

# The Earliest Life of St Dunstan

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Dunstan, the most important of the tenth-century reformers of the English church, was born near Glastonbury in Somerset. In 940 he became abbot of the local monastery. After exile under King Eadwig, he was favoured by King Edgar, and was successively bishop of Worcester and of London, before becoming archbishop of Canterbury in 960. He died in 988. Much of the material concerning him is collected by William Stubbs in his *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* (Rolls Series 63 [1874]). It includes a series of Lives, the earliest of which is the topic of the present article (Stubbs, 3-52). This is dedicated to a slightly later archbishop, Ælfric, who held office from 995 to 1005. The author describes himself as ‘omnium extimus sacerdotum B. uilisque Saxonum indigena’. It has been cogently argued by Michael Lapidge<sup>1</sup> that ‘B.’ was an Englishman, trained at Glastonbury, who was in Dunstan’s retinue until moving to Liège around 960 and eventually dying there. It is certainly true that the author tells us little or nothing of the events of Dunstan’s archbishopric: a topic to which I shall return in the second part of this paper. For the earlier period, his Life is of the highest importance.

## 1. The Three Versions

B.’s Life is transmitted to us in three manuscripts, none of them written long after the date of authorship. The oldest appears to be what I shall call C,

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<sup>1</sup> In an article reprinted in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066* (London and Rio Grande, 1993), 279-91. I am deeply indebted to Professor Lapidge for his encouragement and help; indeed it was he who forced me to re-think the manuscript tradition of B.’s Life. He has put me further in his debt by making valuable comments on a draft of this paper; but it is not to be assumed that he agrees with all my conclusions. Our edition of the early Lives of Dunstan is forthcoming in Oxford Medieval Texts. In citing the text of B. as it will appear in that edition, I have added to the chapter references the sub-sections that will be employed there.

St Gall, Kantonsbibliothek (Vadiana) 337. Rather later we have A, Arras 812,<sup>2</sup> and later again D,<sup>3</sup> British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.13. In a way that is typical of medieval transmissions, we do not have here to do with related *copies* of the same text, but with three differing *versions*; and one of the editor's problems is to decide how these versions are related to each other. One relationship is clear enough, and may be dismissed briefly here. D is a revision<sup>4</sup> and abbreviation<sup>5</sup> of an ancestor of A. It omits the pompous dedication and prologue, turns three passages of lame hexameter verse into rhyming prose, and makes stylistic changes throughout that go some way towards normalising the eccentric Latin.

What then of the other two, unabbreviated versions? For Stubbs, the matter was clear (p. xxvii): 'The Arras MS. is not perhaps the autograph of the author, but it clearly represents an original from which the other two

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the loss of a quire in A has resulted in its lacking 5.1 *robora* — 14.2 *sequentibus* (a large part of the portion worked over by the reviser). We can however use as a substitute the early editions of the Bollandists, to whom A was available before this mutilation. I have not for the purposes of this article troubled to distinguish between A proper and the Bollandist substitute. The last lines of the Life are missing both in A and in the Bollandist editions, and are preserved to us only by C and D.

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs called it B, but I have given it a new siglum to avoid confusion with the author of the Life.

<sup>4</sup> D was not abbreviating C. Very many of the examples I shall give of A readings that diverge from those of C are also found in D (see also n. 8 below). And note that D does *not* turn into prose the hexameters found in C (but not in A) at the end of c. 6. But neither was D abbreviating A itself, for it quite often has correct readings that agree with C against A. Some of the following examples may be due to conjecture, but certainly not all (A's reading in brackets): 17.3 *congressum* (*congressus*); 19.4 *uiduatae* (*uiduitate*); 21.4 *precepta* (*iussa*); *ei* (*om.*); 22.2 *ire* (*ipse*); 26.2 *modestus* (*modestus et*); 28.2 *predicationi* (*predicatione*); 29.4 *glorificat* (*glorificatur*); 30.1 *cooptare* (*coaptare*); 30.5 *ipsam* (*ipsa*); 30.6 *taciturnitate* (*taciturnitatem*); 30.7 *ore* (*ora*); 31.3 *infortunia* (*infortuna*); 34.2 *causaque* (*causae*); 38.1 *ab alto* (*ad alta*); 38.2 *Dei* (*Deo*). These facts enable us to hypothesise a hyparchetype common to A and D (to be called  $\alpha$ ). D was certainly not the work of a fool, and the man responsible for it at times presents, presumably by conjecture, readings superior to those of A and C: e.g. 16.1 *perterrere* (*perterere*); 22.2 *uenenifero* (*uenifero*); 23.1 *compacientiae* (*compatientis*); 29.6 *modulationem* (*om.*; *but read rather antiphonam*); 31.3 *proba* (*probe*); 31.3 *utrique* (*nutrique*); 35.2 *prepara* (*preparare C, apparere A*); 38.3 *facultatem* (*facultate*).

<sup>5</sup> But D does add one item, the miracle of the raised bed (c. 38): a sign of its rather later date.

editions diverge. The S. Gall copy preserves the Prologue and the poetical portions of the original writer, but corrects his grammatical mistakes, and in many cases paraphrases whole sentences.' Lower on the same page, Stubbs elaborates this judgement on C: 'The work was re-written in great part, the most glaring errors corrected, one or two questionable statements expunged, and in one case an additional piece of clumsy versification inserted.' It is unclear what Stubbs meant by the 'glaring errors'<sup>6</sup> and 'questionable statements'. As to the additional piece of verse, a coda to c. 6, Stubbs gives it, like all other variants of C, only in an appendix. It seems to me no more clumsy than those preserved by both A and C in cc. 4, 9 and 11 (in both the last two cases again as a coda to the chapter),<sup>7</sup> and it should have given Stubbs more food for thought than it did. It would appear that Stubbs obtained a full collation of C too late to use it in the apparatus of his edition. If he had been able to present its evidence alongside that of A and D, he would surely have come to a different view.

At the very least, Stubbs would have realised that C cannot merely be a revised version of A. For it frequently gives readings that are probably or certainly superior to those of A. In particular, it preserves words omitted in A<sup>8</sup> which are essential or highly desirable to the sense: 21.5 *extendit*, 25.3 *cum fructu*, 28.2 *indoctos erudire*, *prauos corrigere*, 37.3 *cis*, 38.3 *credentium*. In the light of this, it is natural to think that the verses of c. 6 were (for whatever reason) omitted in A, rather than added *de novo* in C.<sup>9</sup>

But, further than that, I shall argue that A represents a revised version of an original more sincerely<sup>10</sup> available in C, and that whoever was

<sup>6</sup> Though see below, n. 22.

<sup>7</sup> The verse in c. 4 takes up most of the chapter, and is of a different, narrative nature from the other passages.

<sup>8</sup> These errors of A serve to separate not only it but also D from C; for D too omits these words. It is not likely that C is merely conjecturing (correcting 'glaring errors') in these places. Note esp. 37.3, where C gives '*cis uel citra ecclesias Dei placida probitate subleuaret ditandas*'. A omitted *cis* (though it left a gap: the word was presumably illegible in  $\alpha$ ), while the reviser who produced D got rid also of *uel citra*, words unintelligible in the absence of *cis*. The phrase '*cis uel citra*' is used in a letter written by our B. (Stubbs, 387).

<sup>9</sup> Note that they are essential to the narrative: we need to know that the 'friends' were unsuccessful; and their failure is taken up by '*Intellexit igitur*' at the start of 7.1.

<sup>10</sup> It is tempting (though mistaken) to think that C is the original. It contains a number of trivial errors that are avoided by AD; but most could readily have been remedied by conjecture. Note however 5.1, where the words '*tempore continuo*' are omitted in C, which leaves a short gap. At 5.3, C omits the

responsible<sup>11</sup> for the revision took exception in particular to a number of features of the peculiar Latin of what he found before him. I shall back up this argument by taking account of something that Stubbs failed to remark: that the substantial variations between A and C, those involving the re-writing of whole phrases or sentences, are confined to cc. 2-11, about a third of the work. It is an obvious hypothesis that, if my supposition is correct, the features of the earlier parts of C to which the reviser objected will find parallels in the parts which he did not go on to alter. I shall support this hypothesis by giving parallels to such features from cc. 1 and 12-38 (and even sometimes from cc. 2-11 where the reviser made no change), and, on occasion, from the letter of B. to Æthelgar printed by Stubbs at pp. 385-8.

### Vocabulary<sup>12</sup>

The reviser makes a start at making B.'s vocabulary more normal.

**attamino:** 6.7 ita attaminatum C, luto deturpatum A. *attamino* recurs at 1.1 and 13.6, the more classical *deturpo* not at all in the Life.

**furio:** 8.4 furiendo C (but also D), furendo A. But cf. 22.3 'furiensis'. The classical form is substituted for the later one (see *TLL* s.v. 1 furo 1623,14-18).

**imbuo:** 11.1 cum imbuendis scolasticis suis C, cum se sequentibus scolasticis A. Our author likes words with the root *imbu-*: so, as well as the verb, *imbutor*, *imbuio*; cf. 'inbuimine' in the letter at Stubbs, 387. All these

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(dispensable) words 'et diuinorum', which A and D give in different places. They were presumably written above the line in the original (and missed by the scribe of C) and/or in  $\alpha$ , the immediate ancestor of A and D. C is in fact doubtless a copy of the original made to be sent to Abbo (see below, section 2).

<sup>11</sup> I speak here and elsewhere as though the revision was the work of a single man. In fact, it was done in two stages, the first affecting  $\alpha$  (and therefore visible in both A and D), the second affecting A alone. One man might have been responsible for both stages: note how at 10.1 'itaque' (so both C and D) is altered in A to 'namque', a change exactly like those made in the first stage. Examples of the second stage are signalled in the discussion below when I remark that D agrees with C against A. Normally, however, D follows the revisions found in A. The man who made the abbreviation and further revision that resulted in D was sometimes prompted to correct the author's eccentric Latin after c. 11, and I shall note some examples of his changes.

<sup>12</sup> The forthcoming edition will provide a long list of novel words and novel uses of old words. For some examples see Lapidge in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, 120.

nouns are unknown to *TLL* (such words are henceforward asterisked, as are words unknown to *LS* where *TLL* is not yet available).

**manuabilis:** 9.3 *manuabilem\** C, *iactabilem* A. Confronted with a hapax, the reviser gives us not the classical *manualis*, but a word hardly better attested than what he was correcting.

**nex:** 9.1 *necem subire* C, *mortem subiisse* A. C's phrase recurs at 15.3, 18.1 and 34.3, A's not at all.

**nimius:** 10.3 *nimio caritatis ardore* C (but also D), *intimo caritatis ardore* A. Cf., however, weakened *nimius* at 38.3 'nimia cordis caritate' (A may draw on 19.1 'tanto caritatis ardore ... intimo cordis affectu'); also 37.5 'nimio rore lacrimarum'.

**paulatim:** Replaced at 9.4 by 'post paucum' (cf. *TLL* s.v. *paulatim* 824,21-3). B. uses the word in the sense 'for a short time' at 10.1, 11.4 and 38.5 (and the letter at Stubbs, 386). The author of the D version knew the word *paulisper* (c. 4); and C knows *parumper* (20.3).

**proceratus:** 13.1 (inter regios) *proceratus\** C, *proceres* A. This may be a mistake in C. But B. affects such forms, though he elsewhere uses them abstractly (e.g. 3.4 *pastoratus\**, 5.1 *clericatus*, 8.2 *presulatus*, 13.6 *senioratus\**, 15.1 *famulatus*, 15.3 *discipulatus*, 19.1 *primatus*). Rather different are *propinatus\** (10.5), *dictatus* (20.4).

**repleo:** 11.1 *repleret* C, *compleret* A. *repleo* is used at 11.3, 37.4. The reviser more justly finds fault with *perpleamus\** at 8.3 (where the author perhaps intended to avoid a clash with the following 'completorii'), again substituting *com-*; just as at 11.2 D substitutes 'completis' for 'perpletis'.

**Adjectives in -eus:** 6.2 †*historiarum*†<sup>13</sup> *friuoleas coluisse incantationes* C, *historiarum friuolas colere incantationum naenias* A. *friuoleus\** sounds like our author: cf. 1.5 *crisidineus\** (registered by *ODML* under *chrysendetus*), 1.8 *fauoreus\**, 2.2 *uipereus*, 3.2 *stagneus\**, 4.3 (verse) *surculeus\**, 11.2 *fulmineus*, 15.2 *angoreus\** (also in B.'s letter at Stubbs, 386 *lectoreus\**).

### Avoidance of cliché

**uidelicet, scilicet:** In the heading of the Life, which begins in C 'perprudenti domino archonti, uidelicet Albrico', the reviser makes an immediate mark by removing *uidelicet*. He does the same, or makes changes involving the avoidance of the word, at 2.3, 3.4, 5.3, 6.1, 6.6, 7.2, 8.2 and 11.3 (not D).

<sup>13</sup> In C's context we need a word meaning 'magicians', in A's an adjective. The reviser's *naenias* is itself choice (Aldhelm p. 316, 17 Ehwald 'praefatas fribulorum naenias').

Equally *scilicet* is avoided at 6.3 and 8.3. Elsewhere in the work, both words are commonly used.

**'prefatus' and the like:** 2.1 *salutis aeternae remedium genti prefatae prospexit* C. In A 'genti prefatae' gives place to 'eiusdem<sup>14</sup> caecitati'. The phrase is sharpened,<sup>15</sup> and the opportunity is taken to remove the formulaic 'prefatae'. To a modern ear 'eiusdem' is little better; but the reviser was concerned to avoid repetition of the word *gens*, which had been used four lines before. Similarly, in 6.5, 'quadam' replaces 'qua prefatus sum'. Again, at 8.1 'taliter' replaces 'hoc predicto modo' (for which cf. 15.1; also 31.1 'his modis predictis', where D omits 'predictis'); and *predict-* is also avoided at 8.1 and 8.2. *iam dict-* is avoided at 2.2 (see n. 15), 4.1 and 10.2; *huiusmodi* at 5.4; *prescriptum* at 7.3 and 9.2; *prenominata* at 11.1. All parts of the Life show frequent use of these and similar locutions. In verse note 4.3 'memorata' and 9.5 'iam dictus', beyond easy change.

### Various interjected phrases

**inquam:** 7.3 in *tantum inquam ut elephantinum morbum se pati putaret* C. Re-writing the sentence, the reviser eliminates *inquam*, as he does at 9.5 ('ita inquam ut'). The word is used in similar phrases at 1.2 ('eotenus, inquam, ut ...'), 11.7 ('ita inquam ut': avoided by D); also 36.3 (and the letter at Stubbs p. 386).

**quid multa:** Removed at 2.2; the phrase recurs at 14.3.

**ut ita dicam:** Removed in revision at 7.1 (where the writer is apparently apologising for using 'amor muliebris' = 'amor mulierum'; A introduces that phrase here (cf. 8.1), even though 'mulierum' follows closely: D therefore changed that 'mulierum' to 'earum') and 11.2, but found later at 12.1 and 17.2.

<sup>14</sup> Colourless *idem* is removed at 9.1.

<sup>15</sup> Sometimes, the reviser does a little to elaborate on what he found. See for example 2.2 where (replacing 'in populum iam dictum') 'inter insciae nationis uepres' extends the rustic metaphor; also 6.2 (see above, n. 13). The effect is usually to heighten the portentousness: thus at 10.6 'uasibus magnis et modicis' (cf. 18.4 'magnus uel modicus') becomes 'indiscretae quantitatis uasibus'. It is not out of the question that such changes were made by B. himself. But the vast majority of the revision must have been made by another hand: B. was by now surely too old to improve his Latin grammar.

## Plurals

3.1 *sacris baptismatum undis C, sacri baptismatis undis A*. The reviser changes to the more natural phrase (cf. 30.1 ‘*sacri baptismatis uterum*’). Similarly at 8.2 the reviser changes ‘*caritatum conuiuia*’ to ‘*caritatis conuiuia*’; but compare (perhaps) 27.5 ‘*benedictionum caritates ... accipiens*’. For other striking plurals see 3.2 ‘*nullis hominum recordationibus fabricatam*’ and 14.5 (where ‘*aecclias*’ seems to mean just the abbey church at Glastonbury). 10.2 ‘*modis mirabilibus*’ is reminiscent of the Virgilian ‘*miris modis*’.

## Misused particles and adverbs

B. shows in an extreme form the Late Latin tendency to lose sight of the classical force of connectives. The reviser does something to recall him to classical standards.

**enim:**<sup>16</sup> At 3.3, the writer tells us that the island of Glastonbury was much frequented by worshipping crowds. He then proceeds in §4: ‘*Contigit enim huiuscemodi causis predictum uirum Heorstanum [Dunstan’s father] ... etiam transisse Glæstoniam*’. The connection is not well given by *enim*, and the reviser changes to *ergo*. At 8.2 and 10.1 (where D restores a different connective) he removes faulty uses of *enim*, and at 10.2 and 11.2 he replaces the word with *autem* and *uero* respectively. There are further misuses of *enim* at 13.3, 20.4, 22.3, 23.1 and 27.3.

**et:** 5.4 ... *indagauit scrutamine, et ita uitae suae studium coerccens ut ... C*. The *et* is superfluous (the reviser’s rewriting avoids it). A participle again causes redundant *et* at 9.3 (‘*arripiensque lapidem manuabilem et in pretitulum proiecerat locum*’: the reviser re-writes) and 14.6 (‘*ducens ... et imponens ... et dixit*’: D cures). Rather differently, 20.1 ‘*cum ... properare deberet et (om. A) apparuerunt*’.

**etiam:** There was an apparent case of superfluous *etiam* in the passage cited above from 3.4; the reviser duly removed the word. There is another example at 11.4 (‘*dum eam etiam ab eloquio agnouisset*’). A special case is that of *etiam* in disjunctive contexts. At 8.3 in the phrase ‘*tam uiris quam etiam feminis*’ A’s omission of ‘*etiam*’ may be due to chance (D retains it). The phrase *tam ... quam etiam* recurs at 10.2 and 29.6. Compare superfluous *etiam* in the phrases *uel etiam* (1.7, 21.1, 29.1, 30.1 [*etiam om. D*]), 36.1 and

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<sup>16</sup> The reviser replaces illogical *quippe* at 6.2 (with *autem*). *quippe* is later misused at 12.2, 19.2 and 23.5.



37.5), *seu etiam* (14.6, 33.1 and 37.5) and *aut etiam* (37.2 and 4, together with the Bollandists' emendation at 37.3).

**itaque:** At 3.2 C gives: 'Creuit igitur puer et effectus est tam Deo quam hominibus carus. Erat itaque quaedam regalis in confinio ... insula ...' The move to a new phase of the story is illogically marked by *itaque*, and A alters to *autem*. So too at 6.7 (replaced by *uero*), 7.3 (*namque*) and 10.1 (*namque* : not D). *itaque* is later misused at 23.2 and 31.2.

**namque:** 5.2 *interea namque magna suae constantiae fama regis in palatio patuit* C. The context suggests a connection (if any) like 'therefore' or 'also'; 'namque' is hardly the right word, and the reviser removes it, as he does at 10.6 (hardly meaningful). He replaces it at 6.5 (with 'ergo'), 10.2 (with 'uero'), and 10.3 (with 'ergo'). The word is later misused at 13.5, 15.2 and 27.4.

**quoque:** The reviser restores logic at 3.1 'huius quoque imperii' by replacing *quoque* with *igitur*. The writer however is more subject to superfluous *quoque*: 1.3, 6.8 (verse), 7.2, 8.2 (removed in A), 11.5 (om. D), 11.6 (om. D), 23.3 (om. D: in a biblical quotation), 23.5 (om. D), 27.5, 30.1, 33.1, 35.1, 38.5.

**siquidem:** 11.2 C gives 'uidit ... niueam columbam, mira siquidem pulchritudine'. *siquidem* seems to be intended to mean (if anything at all) 'that is' (cf. 1.5; so too *equidem* at 16.1 and 30.5). The reviser removes it here (though D retains). There is a later case at 38.3 (also the letter at Stubbs, 387).

## Tenses and Moods

The reviser shows his distaste at B.'s eccentric employment of the pluperfect and imperfect indicative, and at his lack of control over the tense of the subjunctive in final and consecutive clauses.

### Imperfect indicative

At 10.5 C gives: 'Venit rex multo stipatus comitatu ad tempus prenotatum, et post precum missarumque celebrationes laetus inuitatum introibat ad prandium.' The imperfect *introibat* is anomalous after the parallel perfect *uenit*, and the reviser accordingly changed to *introiuit*. So too at 2.2, where C gives in parallel 'infixit ... inserebat', A has 'infixit ... inseruit', while at 8.3 C's 'uenerunt ..., ibique ... dicebat' gives place in A to 'uenerunt ..., ibique ... dixit'. For similar imperfects see 13.4 'dicebat' and perhaps 22.3 'nutribat'. At 6.7 the reviser changes the defensible 'putabant' to 'putauerunt'.



### Pluperfect indicatives

4.7 *quantum*<sup>17</sup> *fuerat crescendo sublimior, tanto erat ... locupletior* C. A corrects 'fuerat' to 'erat'. Elsewhere he changed two perhaps defensible pluperfects to perfects (5.4 *persenserat*, 7.2 *rogauerat*); he was on stronger ground in altering 8.4 *corruerat*, 9.3 *proiecerat*. In a clause governed by *quotiescumque* at 5.4 he replaced 'enucleauerat' with 'scrutaretur'<sup>18</sup> (despite preceding 'scrutamine'). For other questionable pluperfects see 1.7 *didiceram*, 3.4 *fuerant* (copula), 4.2 *contulerat* (verse), 13.7 *fuerant* (copula), 14.4 *fuerant* (copula), 14.5 *uocauerat*, 17.1 *inreperat*, 20.2 *contigerat*, 26.2 *obstrinxerat*, 29.2 *didicerat* (parallel with 'accepit'), 33.3 *rexerat*, 34.3 *fuerat*, 35.1 *inuitauerat*, 36.2 *audierat*, 36.3 *meruerat* (?), 38.2 *compleuerat* (parallel with 'ministrauit'). Conversely, C has a perfect at 8.2 (*condiderunt*) which the reviser replaces with the superior pluperfect.

### Pluperfect subjunctives

In 4.2 we read: '... in tantum ut frenesis morbum *pateretur* amarum, / immemor atque sui per deliramenta nugarum / plurima uerborum uacuo *iactasset* ab ore.' This variation in tense in parallel consecutive clauses (so too just below in 4.3: 'ut ... *iacuisset* ... et ... *fieret*') was protected by the metre from the hand of the reviser (D's rhymed prose version avoids the issue). Just before, however, he had eliminated a precisely similar variation: 4.1 'cui *confestim Dominus tantam ... conferre dignatus est gratiam ut ... precelleret* et ... *transilisset*', where A has 'transiliret' (compare, later, in a final clause 37.2-3 'aut ... *efficeret* ... aut ... *profuisset*'). At 7.2, again after consecutive *ut*, 'agnosceret' replaces 'agnouisset' (at 7.3 rewriting avoids consecutive 'obtexisset'). Later, note, after consecutive *ut*, 19.1 'pretulisset', 20.3 'reiecisset ... fecisset'. To all this add 2.1 (where the reviser avoids a case of temporal *ut* with plup. subj. [*decreuisset*], while at 6.7, in the same construction, he changes 'audissent' to 'audierunt' (similarly at 7.2). In final clauses observe 7.2 (with *quatinus*: 'inferret' is substituted for 'intulisset'); 8.3 (with *quo*: 'proderent' is substituted for 'prodidissent'); and later 19.2 ('quatenus ... suscepisset'), 30.7 ('ut ... exstitisset') and 32.1 ('quatinus ... enexuisset'). In an indirect question (introduced by 'qualem uel quantam') at 10.2 A replaces 'preparasset' with 'prepararet'. Conversely, at 3.1 C's 'quamuis eum multi reges ... regnando precederent' is re-written in such a way as to introduce a relative clause with its verb in the pluperfect indicative.

<sup>17</sup> A also corrects *quantum* to *quanto*, and brings the whole of the passage to order.

<sup>18</sup> Just afterwards, in a clause governed by *quoties*, 'insudauerat' is replaced by 'mulcebatur'.

### Constructions with temporal *dum*

8.1 *dum ... effectus esset C, cum ... effectus esset A*. For the pluperfect subjunctive with *dum* cf. 10.6, 11.4, 38.5. At 8.4 C's 'dum dabatur' becomes 'dum daretur' in A. The imperfect subjunctive is regular enough in this author (e.g. 6.1, 12.2, 20.4). It may be observed that when at 10.2 C writes 'dum ... deguit', D changed to 'degeret'; equally at 23.3 'dum ... cogitarat' D wrote 'cogitaret' (cf. 14.5 'dum ... peruenerant', where A has 'cum' and D 'ut'). The classical construction with the present subjunctive is not, I think, found.<sup>19</sup>

### Perfect participles employed passively

9.3 C gives: 'Hic uero ... ante triduum presbiter unus<sup>20</sup> est humaturus.' The reviser, in the course of a major re-writing of the passage, replaces the solecistic 'est humaturus' with 'sepelietur'. Just after this in 9.5, when C gives 'ut in nocte futura emissurum spiritum Christo Domino commendaret', 'the spirit that was about to be released' (cf. 20.5 'emissum spiritum ... commendarunt'), A replaces the participle with 'extremum'. Add 14.1 uenaturum (uenaturus A, though not D), 18.2 tumulaturum (tumulandum D), 30.3 solaturam (solandam D; the Bollandists' note shows they took the point).

### General stylistic changes

#### Avoidance of repetition

At 3.2 the reviser replaces *uocitata* with *nuncupata*, perhaps to avoid the repetition after *uocitatur*, which he had himself for some reason introduced in 3.1 (for *uocabatur*). At 6.6 he avoids *impetrata* after *impetrauerunt*, and at 6.7 *e uoce* after *uocem*. Besides these matters of wording, he seems to have taken steps to avoid C's repetitiousness in 8.1 (there may be two rival versions side by side there), and also at 10.3, where he may, reasonably enough, have thought that there was no need for 'antecedentes regem' after 'ministrationis regiae preuisores'.

#### Pruning verbiage

At 3.4 a vision reveals to Dunstan the monastic buildings he will later raise, 'eo uidelicet ordine quo nunc statuta uel facta referuntur'. The reviser removes 'uel facta', consciously (I take it) pruning the verbiage. Similarly at 3.2 C's 'fabricatam uel dicatam' is reduced to 'constructam'; at 2.3 'regerent ac seruarent' becomes 'regerent cum iustitia'; and at 5.2 'dictauit et neuit' becomes just 'dictauit'.

<sup>19</sup> *postquam* is found with the plup. subj. at 32.1, elsewhere with the plup. ind. At 11.4 D replaces 'dum ... quieuisset' (so A) with 'postquam ... quieuit'.

<sup>20</sup> The reviser replaces this unclassical use with 'quidam'.

### Breaking up cumbersome sentences

The author specialises in these: they are the most obvious feature of his style. The reviser sometimes sets himself to break them up. Thus at 5.2, where C's sentence trails along ('Interea ... patuit, adeo nempe ut ... diuulgatur indiciis: non tamen ut ... captaret ..., sed ut ... gestaret ...'), A starts again after *indiciis* ('Non autem ... captabat ..., sed ... gestabat ...'). Similarly, at 5.4, the trailing participial clause following the main verb *indagauit* ('et ita ... cohercens ut ...') is replaced by a fresh sentence ('Ita uero ... coercebat ut ...'). There are further examples of replacement of present participles at 6.5 ('impetrantes' becomes 'impetraueruntque') and 9.2 ('digito demonstrans' becomes 'digitoque demonstrauit'). At 7.3 the trailing 'eo itaque modo ut ... obtexisset, in tantum inquam ut ... putaret' becomes a new sentence: 'Eo namque modo ... obtexit, ut ... putaret'.

### A biblical allusion

At 6.5 C gives: '... Dunstanus ... uelut homo surdus et quasi uocem obiurgationis non haberet effectus est, cum numquam contra se latrantes canes aut raro aperiret os suum per amarae increpationis eloquium'. A (among other changes)<sup>21</sup> replaces 'haberet' with 'curans'. This spoils the extended allusion to Ps. 37(38):14-15 (v. 13 had been cited in §3): 'ego autem quasi surdus non audiebam et quasi mutus non aperiebam os meum et eram quasi homo non audiens nec *habens* in ore suo redargutiones [*v.l.* increpationes]'.<sup>22</sup>

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This evidence has been presented in a tendentious way that assumes the conclusion I set out to prove: that A represents a revision of a text sincerely, or much more sincerely, found in C. This was done for the sake of convenience. Doubters may like to contemplate the likelihood of the opposite hypothesis: that someone, confronted with a text full of examples of particular types of 'incorrect' Latin, especially in cc.1 and 12-38, made it his concern to introduce (further) instances of those same types into cc. 2-11.

The changes that the reviser made are almost entirely matters of language.<sup>22</sup> And the new text that will result from using C rather than A as the

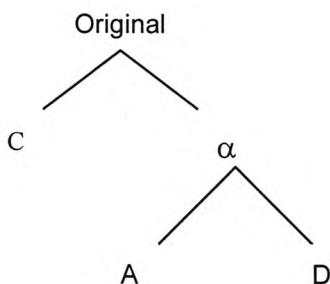
<sup>21</sup> Thus the (apparent) accusative absolute 'contra se latrantes canes' (cf. 24.1 'hunc ... relictum', changed by D to 'hoc ... relictum') gives way to the ablative absolute 'canibus contra se latrantibus' (with improved word order).

<sup>22</sup> But note 10.2, where the reviser's 'qui hanc' (where C has 'quia hanc') shifts the focus from Æthelflæd's love for Dunstan to his love for her; but she should

base will in no way change our view of any aspect of Dunstan's career. It will, however, enable the reader to see more clearly the characteristic features of the author's style, and to gauge the strengths and weaknesses of a contemporary reviser who reacted strongly against those features.

## 2. The Whereabouts of B.

The relationship of the three extant manuscripts of the Life may be represented (on the most economical view) thus:



The original Life was copied as C. Another, lost copy,  $\alpha$ , was subjected to revision, and then generated (perhaps not directly) the extant A. Further revision and abbreviation was applied to  $\alpha$ , and the result was copied as our D. Thanks to Stubbs and Lapidge, we know enough about the fortunes of the three extant books to put some flesh on these bare bones.

It will be remembered that the Life, addressed to Archbishop Ælfric, was composed or at least dedicated between 995 and 1005. Now C is prefaced by a letter (printed in Stubbs, 409) from 'Wlfricus abbas Augustinensis monasterii', that is, Wulfric, the first of that name to be abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury. He had been in office since about 985; he died in 1006. His letter is addressed to 'dignissimo abbatum doctissimoque abbati, Aboni', the famous Abbo, abbot of Fleury from 988, who died in 1004. It requests Abbo to versify the Life ('quatinus ornate in metricae artis uersus transferatis').

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be the subject of *adamauit* as well as of the parallel *subleuauit*. At 5.3 the reviser has 'Patricii iunioris' where C (and D too) has 'Patricii senioris'. I take it that this is one of the errors which Stubbs thought was being corrected in C. On my view, it is an error made by the reviser. For the two Patricks see e.g. R.P.C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick* (Oxford, 1968), 189-92.

The sort of ornament that Abbo might have brought to the task is apparent from two acrostic poems he composed on the topic of Dunstan (Stubbs, 410-11: the second is dated after Dunstan's death in 988). If Abbo versified the Life, his poem is not preserved. But he did, it seems, receive the letter and the Life. C concludes with two documents concerning the monastery of Squires (La Réole) in Gascony (Stubbs, xxviii and p. 472); it is natural to connect this with the fact that Abbo was at the time of his death engaged in the reform of this monastery (M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* ii [Munich, 1923], 667). But how the MS passed from S.W. France to St Gall is not known.

C was written (the palaeographers tell us) at Canterbury, and Wulfric sent it from St Augustine's there to France. The deduction is that the original Life itself was preserved at St Augustine's, and written at, or at least for, that house. The revisions which I have discussed will presumably have been made there too, for the palaeographers assign D also to St Augustine's. Indeed, one wonders if the changes that resulted in the lost manuscript  $\alpha$  were not connected with B.'s request in his dedication (1.2) for Archbishop Ælfric to correct his wayward Latin. At all events, from  $\alpha$  descends our A, written not, apparently, at Canterbury, but rather somewhere in the West Country: a copy then, perhaps, of a (Canterbury) copy of  $\alpha$ . Later, it was taken to Arras by Sæwold, abbot of Bath in the 1060s, and given by him, with his other books, to the monastery of St-Vaast.<sup>23</sup>

The natural conjecture would be that B. wrote at, or for, Canterbury. Michael Lapidge, while challenging that assumption, has pointed out one apparently decisive confirmation of it: the reference in the verses of c. 4<sup>24</sup> to the fact that Dunstan '*hic ... conditur in templo*' (4.6). B. does not mention Dunstan's place of burial, but Adelard wrote before 1011 that he was interred '*in sepulcro a se ipso condito*' (Stubbs, 66), obviously at Canterbury.

<sup>23</sup> See P. Grierson, 'Les livres de l'abbé Seiwold de Bath', *Revue Bénédictine* 52 (1940), 96-116 (esp. at pp. 104-6, 109). He plays down (p. 106 n. 1) the fact that B. in 34.1 gives a vivid cameo of Bath. But I suspect that this is significant.

<sup>24</sup> The doubts raised by Lapidge (p. 282 n. 10) about the authenticity of these verses may now be seen to lack substance. A complication is that the monks of Glastonbury, at least later, claimed that the body of Dunstan lay in their church. But even they did not deny he was buried originally at Canterbury, and they dated the alleged translation to Glastonbury to 1012, well after B. wrote. Otherwise there would be attractions in taking '*hic*' at 4.6 to mean '*at Glastonbury*', considering that the verses had been concerned with an incident that apparently took place in the church there (cf. 18.4 '*in his Sumersætensium finibus*', drawn attention to by Lapidge, p. 280).

Lapidge's objections,<sup>25</sup> on the other hand, do not seem to me to be weighty enough to stand up to a piece of evidence he did not use. In 38.4, B. describes the last of three sermons preached by Dunstan just before his death as having taken place 'post piae pacis conferentiam quando communi carmine *cecini*mus "Agnus Dei ..."'. It is hard to see how this can fail to be taken as implying that B. was actually present at Canterbury on this affecting occasion.

That B. was for some time on the continent is known from his own pen. The letter printed by Stubbs, 385-88, from 'B. omnium faex Christicolarum' to 'episcopo intendenti patri summo,<sup>26</sup> nobili uidelicet spiculo', tells us that he had for a short time<sup>27</sup> enjoyed the mental food provided by a bishop of Liège. Stubbs (xxii) saw that the addressee must be Æthelgar, bishop of Selsey from 980 to 988 and thereafter Dunstan's successor at Canterbury (988-90). He also (xxv) identified the bishop of Liège as Ebrachar, bishop from 959 to 971; and Lapidge has illuminated the background. For Lapidge the letter is part of his proof that B. never left Liège. To me it seems far from proving that. The piece is highly obscure, but its argument seems to be as follows. 'I am incapable of expressing how wonderful you are, my lord. It is very hard to be robbed of sustenance, physical or spiritual. I know this well, having enjoyed for a period the teaching of the bishop of Liège. But he died, and I still miss him. I beg you, my lord, to supply his place as a teacher (in

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<sup>25</sup> P. 282. Some of them I implicitly discuss below (it is only fair to remark that I revert in essentials to Lapidge's previous view, stated in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, 121). The two references to an 'eastern kingdom' (13.7, 33.2), taken by Lapidge to mean Germany, may be a hangover from B.'s period on the continent. No one at B.'s date would have thought the reference was to East Anglia: though it is true that much later John of Wallingford pp. 46 Vaughan ('ab orientali Anglia') and 48 ('ex orientalibus regni partibus') took it that way. East Anglia could more properly be called *regnum* nearly a hundred years before B. when it was acquired by Ealdorman Æthelwold (*Vita Oswaldi* p. 428 Raine, cited by Stubbs, xvii n.3); and Germany is to the east of England as well as of Liège. That B. gets the date of Dunstan's death wrong is odd on any hypothesis. Why did no one at Canterbury correct it when C and  $\alpha$  were being copied there? Finally (pp. 283, 290) Lapidge takes 'extimus' in the heading of the Life geographically. But in the context one would expect it to mean 'furthest away of all priests from your eminence' (cf. *uilis*).

<sup>26</sup> So Stubbs. But read (with the MSS) *persummo* (cf. B.'s address in the Vita 'perprudenti domino archonti uidelicet Albrico').

<sup>27</sup> The use of 'paulatim', in the analogy of the poor men receiving royal food and then losing it again, suggests that the period was short (for the meaning of the word see above, section 1, under Vacabulary).

return, I will do whatever you bid). I am not asking for help from you personally [*uobismet*], but only from your people [*uestris*]. If you are willing — and this is the nub [*summa*] of this letter — I propose, if you don't mind [*si placet*], to go to Winchester to look at Aldhelm's book on Virginity.' The last two sentences make sense in the light of something remarked by Lapidge, that Æthelgar continued to be abbot of New Minster, Winchester even after his election at Selsey. B. is therefore, in appearing at Winchester, going to give trouble not to the bishop himself, safely away in Sussex, but to his staff at the abbey.<sup>28</sup> His letter is a very elaborate self-invitation to use the library at Winchester, not a request for general patronage. It in no way implies that B. is on the continent: if he had been, he would surely (being B.) have touched on the dangers of the journey that separated him from his source of intellectual nourishment at New Minster. Rather, he would seem to be in England. When was the letter written? Clearly after Æthelgar moved to Selsey in 980, and presumably before he was translated to Canterbury in 988. Where was it written? Hardly in Canterbury, where Dunstan was doubtless still able to supply the intellectual stimulus (including a manuscript of Aldhelm) so lacking to the unfortunate B.

But to Canterbury, it seems, B. did go,<sup>29</sup> for how long and in what capacity is unclear, in time for Dunstan's death in 988. During the reign of Æthelgar he may, or may not, have been welcome there. Some time after Ælfric succeeded in 995, he wrote to him, asking, with the enclosed Life as a sweetener, for his protection. Where the Life was written is another matter. But perhaps in several different places: 'here' in Canterbury (4.6), or in 'these parts of Somerset' (18.4), but at all events in 'this land of England' (37.4). When he wrote that it was hard for him to look out the list of the kings of the English (3.1) he may (unless he is merely affecting ignorance<sup>30</sup> to avoid an appearance of pedantry) have been in the country, away from a

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<sup>28</sup> But not too much even to them: B. is careful to mention that he will only bring one companion.

<sup>29</sup> Lapidge (pp. 288-9) thinks that the letter from an exile to Dunstan, printed in Stubbs, 374-6, was written by B., but met with no success. It seems to me not to bear the fingerprints of B.'s style; and the verses are far too good for our author.

<sup>30</sup> So too perhaps at 3.4 and 8.2, where B. appears to disclaim personal knowledge of the topography of Glastonbury and Winchester (used by Lapidge, p. 282 as an indication that B. was away from England from 960 onwards). As far as Glastonbury is concerned, B. gives a graphic description (35.2) of a church built there on Dunstan's orders, in the context of an archiepiscopal visit to the monastery.



good library. But some close connection with Glastonbury is certain.<sup>31</sup> It has not been observed that in the St Gall manuscript of the Life the name of that house, and that house alone, is habitually capitalised. This feature will be inherited from the original that B. sent to Ælfric.

Lapidge most wished to keep B. in Liège because he thought that only thus could it make sense that the Life says so little about Dunstan's archbishopric. In fact the mixture of generalities about Dunstan's qualities and miraculous events<sup>32</sup> involving him is little different in this part of the book from what comes earlier. What we do not get is information about his relations with the king. B. had not been reticent about earlier kings: Edmund, Eadred (whose use of Dunstan as adviser is stressed), least of all Eadwig, whose sexual adventures are described with relish and whose misgovernment leads on to the rise of Edgar. But these kings are almost always seen in connection with Dunstan; there is no interest in politics for its own sake. After the time of Edgar (whose penance imposed by Dunstan is not mentioned), what was B. supposed to dwell upon? In the developed story, seen in William of Malmesbury,<sup>33</sup> Edward the Martyr, after being consecrated by Dunstan against the wishes of his stepmother, Ælfhryth, who favoured her own young son Æthelred, was eventually murdered with her connivance.

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<sup>31</sup> Compare Lapidge's speculations on pp. 287-8. For Glastonbury as a home of the 'hermeneutic' style see Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *ibid.* (n. 1), 133-5.

<sup>32</sup> They are described at least as vividly as anything that goes before (notice how 'both monks and clerks' are taught the new anthem in 29.6, by implication during the archbishopric and at Canterbury, as Eadmer [Stubbs, pp. 205-6] and William of Malmesbury [Stubbs, pp. 315-6] appear to take it; B. has stressed in 29.1 that he heard the story from Dunstan). And when B. talks of Dunstan's general activities as archbishop in 37 he takes the opportunity to repeat his sources of information: 'quae uel egomet uidi uel audiui' (37.1, cf. 1.7 'quae uel uidendo uel audiendo ... ab ipso didiceram').

<sup>33</sup> *Gesta Regum* cc. 161-165.2 (note e.g. 164.2: Dunstan crowned Æthelred king 'licet infensus esset'). The development of the story is traced by Simon Keynes in *British Archaeological Reports: British Series* 59 (1978), 227-53. It is hard to know how to allow for the lost Old English Life of Dunstan that was apparently translated (with much adaptation and embroidery) from B. soon after he wrote; composed by someone who may have lacked B.'s reasons for caution, it could have been an early carrier of bias against Æthelred. It was probably used by Adelard, who wrote (across the Channel) his brief Life of Dunstan before 1011; he mentions Dunstan's prophecies of the Danish invasions (Stubbs, 67), and his source could have linked them with the iniquities of the king, as the later biographers did.

When Æthelred duly succeeded, Dunstan marked the coronation with dire prophecies. The archbishop later criticised his behaviour during a dispute with the bishop of Rochester. It is not at all clear what Dunstan in fact did during this reign. But making all allowances for later fabrications, his relations with the king can hardly have been happy; it is not, for example, to be supposed that he was much impressed by what the church saw as the king's seizure of its properties in the 980s. The formidable Ælfhryth lived on till at least 999, and her son Æthelred till 1016; and B., unsure of his own position, can have had no interest in raking over the recent past. He does not mention Edward, Ælfhryth or Æthelred. Miracles at Bath (34), Glastonbury (35) and St Augustine's Canterbury (36) (these locales are all significant), together with general assurances of Dunstan's sterling work (28, 37), were safer topics for an insecure hagiographer.

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