transpired for the other man had become well known and drawn him to that place, as had the hope by which he trusted that he would experience a similar miracle in his own case. There is no need for me to tarry in setting out this story, for what was done can be set out briefly. How? The afflicted man pressed against the tomb of the saint, prayed, was heard, was set free and, rejoicing with all the others who were rejoicing, he took his leave.

4. Now that I have set these matters out thus in a modest narrative, let me describe how the holy limbs of the most blessed father were translated from their first place of burial and entombed elsewhere, as the Lord directs me. Now the twelfth year had arrived from the time when the glorious confessor of Christ, Oswald, had completed the course of this present life and had entered upon the joys of eternal life, a year which would gloriously bestow new joy with respect to its own sweet advocate on the holy church at Worcester.<sup>7</sup> In those days, a certain man named Ealdwulf administered the office of archbishop over the church at York; a vigorous man, a monk by both profession and habit, he was most effective in his religious acts and loved with great affection blessed Oswald, whom he had succeeded in the rule of that church.<sup>8</sup> When in his divine clemency God noticed this love in Ealdwulf's soul, and noticing it approved of it, by approving of it he cast his light upon it, by illumining it he thus strengthened it, and deigned to direct him in a vision to raise the holy body of his beloved Oswald from its place of burial, and when it had been elevated to bury it elsewhere in a more worthy place. For at that time the responsibility for the pastoral care of Worcester had been assigned to this bishop, both because he excelled in monastic religious life and because it was not easy then to find any monk other than him who could rule, protect, and defend the newly established group of monks there as bishop. Ealdwulf trusted in this vision and was overjoyed by it. He rejoiced especially because what he had previously considered doing had now been divinely commanded of him. For before these events occurred, when he had considered within himself what brilliant manifestations of great power had emanated from blessed Oswald while he lived on this earth, with what clear evidence of the collecting by Oswald and his communities', in Brooks and Cubitt, *Oswald*, pp. 244–68, at 260–4.



degens magnarum uirtutum fulserit praeconiis, quantis donorum Spiritus Sancti emicuerit praerogatiuis, quantis exhibendorum miraculorum enituerit signis, tractauerat secum si forte ullo modo posset inter homines gloriam defuncti amplificare, et amplificando aecclesiam Dei aliquo nouae exultationis gaudio de ipso laetificare. Nouerat etiam quae et quanta deitatis opera cotidie per eum gerebantur, et quod plurimorum animi non parum offendebantur, propterea quod ipsum spiritu caelo degentem, et in terris caelestia signa facientem, profunditas humi premebat, facilisque accessus his<sup>a</sup> et illis, ac fortasse minus dignis quam expediret, ad eum plus aequo patebat, ac per hoc eum loco, si facultas sibi concederetur, mouere animo disposuerat. At nunc cum iam caelica illum reuelatio in hoc opus roborasset, nichil haesitans, diem praefixit in quo desiderio suo satisfaceret, hoc est, ipsius patris eximios artus e terra leuaret, ac in loco saecularium personarum frequentia uacuo irreuerentique accessu remoto collocaret. Ratus tamen tantam rem minime sub silentio perpetranda, primo omnium per totam diocesim suam necne per totam Wigornensem prouintiam instituit Deum pro ipsius negotii gestione, ut Deo<sup>b</sup> digne procederet, inuocandum. Deinde Wigornenses conueniens, quos summa causa, quos tenor negotii praecipue respiciebat, sua et illorum uoluntas atque consilium an in eodem esset diligenter perscrutatus est. Quod ubi sic esse, et ad unum tendere omnimodis uidit, directis nunciis, rem illis et illis denunciat quos negotio interesse dignum fore<sup>c</sup> iudicabat. Nuncios fama praecurrit;<sup>d</sup> ad diem non ii tantum qui inuitantur, sed<sup>e</sup> aliorum inestimabilis hominum numerositas currit. Et hoc de mediocribus aecclesiae membris dictum interim accipiatur. Episcopi, abbates, religiosi ordinis uiri, et sullimes in populo Dei personae coeunt, omnes quasi diuinitatis instinctu,<sup>f</sup> immo non quasi, sed uere diuinitatis instinctu<sup>f</sup> inuitati. Quid plura? Instat dies, hora etiam praestituti negotii instat, et quorum operis erat demutatio tanti thesauri parantur<sup>g</sup> explere quod dispositum fuerat.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> hiis O    <sup>b</sup> Struck through in O    <sup>c</sup> om. O    <sup>d</sup> praecurrit O    <sup>e</sup> O adds et  
<sup>f-f</sup> om. O    <sup>g</sup> parant O

<sup>9</sup> The first translation of Oswald occurred on 15 Apr. 1002; see John of Worcester s.a. 1002, and the commemoration in two calendars written in Worcester or its vicinity in the late 11th c. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 113 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391; pr. in *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (London, 1934), pp. 201, 215). Oswald's remains were subsequently translated again by Wulfstan into his rebuilt cathedral church between 1084 and 1095 on 8 Oct.; this later date was chosen to avoid the feast falling in Lent (see William, *Vita S. Wulfstani*, iii. 10.4).

gifts of the Holy Spirit he had been marked, with what great signs and displays of miracles he had been pre-eminent, he had thought to himself whether perchance he might in some way increase the glory of the deceased saint among men, and by increasing it further delight the church of God with renewed joy and exultation concerning Oswald. He also knew the nature and greatness of the works being effected through him by God every day, and that the minds of a great many people were deeply offended since a huge weight of soil was pressing down upon this man, whose spirit was dwelling in heaven and working heavenly signs upon earth. He recognized that there was easy access to him—more than was just—for these men and those and perhaps men less worthy than was suitable, and because of this he had determined in his mind to move Oswald from that place, should the opportunity be granted him. But now, since a divine revelation had just fortified him for the task, he determined without delay the day on which he would fulfil his wish, that is to raise up the limbs of this pre-eminent father from the earth and to set them down in a place free of the bustle of secular persons and removed from access by the irreverent. Nevertheless, thinking that such an important deed ought not to be performed in silence, he decided that first of all prayers should be offered to God with regard to the transaction of this business throughout both his entire diocese and the whole province of Worcester, that it might proceed in a manner worthy of God. Then, calling together the citizens of Worcester whom the great significance and importance of this business particularly concerned, he diligently questioned them to see whether they agreed with his desires and plans. When he saw that this was the case and that they were completely in agreement with him, he sent out messengers and officially announced his intention to everyone whom he thought it would be appropriate to attend the ceremony. Rumour outstripped the messengers, and on the day not just those who were invited but a countless multitude of other people flocked there as well. May these few words concerning the lesser ranks of the church suffice for now. The bishops, abbots, men in religious orders, and the noblest individuals among God's people assembled, all of them summoned as if by divine prompting—indeed not as if, but truly with God's prompting. What more need I say? The day was upon them, indeed the hour for the designated business was upon them, and those whose task it was to translate so great a treasure were assembled in order to complete what had been planned.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, a huge crowd of men

Interea circa tumultum praesens erat multa turba uirorum ac feminarum, nec una erat expectatio omnium. Quidam enim solam sacri corporis translationem, quidam et suorum corporum quae diueris infirmitatibus laborabant praestolabantur curationem. Et illa quidem translatio condigno obsequio facta est, haec autem curatio sibi eam affuturam sperantes nichilo minus secuta est. Exemplum uerbi. Mulier<sup>a</sup> ex incolis una, diutino membrorum cruciata afflicta, et insuper unius manus officio quae paralis morbo aruerat penitus destituta, tumbae propior accedens, fixa manebat. Hoc quippe ut ei facere liceret, partim nobilitas generis eius, partim nota cunctis probitas eius, partim recuperatio sanitatis eius quam multi summopere desiderabant, comparauerat. Flexis itaque genibus ante beati uiri uenerabile corpus, fuisque ad Deum deuoto corde humillimis precibus, medelam quam petiuit, recepta sanitate, in praesentia omnium mox obtinuit. Ad<sup>b</sup> quod sicut nonnulli in laudem Dei dignis concentibus eruperunt, ita plerique infida mente sanctis meritis sancti uiri detraxerunt. Nec in his de uulgo aliquis fuit; abbatem quendam infidelitas ipsa percussit. Opinatus enim nil in pontifice sanctitatis enituisse unde tantus honor illi merito debuisset haberi, sinistris quibusdam nutibus et uerbis id eis, quos in hoc sibi fautores fore putabat, depromebat. Quod episcopi aliique boni uiri percipientes, ingemuere simul tantum potuisse malignum diabolum, ut eius instinctu de re tam sacra nasceretur et in corde abbatis tam execrabilis fama. Tunc unanima<sup>c</sup> intentione conuersi ad Christum supplicant, quatinus huiusmodi adhuc in conferta multitudine suae potentiae uirtutem ostendat, quae et fratri perfidiam funditus tollat, et populum omnem in sui laudem ac in serui sui Osuualdi glorificationem attollat. Has<sup>d</sup> inter deuotissimas preces, nutu Dei defertur in medium unus qui magna ope opus habebat, erumnis plenus, hoc est, utriusque pedis officio carens, et horrida lepra in toto corpore squalens. Hic talis pone<sup>e</sup> corpus benignissimi patris Osuualdi deponitur, et a praesentibus supplices pro eo preces funduntur. Nulla mora, nulla subueniendi pium patrem impedit hora. Siquidem pedes

and women gathered around the tomb, not all with the same expectations. For some were simply waiting for the translation of the holy body, while others were looking also for the healing of their own bodies, which were afflicted by a variety of illnesses. And indeed, the translation was carried out in a most worthy fashion, but equally there followed the healing for which the others had been hoping. For example: one woman from among the town's inhabitants, who had been afflicted for a long time by severe pain in her limbs and who, in addition, was deprived of the use of one hand which had shrivelled completely through paralysis, stepped closer to the tomb and remained there transfixed. For permission to do this was granted partly because of the nobility of her family, partly on account of her upright character, which was known to all, and partly because many greatly desired the recovery of her health. And when she had bent her knees before the venerable body of the blessed man and poured forth most humble prayers to God with a devout heart, she at once received the healing which she had sought and she recovered her health in the presence of everyone assembled there. Thereupon, even as many broke out in fitting songs of praise to God, so too, many who had unbelieving minds disparaged the holy merits of the holy man. However, no one from among the commoners was amongst these men—a certain abbot was smitten by this lack of faith. For concluding that no holiness of any sort had radiated from Oswald on account of which he should rightly be held in such great regard, he conveyed this with certain hostile nods and words to those whom he thought would be his supporters in this matter. When the bishop and other good men perceived this, they all lamented that the malign devil had had such power and that with his prompting so abominable a rumour could arise concerning such a holy matter, what is more, even in the heart of an abbot. Then turning to Christ, with one heart they prayed for him to reveal the might of his power amongst the multitude while they were still gathered together in such a way that it would both completely remove the treachery from their brother and rouse the entire population to his praises and to the glorification of his servant Oswald. And while these most devout prayers were being said, by divine instigation a person who had need of great help was carried into their midst; he was fraught with distress because he lacked the use of both feet and his whole body was scabby with leprous pestilence. The person thus afflicted was set down next to the body of the most loving father, Oswald, and suppliant prayers were poured forth on his behalf by those who were present. No delay nor lapse of time prevented the loving father from helping. For every

<sup>a</sup> *New chapter in JO*    <sup>b</sup> *New chapter in JO*    <sup>c</sup> *unanimi O*    <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in JO*  
<sup>e</sup> *ad O*

egroti, subito omni debilitate sublata, integerrimae soliditati<sup>a</sup> restituantur, et cuncta corporis membra contagio immundissimae leprae destituuntur. Fit iubilatio plebis ista cernentis<sup>b</sup> multa et grandis, magnificentque Deum in sullimi uoce exultationis. At ii<sup>c</sup> qui<sup>d</sup> de meritis incliti patris paulo ante dubitabant, uisa tanta uirtute, salubriter confusi sunt. Et aspersi lacrimis genas, terrae procumbunt, reatum agnoscunt, agnoscentes ignosci sibi magnopere petunt. Illi ergo, qui prius Deum precabantur ut increduli de eminentia sanctitatis beati pontificis aliquo signo ad credulitatem flecterentur, nunc pro eisdem<sup>e</sup> deprecantur ut, ex signo credentes effecti, a culpa incredulitatis expientur. Leuata<sup>f</sup> igitur ossa (nam carnem humana conditio et temporis longitudo in puluerem redegerat), leuata inquam ossa diligentissime lota ac in feretro, quod ipsismet olim fecisse et Wigornam<sup>g</sup> ad reliquias Dei scientiae notas transmisisse supra meminimus, decenter locata sunt.<sup>10</sup> Aqua uero ipsa diuerso<sup>h</sup> languore obsessis certam medicinam sumministravit. Quicumque enim ea usi sunt, confestim liberati a malo quo grauabantur, gaudio magno gauisi sunt. Nam caecis uisus, surdis auditus, claudis incessus, et quibusque debilibus sua integritas, uigor solitus, proprius usus restitutus est.<sup>11</sup> Vere diem illam felicem et gaudio plenam, uere lucem eius libet asserere gratam fuisse atque serenam. Qui<sup>i</sup> etenim fieri posset ut felix et gaudio plena non esset, quae tantis per adeptam qua diu caruerant quamque diu<sup>j</sup> desiderauerant sanitatem felicia gaudia intulit? Quo etiam pacto non esset grata atque serena, quae incredulos a diffidentiae tenebris erutos et eis gratiam qua lucem gratiae Dei uiderent, intelligerent, amarent contulit, et omnibus id audientibus amissam contra illos cordis serenitatem restituit? Et haec te quidem, pie pater<sup>k</sup> Osualde, respiciunt, haec qua sis coram Deo gratia praeditus indicant, haec nichilo minus quantum fiduciae in te tui<sup>l</sup> certo queant habere designant. Tu<sup>m</sup> etenim quondam, uelamine carnis

<sup>a</sup> solidati O    <sup>b</sup> O adds membra    <sup>c</sup> hii O    <sup>d</sup> que J    <sup>e</sup> hisdem O    <sup>f</sup> New chapter in JO  
<sup>g</sup> Wigorniam JO    <sup>h</sup> diuersa O    <sup>i</sup> Quomodo O    <sup>j</sup> C writes in mg.  
<sup>k</sup> pie pater quidem O    <sup>l</sup> O adds pro    <sup>m</sup> New chapter in JO

<sup>10</sup> See *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Matt. 11: 5.

infection was removed from the feet of the sick man and they were suddenly restored to the most wholesome state, and the limbs of his body were forsaken by the contagion of that most foul leprosy. When they saw these things, the people broke out in very great rejoicing and they praised God in words of highest exaltation. But those who a little earlier had held doubts about the meritorious deeds of that famous father were for the good of their souls ashamed when they witnessed such a miracle. And with tears rolling down their cheeks they prostrated themselves upon the earth; they acknowledged their guilt, and in acknowledging it they begged earnestly to be forgiven. And so those who earlier had been entreating God that these people who did not believe in the exemplary holiness of the blessed bishop might be directed towards belief by some sign, now prayed for these same men that they might be absolved of the sin of disbelief, since they had now been made believers by that sign. And so his bones were raised, for the human condition and the passing of time had turned his flesh to dust; his bones, as I have said, were raised and washed very carefully and placed with honour in the shrine, which as I recalled earlier, Oswald himself had made long ago and brought to Worcester for relics which were known to the foreknowledge of God.<sup>10</sup> And indeed that very water provided a certain remedy for many who were besieged by different illnesses. For anyone who used it was immediately liberated from the sickness with which he had been afflicted and rejoiced with great gladness. Sight was restored to the blind, hearing to the deaf, the ability to walk to the lame, and health, customary vigour, and proper use of limbs to each and every invalid.<sup>11</sup> Truly it is pleasing to declare that that day was blessed and full of joy and the light of that day was truly welcome and serene. For how could that day not be blessed and full of joy, a day that brought joyous blessings to so many through the regaining of the health that they had lacked for so long and for which they had longed for such a space of time? Furthermore, how could such a day not be welcome and serene which produced unbelievers rescued from the shadows of mistrust, and imbued them with the faculty whereby they might see, understand, and love the radiance of God's grace, and which restored to all who heard about it the serenity of heart which they had lost in their struggle with those men? Indeed, loving father Oswald, these things concern you; they reveal with what grace you are distinguished in the presence of God, and in no less a way show how much trust your own people can truly place in you with confidence. For you once, while clothed in this fleshy robe, terrified

opertus, demones territos in fugam compulisti, tu homines terra marique a diuersis periculis protexisti, tu alios et ab huius uitae <sup>a</sup>erumnis et ab alterius uitae<sup>a</sup> poenis miseratus eripuisti, tu denique in omnibus et per omnia Deo placere studuisti,<sup>12</sup> et ad eum felici cursu felix nimium peruenire meruisti. Ac ut de perenni uita tua et de aeterna gloria gloriosaque potentia tua nemo ambigat, nemo cunctetur, nunc febres sedas, nunc carnes humanas ferro exesas sanitati condonas, nunc membra uel paralisi dissoluta uel lepra corrupta in statum sui reformas, tuisque per haec immensa gaudia praestas. Sane<sup>b</sup> quid signi in hoc portendere uolueris, quod, absumptis in terra carnibus tuis et solis ossibus in substantiae suae qualitate relictis, planetam qua uestiebaris intactam illibatamque seruaueris, fateor sensus mei tenuitas capere nequit. In quo id mage stupendum existimo, quod caetera corporis indumenta et ipsum corpus infra illam habebantur, et tamen, caeteris in puluerem redactis, ipsa integerrima manens, pulueri nequaquam fuit obnoxia. Casula eadem in secretario Wigornensi seruatur, et ad missae officium, cum res exigit, sumministratur. Res nota est, nemo qui<sup>c</sup> ambigat. Ipse eam uidi, et in manibus tenens, mirabilia Dei et admiranda merita beati Osuualdi amici Dei non parum miratus expaui.

5. Postquam<sup>d</sup> autem sacratissimae pii patris Osuualdi reliquiae decenter, ut diximus, translatae sunt, ipse pater idem in exhibendis miraculis qui antea esse solebat postea claruit, nec requisitus insitae sibi pietatis opera exercere postposuit. Quorum modus uel numerus quantus sit, sub nullius mortalis hominis, ut autumo,<sup>e</sup> scientiam cadit, et ea re de illis aptissime scribere uix ullus, immo nullus stilus admittit. At si illa duo, unum scilicet quod muto loquelam, alterum quod claudio duobus baculis innitenti gressum post multum temporis a die translationis suae reddidit, eo quod in noticiam nostram peruenierunt, tacitis aliis, scripsero, utrum ea quisquam magno suscipere uelit ignoro. Alia quippe maiora quoniam minus usitata

<sup>a-a</sup> om. O      <sup>b</sup> New chapter in JO; both witnesses write initial S- over an original C-  
<sup>c</sup> om. O      <sup>d</sup> New chapter in JO      <sup>e</sup> ut autumo hominis O

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cc. 21, 25, 26.

and put devils to flight; it was you who protected people on both land and sea from diverse dangers; you pitied others and snatched them away from both the miseries of this life and the punishments of the next, and finally, it was you who strove to please God in and through all things,<sup>12</sup> and, blessed man, you greatly deserved to arrive at his side after your blessed journey. And so that there should be no doubt or second thoughts about your everlasting life, eternal glory, and wondrous power, you now calm fevers, return to healthy condition human flesh eaten away by iron shackles, restore to use limbs either made useless by paralysis or wasted away by leprosy, and by these things bring immense joy to your people. True, I confess that with my limited understanding I am unable to determine what you wished to signify by one miracle in particular, that although your flesh had dissolved into the soil and only your bones remained in their original state, you preserved intact and unharmed the chasuble you used to wear. It seems to me that this is a matter of greater wonder, that the other coverings of the body and even the body itself were enclosed within it and yet, when these other things had been reduced to dust, the chasuble remained completely intact and not subject to dissolution into dust. This same chasuble is preserved in the vestry of Worcester and is brought out for use at mass whenever the need arises. This fact is well known—there is no one that doubts it. I myself have seen it, and holding it in my hands I have been overwhelmed and greatly struck with awe by the miracles of God and the praiseworthy merits of blessed Oswald, the friend of God.

5. After the most holy remains of the benevolent father Oswald were translated with due decorum, as we mentioned earlier, this same father was afterwards as famous for producing miracles as he had been before; nor when implored does he hesitate to carry out works of piety, as is natural for him. And as I think, no mortal man is endowed with the full knowledge of the range of his miracles and of how many there were, and for that reason there is scarcely a pen, indeed, there is no pen which could enable me to write about them most fittingly. But if I pass over other miracles in silence and write about just these two—that is, firstly, that after considerable time had elapsed since his translation he restored speech to a mute man, and secondly, that he gave back the ability to walk to a cripple who used to support himself on two crutches—because they have come to my notice, I do not know whether anyone will be willing to accept their significance. For I have recounted earlier that he performed other deeds which were

eum superius fecisse retulimus, et ideo haec licet magna, superioribus tamen non coaequanda; si post illa proferimus, quo ea iudicio qui audient<sup>a</sup> examinare uelint ignoramus. Veruntamen istis et aliis penes sepulchrum eius diuinitus actis, et futurorum noticiae stili indagine quoquomodo propositis, alias stilum uertere libet, scribere uidelicet<sup>b</sup> quid miri operis longe a sui corporis loco, eius meritis interuenientibus, diuina pietas operari dignata sit.

6. Superius<sup>c</sup> ergo cum in uitae ipsius descriptione tenebamur, diximus quali modo per eum apud Rameseiam sit instituta habitatio monachorum.<sup>13</sup> Ex quo locus ille, cum quia a tanto pontifice sepius frequentabatur, tum quia in eo ab iis<sup>d</sup> quos ibi posuerat religiose uiuebatur, a circummanentibus frequentari, uenerari, et magni coepit haberi. Vnde licet solenne fuerit inter eos fere cotidie illuc orandi studio conuolare, potissimum tamen id agebant in dominicorum dierum festiuitatibus, et in aliis sanctorum solennibus festis. Hinc accidit quadam uice ut, gratia festiuitatis beati Osuualdi inuitante, illic omnis sexus et aetas adunata multitudinem populi innumerabilis faceret. Quidam autem ipsius coenobii monachus, cancri ulcere in maxilla percussus, alios omnes ex fraterna compassione graui meroris flagello prostrauerat. Erat enim frater idem monasterio ualde utilis, moribus mitis, eloquio dulcis, conuersatione suauis, et humilitate sullimis. Ad haec prudens et habilis in dispositione monasterialium officiorum, gnarus et agilis in administratione saecularium negotiorum. Eadwæcher<sup>e</sup> uocabatur. Hunc igitur cum nominata passio de die in diem magis ac magis crescendo cruciaret, nec iam consortium fratrum, pudore simul ac uultus horrore suffusus, ferre ualeret, in quandam paruulam<sup>f</sup> insulam<sup>g</sup> prope monasterium sitam, oboediens abbati et fratribus, sese contulit, ibique degens, Dei obsequio pro posse sedulus institit. Mittebatur illi singulis diebus a monasterio uictus cotidianus, unde se et ministrum suum sustentaret. Haec inter praefata solennitas beati Osuualdi aderat,<sup>14</sup> et ille, suo ministro comitatus, monasterium adiit, illicque in secreto aecclesiae

<sup>a</sup> audiant O      <sup>b</sup> scilicet O      <sup>c</sup> *New chapter in JO*      <sup>d</sup> his J; hiis O  
<sup>e</sup> Eadwaker J; Eadwacher O      <sup>f</sup> paruam O      <sup>g</sup> C writes s.l.

<sup>13</sup> *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 17.

<sup>14</sup> 29 Feb. in a leap year, otherwise 28 Feb.

greater since they were less usual, and although these two are sufficiently great, they nevertheless cannot be considered equivalent to the earlier miracles; if I recount them after these, I have no way of knowing how they will be considered by those who hear about them. But since these and other deeds have been performed by divine intervention in proximity to his tomb and have been described by writers in one way or another for the notice of future readers, it gives me pleasure to turn my pen elsewhere and to describe how God in his love deigned to work a certain marvellous deed far removed from Oswald's tomb, but due to his merit and through his intercession.

6. Earlier, when I was engaged in describing Oswald's life, I mentioned how he had founded a monastic institution at Ramsey.<sup>13</sup> From then onwards that place began to be visited, venerated, and valued by those living thereabouts because such a great bishop frequently visited it, and especially because those whom he had established there lived devoutly within it. And so, although it was customary among them to flock there to pray almost every day, they did this most of all on the festivals of the Lord's day and on other solemn feast days of saints. Thus it happened on a certain occasion, when they had been called together for the feast of blessed Oswald, that people of either sex and every age were gathered there in a countless multitude. But profound grief for a certain monk of Ramsey, who had been afflicted in the jaw by a cancerous ulcer, had struck the others like a whip and laid them low out of compassion for their brother. For this brother had been most useful around the monastery; he was gentle in his habits, soft in speech, sweet in his way of life, and sublime in his humility. In addition, he was prudent and skilful in carrying out the business of the monastery, and knowledgeable and competent in the administration of secular business. He was called Eadwacer. And so, since the suffering I have mentioned was torturing him ever increasingly day by day, and he was now unable to bear the company of his brothers because he was full of shame and revulsion at his face, out of obedience to the abbot and his brothers he betook himself to a certain tiny island located close by the monastery and resided there, devoting himself assiduously to the service of God to the best of his ability. Each day his daily rations were sent to him from the monastery so that he could sustain both himself and his servant. The solemn feast of blessed Oswald,<sup>14</sup> which I mentioned earlier, fell while these arrangements were in place, and Eadwacer, in the company of his servant, came to the monastery;

loco consistens, diei officio quod fiebat et orationibus intendebat. Caeteri fratres illum praesentem esse scientes, ac silenter sese habentem conspicientes, misericordia moti, supplicat Deo quisque apud se, quo sua dulci gratia dignetur ei subuenire. Expleto autem solenni officio missae, fratres, agnoscentes eum in insulam remeare uolentem, detinent ac secum illa die familiarius indulgere quieti, dilecti quoque ac dulcissimi fratris inter se morem gerere, monent, precantur, et obnitenti uim inferre non dubitant. Quem licet obscenitas uultus decentius secum priuatim degere posse suaderet, uicit tamen, caritate confecta, suorum fratrum uoluntas. Inde in hospitium ducto fratres considens, laeta quaedam permixta merore uti temporis qualitas, uti fratris esse ferebat, ad inuicem uerba serentes. Post quae refecturus cum aliis refecturum inducitur, et ei loco secretiori quemadmodum ratio suadebat diligenti cura seruitur. Seruabatur in aeclesia ipsa scifus quo sacer antistes, gloriosus uidelicet pater et pastor Osuualdus, bibere usum habuerat. Hoc uase in festo nobilissimi patris post refectionem, praemissa prece, potum libabant omnes fratres, pia Deoque accepta simplicitate in fide tenentes hoc sibi ad obtinendam tanti pontificis benedictionem non nichili profuturum. Hac itaque die a fratribus eiusdem scifi<sup>a</sup> liquore pro more libato, ultimo illi qui ultimus sedebat, infirmo uidelicet fratri, scifus ipse cum potu defertur. Quem ille inter manus suscipiens, et eum sanctissimi uiri siti olim adminiculatum fuisse cognoscens, ingemuit. Conuersusque mente ac uoce ad Deum, orat pia prece sibi per merita sui<sup>b</sup> patris Osuualdi misereri, ac salutari remedio miserabili morbo, quo consumebatur, dulci bonitate mederi. Lumina circumsedentium illo diriguntur, et corda omnium ad pietatem inflectuntur.<sup>c</sup> Orant sub silentio Christum, et quo per merita intercessionisque pii Osuualdi afflicto subueniat unanimis omnium intentio clamat. Quid moror? Accepta benedictione a circumstantibus, absumpto potu, uas uacuum tabescenti maxillae statim apposuit, appositum strictius iunxit. Mira Dei pietas! Amoto post modicum uasculo a maxilla, ecce ita totius

<sup>a</sup> sanctifico O<sup>b</sup> sancti O<sup>c</sup> diriguntur O

standing there in a secluded part of the church he devoted himself to the celebration of the office of the day and to his prayers. Realizing that he was present and observing him conduct himself in silence, the other brothers were moved by pity; they prayed, each in private, that God might deign in his loving grace to help Eadwacer. When the solemn office of the mass had concluded, the brothers, perceiving that he wished to return to the island, detained him and advised and begged him to rest with them that day; they urged him to be as their beloved and, indeed, most cherished brother and they did not hesitate to use force against him when he resisted. And although the hideousness of his face convinced him that he could live in a more dignified manner at a distance by himself, nevertheless, the desire of his brothers overcame him and their act of charity was realized. From there the brothers took him into the hospice and sat with him, exchanging words of joy mixed with grief, as the circumstances of the time and those of their brother required. Afterwards, he was led with the others into the refectory to dine, and he was served with careful attention in a somewhat secluded place, in a manner suggested by the situation. In that church the cup was preserved from which the holy bishop, namely the glorious father and pastor Oswald, used to drink. When a prayer had been recited after the meal on the most noble father's feast day, all the brothers used to drink from this vessel, believing in their simple faith, which was both loving and acceptable to God, that this would be of great advantage to them in attaining the blessing of the renowned bishop. And so on this day, when the wine in this cup had been drunk by the brothers according to custom, the cup with its draught was finally carried to him who sat furthest away, that is, to the sick brother. He took it in his hands and sighed, knowing that it had once served to quench the thirst of most holy Oswald. And directing his mind and voice to God he prayed with devout words that he pity him on account of the merits of his father, Oswald, and that God in his loving goodness remedy with a wholesome cure the wretched illness which was consuming him. The eyes of those sitting around him were turned towards him and everyone's heart was moved to pity. They prayed silently to Christ but cried out together in their spirits that he should come to the aid of the afflicted man on account of the merits of blessed Oswald and through his intercession. Why delay the narrative? Accepting the blessing of those standing around him, he drank the draught at once; he then placed the empty vessel upon his festering jaw and pressed it there very tightly. Wondrous is the love of God! Shortly thereafter he

morbi sanies atque putredo uasi adhesit ut, redintegrata a languore maxilla, nullum praeteriti mali indicium deprehendi posset in illa. Huic admirabili facto attestari solitus erat uenerandus et cum honore nominandus Wlstanus Wigornae<sup>a</sup> ciuitatis antistes,<sup>15</sup> uir a pueritia sanctarum uirtutum flore ornatus, ac singulari quadam seruiendi Deo efficacique scientia praeditus, qui eundem monachum sibi et infirmitate grauatum et sanitate donatum notissimum fuisse referre solitus erat. Dicebat etiam se uidisse quod in tantum pestis illa faciem ipsius exederat<sup>b</sup> ut, consumpta cute et carne, nuda mandibula, nudi dentes cum gingiuis apparerent. Cuius mali funesto horrore aliorum aspectum offendere cauens, maxillam contagio illi obnoxiam appenso uelo contactam iugiter habebat.<sup>16</sup> Quae maxilla ubi sanitati restituta est, quam diu monachus idem uitae praesenti superfuit,<sup>c</sup> semper, ut praefatus gloriosus antistes aiebat, alia maxilla paulo rubicundior erat, quod in testimonium diuinae uirtutis et meritorum beati Oswaldi, sicut uere fas est credi, dubio procul acciderat. Quid hic dicendum? Vere magnum et nobis enarrare difficile gaudium creatum esse, non tantum homini tali medicina sanato, sed et illis qui rei factae praesentes astabant, illis qui eum antea<sup>d</sup> nouerant, illis qui uirtutem ipsam, fama uulgante, tam celebri antidoto perfectam didicerant. In breui nanque longe lateque innotuit, et qui de tam horrida labe loqui audierant, audita curatione illius, praecelsa Deo laude resultant.

7. Adhuc<sup>e</sup> supersunt qui quod dicturus sum suo tempore factum referunt. Homo quidam non ignobilis famae Wigornae<sup>f</sup> habitabat. Hic<sup>g</sup> ab infantia mutus, sed mentis affectu diuinis alloquiis sepiissime functus, domum Dei pio studio frequentare dulce habebat. Consistere in illa eo loci consuetudinis ipsi erat, ubi sacrorum ordinum uiros maxime transituros sciebat, cupiens eis aliquod<sup>h</sup> humilitatis obsequium, demisso capite, quod uoce nequibat, exhibere. Contigit ergo eum, cuiusdam solennitatis gratia quae celebri honore Wigornae

<sup>a</sup> Wigorniae *JO*    <sup>b</sup> exeserat *O*    <sup>c</sup> prefuit *O*    <sup>d</sup> antea eum *O*    <sup>e</sup> *New chapter in JO*  
<sup>f</sup> Wigornie *J*    <sup>g</sup> *Is JO*    <sup>h</sup> aliquid *O*

<sup>15</sup> Wulfstan (c.1008–1095) was bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095.

<sup>16</sup> There are many similarities between this account and a story in Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 46 of the hermit Felgild who lived on Farne Island, and whose face was disfigured by a malignant growth; he cured it by wiping his face with a scrap of the calfskin which his predecessor Aethilwald had used to keep the wind out of his cell.

moved the precious vessel away from his jaw and, behold, all of the gore and decay caused by his sickness had adhered to the cup in such a way that his jaw was restored from illness and no trace of the former affliction could be detected there. The venerable bishop of the city of Worcester, Wulfstan,<sup>15</sup> who ought to be mentioned with due honour, used to bear witness to this wondrous event; he was a man who from his boyhood had been distinguished by the flower of his holy virtues, gifted with unparalleled and efficacious knowledge for carrying out the service of God. He used to relate that this same monk was very well known to him both when burdened with sickness and afterwards when blessed with the gift of health. He was wont to say too that he had seen how this disease had worn away this man's face to such an extent that, after the skin and flesh had been consumed, his jawbone and his teeth and gums were exposed bare to sight. Dreading lest he offend the sensibility of others with the gruesome horror of this malady, he always used to keep his cheek, which was affected by that illness, concealed with a cloth draped over it.<sup>16</sup> After this side of his jaw had been restored to health, for as long as Eadwacer remained in this present life it was always a little ruddier than the other, as the glorious bishop mentioned earlier used to observe, which no doubt had occurred as witness to the divine virtue and merits of blessed Oswald, as it is truly fitting to believe. What more need be said here? Truly great joy resulted from this, which I have difficulty relating, not only in the man healed by such a remedy, but also in those who were present and standing by as the event transpired, in those who knew him earlier, and in those who had learned from rumour that this miracle had been brought about by such a celebrated antidote. For in a short time it became known far and wide, and those who had earlier heard tell of this horrible affliction shouted out with lofty praises to God when they learned of its cure.

7. There are still people alive today who say that what I am about to relate happened during their lifetime. A certain man of good repute once lived in Worcester. He had been unable to speak from infancy, but he habitually busied his inner thoughts with speaking with God, and thought it pleasant to visit the house of God with devout zeal. It was this man's custom to stand in the church in the particular place where he knew that men in holy orders would most often pass by, hoping to display to them by his bowed head the obedience and humility that he was unable to demonstrate with his voice. And so it happened once, on the occasion of a certain solemn feast, which was

colebatur plebi admixtum, maiorem aecclesiam in qua corpus beati<sup>a</sup> Osuualdi quiescebat quadam uice subintrasse. Et solito sibi loco consistens, ac pro more transeuntibus conquiniscens, aspexit quendam ignotum sibi reuerendi uultus hominem, decora canitie fulgidum, sacerdotali ueste amictum, baculum<sup>b</sup> manu gestantem, quasi a loco sepulchri famuli Dei ad se properantem. Cui coram se transeuntium caput humiliter inclinaret, ipse, leuato baculo, eum in collo percussit, et disparuit. Ad quem ictum ille territus, paene solum usque procubuit, et ilico magna coagulati sanguinis massa ex ore illius in terram cadente, in haec uerba clamosa uoce erupit: 'Succurrite, quaeso, succurrite, et ne sanguine meo templum Domini uioletur hinc me festinanter eicite.' Eductus igitur a circumstantibus, et de re non parum admirantibus, uti coeperat, ubertim sanguine manat. Deinde lotus aqua, modum suae curationis eo, quo illum<sup>c</sup> descripsimus, ordine percunctantes edocuit. Cuius uerba facilis audientium fides ea re secuta est, quoniam usum linguae, quo eum pridem caruisse constiterat, certo auditu adeptum esse experiebantur.

8. Post<sup>d</sup> haec ciuitas Wigornensis ex ciuium incuria igni addicta est.<sup>17</sup> Quo saeuiente, fratres sibi metuentes, necne ciuium dispendio ingemiscentes, ad gloriosum patrem,<sup>e</sup> certum uidelicet ac tutum refugium suum, Osuualdum confugiunt, et ei ut se urbemque dilectam ab instanti periculo eruat supplices preces effundunt. Deinde, sumpta ipsius sacratissimi corporis arca, aecclesiam exeunt, eo ire uolentes, quo uorax flamma maiori uiolentia domibus incubebat. Verum inde gressum flectere coacti sunt, propterea quod arcam quam ferebant illuc euehere nullatenus praeualuerunt. Quae enim prius leuissima, nunc grauissima et importabilis eam portantibus subito effecta est. Quod illi sentientes, aliam uiam inuadunt, et domunculam unam, sublatis ostiis, peruiam, iamque ex parte igni absumptam, usque pertingunt. Stat coram incendio dominus domus

<sup>a</sup> beati corpus *O*      <sup>b</sup> *O* adds in      <sup>c</sup> eum *O*      <sup>d</sup> *New chapter in JO*  
<sup>e</sup> patronum *JO*

<sup>17</sup> A great fire is recorded at Worcester on 19 June 1113, which destroyed the church and killed one monk; see above, pp. 000-000.

being observed with great ritual at Worcester, that he mingled with the people and entered the cathedral church in which the body of blessed Oswald rested. Standing in his usual position and bowing down to those passing by, as was his habit, he saw a certain man of dignified expression, who was unknown to him; his white hair gleamed refulgently, he was clad in priestly raiment and carried a staff in his hand, and he hastened towards him, apparently from the tomb of God's servant. When the dumb man inclined his head humbly towards him as he passed before him, the other man raised his staff, struck him on the back of the neck, and disappeared. He was shocked by the blow and slumped forward almost to the ground; thereupon a great clot of coagulated blood fell out of his mouth onto the ground and he cried out loudly in these words: 'Help me, I beg you, help me; throw me quickly out of here lest I pollute the temple of the Lord with my blood.' And so he was taken outside by those standing nearby, who were greatly stunned by these events; he was drenched by the profuse bleeding which had begun earlier. When he had been cleansed with water, he revealed to those who questioned him the way he had been cured, just as I have narrated it here. Those who listened to his words were easily moved to belief in this matter, since they actually witnessed by their hearing that he had obtained the use of his tongue, which, it was agreed, he had long lacked.

8. After these things had happened, the city of Worcester was committed to flame through the carelessness of its citizens.<sup>17</sup> As the fire raged, the brothers, fearing for themselves and lamenting the loss of their fellow citizens, fled together to their glorious father Oswald, that is, to their certain and safe refuge, and poured forth suppliant prayers to him that he might pluck them and his beloved city from imminent peril. Then taking the shrine containing that man's most sacred body they left the church, intending to go to the place where the ravenous flames were rushing towards the houses with the greatest fury. But they were compelled to divert their steps from there because there was no way for them to convey the shrine that they were carrying to that place. For that which had earlier been extremely light suddenly became very heavy, so much so that those carrying it were no longer able to do so. When they perceived this, they took another route and arrived at a small residence which you could walk through, since its doors were destroyed, and which was already partly consumed by fire. The lord of the house stood in front of the



ipsius, consumptionem eius tristis opperiens. Hic<sup>a</sup> in patris aduentu<sup>b</sup> alacrior factus, precatur et obsecrat illum per ardentem domum efferrī, et qua cuncta uastabant furentium flammaram globis inferri. Quod et factum est. Mox igitur ut feretrum sancti flammis accessit, ignis elanguit, nec ulterius aliquid absumpturus in sese defecit. Tunc demum pretiosi pontificis artus<sup>c</sup> per eandem domum sunt relati,<sup>d</sup> per quam fuerant paulo ante translati.<sup>e</sup> Ignis quippe qui, sicut diximus, illam uorabat, ubi ad ipsam partem cuius e regione latores antistitis primo transierant domum consumendo peruenit, extinctus est, nec in ea sibi quicquam ultra consumere licuit. O res uere mira! Stabat domus, quam pauperis hominis larga paupertas sibi uirgis intexerat et harundine texerat,<sup>f</sup> a sui medio integra et sana, altera eius medietate quasi ad perpendicularum a summo usque in terram conflagrata.

9. Item<sup>g</sup> alio tempore ardebat urbs memorata, et scrinium sancti pro fugando periculo contra incendium est elatum. Quod quidam de incolis sciens, ac domus suae quam tunc nuper magnam<sup>h</sup> edificauerat integritati prospiciens, occurrit, ac monachos illud ferentes ad se diuertere poposcit et impetrauit. Quibus appropinquantibus, ille in altum uoce leuata dixit: 'Pie pater et pastor Osualde, ecce domum meam uoracibus flammis obnoxiam tibi dono, ecce eam a te iure perpetuo possidendam sub tuum dominium pono; tu eam tibi uindica,<sup>i</sup> tu eam, si placet, a praesenti periculo libera.' Quibus dictis, interdixit eis qui desuper erant scindulas quibus ipsa domus tegebatur deicere quas deiciebant, et domum a suo statu diuellere in quo consistebat. Parent illi uoci praesidentis, sed super eam consistentes, prunas more grandinis decurrentes scopa deuerrunt. Illatus ergo intra suam aulam potentissimus Osualdus est. Domo itaque eminentiore, et uix, non dico longitudine, sed latitudine pedis hominis ab eadem aula distante, ita cremata,<sup>j</sup> ut nil nisi truncus stipitis unius ex ea remaneret inustum, aula patri Osualdo commendata et data nec contingi ab igne<sup>k</sup> potuit, nec ullum uestigium ignis in

<sup>a</sup> is *J*; his *O*      <sup>b</sup> aduentu patris *O*      <sup>c</sup> ossa *Raine*, to agree with the manuscript readings relata and translata      <sup>d</sup> relata *CJO*      <sup>e</sup> translata *CJO*      <sup>f</sup> stat *O*, struck through and not replaced      <sup>g</sup> *New chapter in JO*      <sup>h</sup> magnam tunc nuper *JO*      <sup>i</sup> uendica *O*      <sup>j</sup> *O* adds est      <sup>k</sup> igni *JO*

blazing building, sadly awaiting its total consumption. This man became more animated upon the arrival of the father, and he begged and pleaded that Oswald be carried through the burning house and taken among the balls of raging fire where everything was being destroyed. And that is what they did. As soon as the saint's coffin neared the flames, the fire slackened and fell back upon itself and would consume nothing more. Then finally the limbs of the precious pontiff were brought back through that house through which they had been carried a little earlier. Indeed, when the fire, which, as I have said, was devouring the house, arrived in its fury at the very point on the side where those carrying the bishop had first gone through, it was extinguished; nor was it allowed to consume anything else in the house. O, what a truly wondrous event! The house, which a poor man of great poverty had made for himself from woven branches and had roofed with reeds, was standing intact and sound from its middle on one side, and in the other half was burnt from its roof right down to the ground as if along a plumbline.

9. Further, the city that we have just mentioned was again aflame, and the shrine of the saint was carried towards the blaze in order to drive away the danger. When one of the citizens, who was concerned for the safety of the imposing house which he had just recently built, realized this, he intercepted the monks who were carrying the shrine and begged and pleaded with them to turn off towards his house. When they approached him he raised his voice towards the heavens and said: 'Holy father and shepherd, Oswald, behold, I give you my home, which is prey to the devouring flames; behold, I place it under your control to be possessed legally by you forever; Oswald, claim it for your own and, should it please you, save it from the danger at hand.' When he had said these things he commanded those who were on the roof and had been throwing down the shingles with which the house was covered to stop doing so, and he commanded them not to alter the existing state of the house. They obeyed these orders from their master, but remained on top of the house and swept down with brooms coals that came down like hail. And then Oswald in all his power was borne into what was now his mansion. And although a taller house, which was scarcely the space of a man's foot away from this same mansion—and not in its length, I am telling you, but in its width—was burnt so badly that nothing remained unscathed within it apart from a pillar made from a single tree trunk, the fire was unable to reach the hall entrusted and given over to father Oswald, and no

ea resedit. Scindulae tamen quae ab ea deiectae fuerunt incendio consumptae sunt. Miraculum plane mirandum! Feruida estas cuncta siccauerat, et domus magna, magnis lignis fabricata, simul tota flammis<sup>a</sup> deperibat, nec domus illi contigua, illi sullimior, sed in nullo humidior in aliquo penitus ledebatur, licet hinc inde flammis ipsis<sup>b</sup> premeretur. Sed quid agam? Si cuncta quae per hunc gloriosissimum patrem mira fiunt atque narrantur litterarum memoriae tradere uoluero, operi nullo claudendum termino manum imposui. Quod quale sit forte uidebit qui attenderit. Quapropter, omissis innumeris aliis,<sup>c</sup> unum adhuc de eo paucis referam, et sic huic operi finem imponam.

10. Saeua<sup>d</sup> pestilentia Wigornensem prouintiam quadam uice depopulabat,<sup>e</sup> uiros ac mulieres, iuuenes simul ac paruulos interitu repentino inuoluens.<sup>18</sup> Sepe etenim homo sanus et alacer domi uel extra domum sedens, ambulans aut stans, subito cadebat, et impoenitens, inconfessus, communionis dominici corporis expers, exspirabat. Quae res multis magnae formidini facta est. Cui malo fratres aecclisiae sanctae Dei genetricis ac perpetuae uirginis Mariae Wigornensis mederi summopere desiderantes, scrinium beati Osuualdi per circumitum urbis cum laetaniis procedentes deferunt,<sup>f</sup> ipsum pontificem suas preces<sup>g</sup> Deo pro sua populique salute offerre pio affectu postulantes.<sup>19</sup> Mira Dei pietas, mira et<sup>h</sup> tremenda potestas! Extemplo<sup>i</sup> pestilentia tota non solum Wigornam<sup>j</sup> reliquit, sed et uillas circumiacentes de quibus incolae sui aduenerant, opem sancti uiri implorantes. Villas autem, quarum cultores letanias ipsas paruipendentes eis interesse supersederunt, non ita deseruit, sed aut par aut saeuitia maior super eos efferbuit. Inter quas cum et homines Perscorenses<sup>k</sup> non modica uastatione consumeret, nonnullos etiam ex monachis coenobii loci ipsius eadem plaga percussit, et in extrema usque perduxit.<sup>20</sup> Vnde quidam eorum dum, ipsius morbi ualitudine

<sup>a</sup> flammis tota O    <sup>b</sup> ipsius O    <sup>c</sup> aliis innumeris O    <sup>d</sup> New chapter in JO  
<sup>e</sup> depopulabatur O    <sup>f</sup> defertur J    <sup>g</sup> preces suas O    <sup>h</sup> atque O    <sup>i</sup> Extemplo JO  
<sup>j</sup> Wigorniam J    <sup>k</sup> Perscorenses O

<sup>18</sup> This plague may possibly be that described in ASC (E) s.a. 1111 and John of Worcester s.a. 1111; John states that there was great destruction both of men and animals ('hyemps asperissima, fames ualida, mortalitas hominum, pestis animalium . . . stragesque auium extitit permaxima').

<sup>19</sup> For the account of a similar procession at Fleury, see the *Miracula S. Benedicti* of Ralph of Fleury (pr. PL clx. 1206–7).

<sup>20</sup> William of Malmesbury relates that Pershore monastery underwent a decline after its

trace of the flames could be found within. But the shingles which had been thrown down from the top of it were totally consumed in the blaze. This was clearly a miracle to cause wonder. The hot summer had dried everything out, and a great house built from huge logs perished instantly and entirely in the flames, and yet the more exalted house next to it, which was in no way less parched than it, suffered no harm at all, though tongues of flame licked at it from every side. But what am I to do? If I wanted to set down in writing for posterity all the marvellous things which happened through the intervention of this glorious father and which people talk about, then I have set my hand to work on something which can never be brought to proper conclusion. Anyone who by chance is familiar with this story will know how great this task would be. And so omitting a countless number of others, I shall briefly relate one further story about him and thus bring this work to its conclusion.

10. A savage plague was once ravaging the province of Worcester, embracing with sudden death men and women as well as adolescents and children.<sup>18</sup> For often a healthy and active man sitting at home or out of doors, either walking or standing, suddenly collapsed and died—impenitent, unshriven, and without having partaken in the communion of the Lord's body. This became a cause of great fear for many. Wishing most fervently to remedy this evil, the brothers of the church of the Holy Mother of God and Perpetual Virgin Mary at Worcester carried the shrine of blessed Oswald in a circuit about the city, processing and chanting litanies, and begging with loving affection for this bishop to offer his prayers to God on their behalf and for the health of the people.<sup>19</sup> How wonderful is the love of God and how wondrous his awesome power! At once the plague was not only eliminated entirely in Worcester, but also in the surrounding hamlets, whose inhabitants had come to seek the help of the saint. The plague was not, however, eliminated in the same way in those hamlets whose inhabitants considered these litanies to be of little value and who refrained from taking part in them, but an equal or even more savage fate overwhelmed these people. In one of these places, once this plague carried off the people of Pershore too with great devastation, it also struck down many of the monks from the monastery there and led them to death's door.<sup>20</sup> And so, when one of

foundation under King Edgar; however, he attributes this largely to much of its wealth being transferred to Westminster by Edward the Confessor and William I (*GP*, iv. 162).

pressus, pene ultimum flatum traheret, a germano fratre suo, quodam uidelicet monacho Wigornensi, uisitatus, et ne timore mortis in immensum mente consterneretur, blandis sermonibus quantum in ipso fuit confortatus est. Ad quae<sup>a</sup> ille, prout poterat, gemebunda uoce ita respondit: 'Iam nunc paulo ante unus e fratribus nostris ante oculos meos mortuus hinc elatus est, et alter ecce me coram<sup>b</sup> in extremis laborat, et ego eadem<sup>c</sup> clade prostratus, non formidarem? Immo de anima mea cogitate, nam de uita corporis mei dum hic sum superuacue agitur. Attamen si de ea tantum curatis, hinc precor abductum<sup>d</sup> me ad patrem Osuualdum Wigornam<sup>e</sup> sine mora ducatis. Audiui siquidem istius cladis immanitatem eius meritis et precibus id loci ubique sedatam.' His<sup>f</sup> frater eius auditis, parato uehiculo, fratrem infirmum Wigornam transtulit, ibique post aliquot dies, depulsa omni languoris molestia, conualuit, ac pluribus postmodum annis incolumis uixit. At eos quos languentes domi reliquit in breui mors cita reuisit. Sicque pia Dei dispensatione factum est, ut qui suffragium beati Osuualdi per id temporis quaesierunt, seque illius tuitioni commendauerunt, ab ipsa clade liberati sint;<sup>g</sup> qui uero illud expetere<sup>h</sup> non curauerunt, aut in se aut in suis eadem clade poenaliter multati sint. In quo credentium fides plane conicere potest, quam certa fiducia eius praesidium homo interior petere possit, dum tanta efficacia eius auxilium homo exterior quaerens inuenit. Felices igitur<sup>i</sup> sunt qui ei assistunt, et qui eius obsequio deuota mente insistunt, sine dubio felices sunt. Praesto enim habent quo inter laqueos uitae praesentis incedentes protegantur, praesto habent quo, transcurtis laqueis ipsis, caelestibus sedibus introducantur.

II. Iam nunc mea pollicitatione quoquomodo soluta, promissum finem ordo expostulat. In quo eos qui haec forte lecturi sunt siue audituri summissa prece deosco ne michi succenseant, quod tam clara gesta tanti patris obscuro<sup>j</sup> praesumpsi et inepto stilo<sup>j</sup> describere. Testis enim michi est conscientia mea, testis et uestra prudentia,

<sup>a</sup> quem O    <sup>b</sup> coram me O    <sup>c</sup> JO add ipsa    <sup>d</sup> adductum O    <sup>e</sup> Wigorniam J  
<sup>f</sup> Hiis O    <sup>g</sup> sunt JO    <sup>h</sup> id expectare J; id expectere O    <sup>i</sup> ergo O    <sup>j</sup> atque  
 inepto praesumpsi stilo J; atque inepto sermone praesumpsi O

them was overcome by the severity of this illness and was almost drawing his final breath, he was visited by his full brother, who was a monk of Worcester; and so that he might not be immeasurably tormented in his mind by the fear of death, he was comforted by as many encouraging words as this man could muster. To the extent that he was able, the other man replied thus to these words in a groaning voice: 'Just a little while ago one of our brothers died right before my eyes and was carried out of here, and behold, another labours before me in the throes of death; should I, laid low by this same disease, not be afraid? Think rather of my soul, for it is a waste of time to be concerned with the life of my body while I am here in this place. However, if you do care only about my life, I pray you carry me away from here and take me without delay to father Oswald in Worcester. For I have heard that the ferocity of this plague has been stemmed everywhere in that place through his merits and intercession.' When he heard these words, his brother prepared a cart and conveyed his sick brother to Worcester and there, after a few days, all of the adverse effects of his illness were expelled and he became well and lived in a healthy state for many years afterwards. But in a short time death fell swiftly upon those whom he had left languishing at home. And so through the loving judgement of God it happened that those who sought the intercession of blessed Oswald throughout that period and entrusted themselves to his protection were delivered from this calamity, but those who did not bother to seek his intercession, either for themselves or their families, were punished by this same calamity. Faithful believers can clearly observe in this with what firm faith the inner man can seek protection when the outer man sought and found his help with such great effectiveness. And so happy are they who stand by him, and those who follow him obediently and with a devout spirit are, without doubt, blessed. For they have at hand one to protect them as they negotiate the snares of this present life, and to lead them to their celestial abode once they have escaped those snares.

II. Now that I have thus discharged what I had promised to do in some way or other, the natural sequence of events requires the promised conclusion. Here I implore with humble prayer those who by chance may read or hear these things not to be angry with me because I have presumed to describe the illustrious achievements of so great a father in my cramped and inelegant style. For I have as witness my conscience and also as witness your good sense, my

domini mei, fratres uidelicet<sup>a</sup> aecclesiae Wigornensis, me nulla in hoc praesumptione ductum fuisse, sed sicut in principio dixi, sola et quam nullatenus scienter offendere uolo uestra dilectione, qui me id facere praecepistis, iuxta quod eum prae cunctis mortalibus, sicut estimo, sincerius diligitis. Vobis igitur ista scripsi, uos uideritis quid inde uelitis. Ego iussis uestris, prout Deus sua gratia posse dedit, libens parui, paratus in aliis, si facultas extiterit, ratioque persuaserit dispositioni uestrae parere. In omnibus autem atque per omnia uoluntas Domini fiat,<sup>21</sup> cui sit honor, potestas et imperium per omnia saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

<sup>b</sup>EXPLICIUNT<sup>c</sup> QVAEDAM DE MIRACVLIS BEATI  
OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI EBORACENSIS<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> om. ꝑO      <sup>b-b</sup> EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI OSWALDI ARCHIPRESVLIS ꝑ;  
EXPLICIUNT MIRACVLI SANCTI OSWALDI ARCHIEPISCOPI O  
<sup>c</sup> EPLICIUNT C

lords—that is, my brothers at the church at Worcester—that I was not drawn to this undertaking by presumption, but as I stated at the outset, only by love for you, which I wish in no way to offend knowingly; you commanded me to do this because you love Oswald most sincerely and, in my opinion, more than any other living soul. And so I have written these things down for you, and you will see there what you wish to find. I have happily obeyed your commands in so far as God in his grace has given me the ability, and I am prepared to obey your desires in other matters if I have the ability and if reason persuades me to do so. But in all things and through all things let the will of the Lord be accomplished,<sup>21</sup> to whom let there be honour, power, and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

HERE ENDS THE ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE  
MIRACLES OF BLESSED OSWALD, ARCHBISHOP  
OF YORK

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Acts 21: 14.