Echoes of the past: St Dunstan and the heavenly choirs of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in Goscelin's *Historia translationis S. Augustini*

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ABSTRACT

The *Historia translationis S. Augustini* (1098 × 1100), composed by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin as part of a hagiographical cycle for St Augustine's Abbey, contains several previously overlooked allusions to St Dunstan's vision of heavenly virgins. I argue that Goscelin drew upon the Dunstan legend to justify Abbot Scotland's renovation work on St Augustine's between 1072 and 1087. The article first of all considers how the oratory of the Anglo-Saxon abbey was presented as a locus of divine praise in the first known hagiography of Dunstan. I then show how Dunstan's eleventh-century hagiographers at Christ Church cathedral responded to the original vision by crafting competing narratives of heavenly choirs. Finally, an analysis of the *Historia translationis* reveals how Goscelin reappropriated the legend, depicting the oratory, and the crypt that came to replace it, as the abode of celestial spirits whose praise echoed the community's liturgical devotions.

The last decade of the eleventh century at the Abbey of St Augustine in Canterbury was a time not just of change, but of remembrance. Having demolished the last remaining part of the Anglo-Saxon church of SS Peter and Paul, Abbot Wido (1087–99) presided over the translations of the illustrious relics of St Augustine and his episcopal successors from the ruins of the old building into the presbytery of the new Anglo-Norman church between 6 and 13 September 1091.[1] To commemorate the occasion, and ensure the longevity of the saints' cults, he drew upon the services of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (d. in or after 1107). An itinerant hagiographer, Goscelin was likely to have been stationed at the abbey

[1] For a discussion of the years leading up to the translations and the significance of the ceremonies, see R. Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth: Hagiography and Liturgy in Context', *JTS* ns 41 (1990), 502–16, and his article, 'The Setting of St Augustine's Translation, 1091', *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints, and Scholars, 1066–1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 1–13. An analysis of how the 1091 translations affected the development of St Augustine's cult is provided in P. Lendinara, 'Forgotten Missionaries: St Augustine of Canterbury in Anglo-Saxon and Post-Conquest England', *Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: Adopting and Adapting Saints' Lives into Old English Prose (c. 950–1150)*, ed. L. Lazzari, P. Lendinara and C. Di Sciacca, Textes et études du moyen âge 73 (Barcelona, 2014), 365–497, at 458–64.

during the 1090s, where he may have taken charge of the library and liturgy in the capacity of a precentor.[2] Goscelin duly compiled a set of Lives, Miracles, Translation narratives and liturgical pieces about the Anglo-Saxon saints who bolstered the abbey's reputation as an epicentre of spiritual power.[3] At the heart of the body of texts is the *Historia translationis S. Augustini* (henceforth, *Transl. Augustini*), completed between 1098 and 1100.[4] The first part of the text focuses on events that took place under Abbot Wido: the building work on the Romanesque church, the translation ceremonies of 1091, and the visions and miracles that followed. The second part goes back in time and records how the abbey's physical form

[2] T. Licence, in *Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. and trans. T. Licence with L. Lockyer, OMT (Oxford, 2014), pp. cxv–vi, has suggested that Goscelin was employed at St Augustine's Abbey for most of the 1090s and left *c.* 1100. For a full account of Goscelin's life and work, see R. C. Love, 'Goscelin of Saint-Bertin', *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes and D. Scragg, 2nd ed. (Chichester, 2014), p. 218, and M. Lapidge and R. C. Love, 'England and Wales (600–1550)', *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1500*, ed. G. Philippart (Turnhout, 2001) III, 225–33. A classic but now out-dated biographical sketch is 'Goscelin of Saint-Bertin and his Works' (Appendix C) in *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster: Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992), pp. 133–49.

[3] Goscelin's Canterbury hagiographical cycle is found in different forms in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B. xx (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi/xii) and London, British Library, Harley 105 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xii med.). The content of the first of these manuscripts is listed in Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 387, p. 314. For a discussion of both manuscripts, see Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth', pp. 506–7, and Lendinara, 'Forgotten Missionaries', pp. 478–83. London, British Library, Harley 3908 (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss*, 439.3, p. 361) contains liturgical materials in honour of St Mildreth, including an Office with music which may have been written by Goscelin. R. Sharpe discussed this source in his 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth', pp. 512–15, and 'Words and Music by Goscelin of Canterbury', *Early Music* (1991), 95–7. For a more general consideration of how hagiographers (including Goscelin) may have contributed to the musical life of Canterbury religious communities in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, see D. Hiley, 'Chant Composition at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest', *Max Lütolf zum 60 Geburtstag: Festschrift*, ed. B. Hangartner and U. Fischer (Basel, 1994), pp. 31–46.

[4] Goscelin, *Historia translationis S. Augustini*, ed. D. Papebroch, *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI (1688), cols. 411–43. All references to the text in this article are from this edition unless otherwise stated. The *terminus post quem* for the text is 1098, as Goscelin mentions in the Prologue (addressed to Anselm) that it has been seven years since Augustine's translation (col. 411D–E), a point which he restates at the end of the first Book (col. 430C) (see Licence, *Miracles of St Edmund*, p. cxvi). The *terminus ante quem* is around 1100. In his article, 'An Absent Father: Eadmer, Goscelin and the Cult of St Peter, the First Abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', *JMH* 29 (2003), 201–18 at p. 207, P. A. Hayward highlighted that Goscelin writes of a new king in the city of Jerusalem in I.vii.46 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 426C), which may refer either to its first ruler, Godfrey of Bouillon (1099–1100) or its first king, Baldwin I (1100–18). Hayward argued for a late composition date, between 1099 and 1109, Anselm's year of death. In doing so, however, he overlooked Goscelin's references to the year in which he was writing (1098).

changed from the time of Abbot Wulfric to that of Wido's predecessor, Abbot Scotland (1070–87).[5]

Scotland's contribution to the abbey's renaissance was substantial. He demolished most of the rotten infrastructure of the old church of SS Peter and Paul,[6] from which he moved the bodies of King Æthelberht, the co-founder of the abbey, his queen, Bertha, and Bishop Luidhard and the relics of five Anglo-Saxon archbishops.[7] He then began work on the Romanesque building, completing a presbytery, a crypt dedicated to the Virgin Mary and two bays of the nave before his death.[8] The construction of the new abbey necessitated the demolition of the oratory of St Mary. This was the site at which, according to hagiographical tradition, the former archbishop of Canterbury, St Dunstan (d. 988), had seen and heard heavenly virgins perform a song in honour of Christ. As the author of a new spiritual history of the abbey, Goscelin therefore needed to preserve the reputation of the Anglo-Saxon oratory as a holy site while also legitimizing Scotland's destruction of it. In this article, I argue that Goscelin drew upon and

[5] R. Emms has suggested that Scotland may have taken charge at St Augustine's Abbey before Lanfranc officially appointed him in 1071–2. R. Emms, 'The Historical Traditions of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Eales and Sharpe, pp. 159–68, and R. Emms, 'The Early History of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson (Stroud, 1999), pp. 410–27, at 423.

[6] The seventh-century abbey of St Augustine, Canterbury was the earliest church group in England: it consisted of the main church of SS Peter and Paul (built and dedicated before 619), the oratory of St Mary (built by King Eadbald between 616 and 624) and the church of St Pancras (foundation date unknown). In 978, Dunstan re-dedicated the abbey of SS Peter and Paul to Peter, Paul and Augustine. For a summary of the abbey's various stages of development, including a discussion of Dunstan's possible remodelling of the abbey, see R. Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the Anglo-Saxon Period', *Saint Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsey, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 57–73. For more information on church groups, and St Augustine's in particular, see H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 59–64 and 94–100.

[7] Æthelberht, Bertha and Luidhard were buried in the south porticus of the church of SS Peter and Paul, which was dedicated to St Martin. The locations of these burials are first given in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* [hereafter *HE*] ii. 5, in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 150–1. See also Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.iv.23 (cols. 439C–D) for details of these graves and II.iii.21 (col. 438B) for information on the translation of the archbishops. R. U. Potts, 'The Tombs of the Kings and Archbishops in St Austin's Abbey', *AC* 38 (1926), 97–112, outlines the details of the burials in the main church of SS Peter and Paul and the oratory of St Mary. See Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey', for a complete list of the publications of excavation reports and a critical analysis of their content.

[8] Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* I.i.2 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 413B–C), and II.v.41 (col. 443C), does not provide much detail on Scotland's building work on the presbytery. For a list of what Scotland built before his death, see H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, 'Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey', *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965–78) I, 135–42, at 138, and T. Tatton-Brown, Appendix 1, 'The Buildings and Topography of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', *JBAA* 144 (1991), 61–91, at 82.

added to Dunstan's vision and audition of the heavenly choir in order to show that Scotland's building work was not so much an obliteration of the abbey's holy past, but a renewal – even a fulfilment – of it. The crypt of St Mary, like the oratory that stood before it, was presented as a sacred space where celestial choirs gathered for musical performances that echoed liturgical devotions.

The roles of Scotland and Dunstan in the *Transl. Augustini* have been overlooked in previous scholarship, with the focus falling instead on the first part of the text, which concerns Wido and his translations of the Anglo-Saxon saints. Richard Sharpe has placed the text – and the cycle to which it belonged – in the context of the conflict between St Augustine's Abbey and rival religious institutions with a connection to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 to 1089.[9] Sharpe considered the significance of the argument that raged in the late 1080s between the abbey and St Gregory's Priory (founded by Lanfranc, perhaps in an attempt to weaken the abbey's pastoral prominence in Canterbury) over who possessed the relics of St Mildreth, and touched on the rebellion at the abbey that took place after Lanfranc appointed Wido as Scotland's successor.[10] Goscelin, he argued, was part of the new community created after the suppression of the rebellion and the installation of new monks from Christ Church cathedral priory, among other religious houses, in 1089; his job at the abbey was to present a vision of the abbey renewed and unified under Wido.[11] Richard Emms developed his contextualization of Goscelin's Canterbury cycle along similar lines, arguing that 'Goscelin used the past to support essential St Augustine's interests at the time of writing, namely the possession of the relics of St Mildreth and the preeminent position of the abbot [Wido]'.[12] Goscelin certainly does depict the success of the abbey under Wido, but he also appeals to Anglo-Saxon monks who had been among of the

[9] Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth'. The question of whether Lanfranc sought to downplay Dunstan's cult is debated. P. A. Hayward remarked that Dunstan's feast of Ordination was 'suppressed' in 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *ANS* 21 (1999), 67–93, at 71. His view was informed by T. A. Heslop, 'The Canterbury Calendars and the Norman Conquest', *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Eales and Sharpe, pp. 53–85. Heslop drew attention to the exclusion of twenty-seven saints' feasts from a Christ Church calendar of the 1120s, which, he argued, was based on an exemplar from Lanfranc's era. His evidence showed that Dunstan's Ordination was absent from the Christ Church calendar and was only added in the mid-twelfth century. It is notable, however, that the calendar does include the feast of Dunstan's Deposition, and there is no compelling evidence to suggest that the Ordination feast was intentionally expunged before being reintroduced. Instead, it seems likely that Dunstan's Deposition, not his Ordination, held prominence at Christ Church in the century following his death. Indeed, Adelard's *Lectiones*, discussed below, were commissioned for the feast of Dunstan's Deposition by Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury between 1006 and 1012.

[10] Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth', pp. 503–4.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 504.

[12] Emms, 'The Historical Traditions of St Augustine's Abbey', p. 162.

brethren prior to 1089 by suggesting that the boom time of the 1090s arose partly as a result of the efforts put in by Scotland, an abbot beloved of the old community. Furthermore, his work implies that it was Scotland, not Wido, who preserved the legacy of the abbey's spiritual connection to Dunstan, the city's former archbishop and venerable saint.

I first of all explore how Dunstan's first hagiographer presents his vision in the oratory of St Mary, suggesting that the account reveals a connection between the nature of the vision and the symbolic significance of the building. I then consider how two writers from Christ Church, Osbern (d. *c.* 1093) and Eadmer (d. *c.* 1126), construct competing narratives of heavenly choirs in their hagiographies of Dunstan in order to emphasize his connection to the cathedral priory. Finally, I argue that the brief but significant episodes in which Goscelin alludes to Dunstan's vision of the virgins in St Mary's oratory transfers the emphasis from Christ Church, where Dunstan's relics were housed,[13] to the abbey, a dwelling place of heavenly spirits.

THE ORATORY OF ST MARY AND THE VIRGIN CHOIR IN ANGLO-SAXON HAGIOGRAPHY

The *Vita S. Dunstani*, written in the late 990s by an Anglo-Saxon author known only by the initial, 'B.', tells of Dunstan's rise to positions of spiritual authority and his exceptional personal piety.[14] It charts his progression from abbot of Glastonbury to bishop of Worcester and London, and finally to archbishop of Canterbury, a position he fills from 960 until his death in 988. The *Vita* also contains a number of musical experiences: an unseen hand plays an antiphon on Dunstan's harp,[15] and while in exile from England, Dunstan receives a dream-vision of his brethren at Glastonbury reciting 'Quare detraxistis sermonibus veritatis?'.[16] In another dream, Dunstan sees a mystical marriage between his mother and the King of Heaven and is taught a novel version of the antiphon 'O rex gentium' by one member of the heavenly congregation.[17] Finally, during his time in Canterbury, Dunstan is blessed with a vision of a group of heavenly virgins performing a

[13] For a discussion of the location of St Dunstan's relics in Christ's Church, see Sharpe, 'The Setting of St Augustine's Translation', p. 9.

[14] B., *Vita S. Dunstani* [hereafter *VSD*] in *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, OMT (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1–109.

[15] *Ibid.* ch. 12 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 40–3). The antiphon, 'Gaudent in caelis animae sanctorum', is listed in *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. R. J. Hesbert, 6 vols. (Rome, 1968) III, 234 (no. 2927).

[16] B., *VSD*, ch. 23 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 72–5). Hesbert lists the antiphon in *Corpus antiphonalium* III, 423 (no. 4448).

[17] B., *VSD*, ch. 29 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 84–9). See esp. n. 257, which explains that the 'O rex gentium' antiphon that Dunstan learns in his heavenly vision is similar to, but not identical with, an antiphon listed in Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium* III, 376 (no. 4078).

hymn.[18] This last episode is of especial interest, given Goscelin's allusions to it in the *Transl. Augustini*. According to B.'s account, Dunstan was accustomed to perform psalmody at the holy sites of the city during the night.[19] On one occasion, Dunstan had refreshed himself with prayer in the church of SS Peter and Paul and was heading towards the oratory of St Mary to begin his psalmody anew.[20] It was then that 'audierat insolitas sonoritatum uoces subtili modulamine … concrepantes'.[21] Upon looking through an opening, he saw the church filled with light: 'et uirgineas turmas in choro gyranti hymnum hunc poetae Sedulii cursitando cantantes: "Cantemus, socii, Domino" et cetera. Itemque perpendit easdem post uersum et uersum uoce reciproca, quasi in circumitionis suae concentu, primum uersiculum euisdem ymniculi more humanarum uirginum repsallere, dicentes: "Cantemus, socii, Domino cantemus honorem: Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio" et cetera.'[22] The vision is one of many heavenly rewards for Dunstan's righteousness.[23] More specifically, it signifies his dedication to the Divine Office, as he witnessed the song straight after performing his own nocturnal praises.[24] Dunstan's vigils are among the activities that exemplify his asceticism, as he needed to remain physically and spiritually alert during his recitations of the psalms, and they also demonstrate his commitment to the contemplative life during the years of his episcopal responsibilities at Canterbury. In B.'s text, the *vita angelica* – the monastic life of praise and prayer that emulates heavenly worship – is

[18] B., *VSD*, ch. 36 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 100–3).

[19] *Ibid.* ch. 36.1 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 100–1).

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] 'he heard … unfamiliar voices, singing in the church with complex harmony'. *Ibid.* ch. 36.2 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, p. 101).

[22] '[and] bands of virgins were wheeling around in a dance, singing as they moved the hymn of Sedulius that begins: "Let us sing, friends, to the Lord", and what follows. He also noticed that after each verse they alternately repeated, as mortal girls might have done, and as though in harmony with their circling dance, the first couplet of the hymn: "Let us sing, friends, to the Lord His honour; let the sweet love of Christ resound from devout mouths", and the rest'. *Ibid.* ch. 36.2–3 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 100–1). All translations of *VSD* are taken from Winterbottom and Lapidge's *Early Lives*. The Sedulius hymn is edited by J. Huemer in *Seduli opera omnia*, CSEL 10 (Vienna, 1885), 155–62. For a recent translation of the whole hymn, see *Sedulius: the Paschal Songs and Hymns*, trans. C. P. E. Springer (Ann Arbor, MI, 2013), pp. 184–94.

[23] *VSD*, ch. 36.3 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 102–3).

[24] In Byrhtferth of Ramsey's version of this vision, he comments that Dunstan 'nocturnis psallebat horis cum quodam puerulo more pii Benedicti', that is, 'he used to chant the night offices in the company of a young boy, in the manner of St Benedict'; Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* [hereafter BR, *VSO*] v. 7, in *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, OMT (Oxford, 2009), pp. 162–3. In n. 78, Lapidge explains this phrase with reference to the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great, in which St Benedict is shown to pray throughout the night with the child oblate, Placidus. J. Billett has suggested that 'more pii Benedicti' may alternatively suggest that Dunstan was performing the Divine Office as set out in the *Regula S Benedicti*. See his *Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–c. 1000* (London, 2014), pp. 170–1.

conveyed through Dunstan's musical experiences.[25] B. states that Dunstan's spirit learned 'diuina sacrorum modulaminum cantica' ('divine hymns of sacred melody') and 'sacrorum carminum modulamina' ('melodies of sacred songs') through dream-visions, implying that his musical compositions had a divine origin.[26] After the dream in which he is taught a new version of 'O rex gentium', Dunstan ensures that the song ('modulati[o]') is written down, learnt by a monk and taught to the monks and clerics.[27] Dunstan's spiritual gifts therefore allow him to mediate between earthly and heavenly communities of singers, and enrich the liturgical repertoire of the community of which he was in charge. The vision at St Augustine's Abbey is in keeping with B.'s portrayal of Dunstan as saint whose own musical and spiritual practices reflect celestial praise.

The vision is significant not only because it illustrates Dunstan's virtue, but because it implies a connection between the song of the virgin choir and the location in which the heavenly spirits gather to worship Christ. The Sedulius hymn tells the story of humanity's salvation through a series of epanaleptic couplets, each of which alludes to a biblical 'type' in the first line and its fulfilment in the second.[28] For instance, one couplet conveys how God washes away the sins of the world by referring first to the drowning of the Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea (Ex. 14: 26-8) and then by alluding to the sacrament of baptism.[29] Only the first couplet ('Cantemus, socii, Domino; cantemus honorem. / Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio'), which is repeated as a refrain after each verse in Dunstan's vision, does not appear to fit this pattern initially. However, closer analysis of the first line reveals that it is in fact typological in nature. As Christopher Page has shown, the line beginning 'Cantemus socii' echoes the victory song of Miriam in Ex. 15: 20–1: '"cantemus Domino gloriose enim magnificatus est equum et ascensorem eius deiecit in mare"'.[30] In late antiquity, Miriam was interpreted as

[25] For a discussion of what the *vita angelica* meant in the context of tenth- and eleventh-century monasticism, see M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), pp. 228–9.

[26] *VSD*, ch. 29.2 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 86–7 and 31, pp. 90–1).

[27] *Ibid.* ch. 29.6 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 88–9). B. does not indicate when this vision took place, and therefore it is unclear whether these monks and clerics belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, or to Glastonbury, where Dunstan served as abbot during the reign of King Edmund until around 956.

[28] Winterbottom and Lapidge identify the poetic form in n. 286 to ch. 36, *Early Lives*, p. 101. Springer notes the typological relationship between the first and second line of each couplet in *Sedulius: the Paschal Songs and Hymns*, p. 191.

[29] Springer, *Sedulius*, Hymn 1, lines 27–8, pp. 184–5 and 192.

[30] C. Page, 'The Carol in Anglo-Saxon Canterbury?', *Essays on the History of English Music in honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. E. Hornby and D. Maw (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 259–69, at 268. Ex. 15: 20–1 may be translated, 'Let us sing to the Lord, for he is gloriously magnified [and] the horse and his rider he hath thrown into the sea.' Citation from *Biblia*

a type of the Virgin Mary; the fourth-century Church Fathers drew parallels between Miriam and her followers on one hand and the Virgin Mary and her band of heavenly virgins on the other.[31] This understanding of Mary as the leader of a choir of virgins was informed by Apoc. 14: 3, in which a choir of 144,000 virgins, the redeemed of the earth, are said to be the only ones who can learn the 'nouum canticum' ('new song') of praise to God. Although the virgins of Apoc. 14 are male ('hii sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati'),[32] by the late Anglo-Saxon period, the heavenly choir of virgins had been re-gendered as female, thanks in part to Bede's portrait of Abbess Æthelthryth as a singer of the new song in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.[33] Although Mary herself is not present in B.'s version of Dunstan's vision, the song of the heavenly choir of virgins is associated with the Virgin and takes place in the oratory dedicated to her.

Parallels may be drawn between the vision at St Mary's oratory and otherworldly experiences at other churches dedicated to the Virgin during the Anglo-Saxon period. In an earlier part of the *Vita S. Dunstani*, B. mentions the existence of the monastery dedicated to St Mary at Glastonbury.[34] He notes that it was not built in living memory, but that it was revealed to be consecrated to God and Mary, 'multis miraculorum gestis multisque misteriorum uirtutibus'[35] – a tantalizing suggestion that the miracles there revealed something of the identity and nature of the figures to whom it was dedicated. In another late-tenth-century text, Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita S. Ecgwini*, the Virgin Mary indicates where she would like an abbey to be built in her honour by appearing on that spot flanked by two other heavenly virgins; in the first of two visions, the virgins sing psalms.[36] Furthermore, the ninth-century *De abbatibus* by Æthelwulf chronicles the history of an unknown Northumbrian monastery which, like St Augustine's Abbey, was made up of one church dedicated to an apostle, St Peter, and another dedicated to St Mary.[37]

Sacra Vulgata, ed. R. Weber and R. Gryson, 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 2007), p. 98. The English translation is from the Douay-Rheims version. All future references to the Bible will be to these editions.

[31] Athanasius, *First Letter to Virgins*, ch. 11 and ch. 12, trans. D. Brakke in *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism* (Oxford, 1995), p. 277; Ambrose, *De Virginibus* II.ii.16–17, PL 16, cols. 211A–B; Jerome, *Epistola* 22.41, ed. I. Hilberg, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistolae*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1910–18) I, 209.

[32] Apoc. 14: 4. 'These are they who were not defiled with women.'

[33] Bede, *HE* iv. 20 (18) (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 400–1).

[34] Glastonbury was in fact the only monastery to be dedicated to Mary in the eighth century. See M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 2 (Cambridge, 1990), 127 and 130.

[35] 'by many miraculous and supernatural happenings'. *VSD*, ch. 3.3 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 12–13).

[36] Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii. 11 (ed. Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey*, pp. 248–9).

[37] Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus*, ed. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967). Æthelwulf never states the name of the monastic house that is the subject of the poem, but the text implies that it is associated with Lindisfarne. D. A. Howlett suggested Bywell in 'The Provenance, Date, and Structure of *De abbatibus*', *AAe* 3 (1975), 121–4. H. Appleton discusses the reasons underlying the cell's erroneous

Æthelwulf describes this second building as the house which the high mother inhabits ('incolitans'), suggesting that the church was her earthly abode.[38] He goes on to make an intriguing statement that 'omnes ast sancti medii pauimenta sacelli / seruantes colitant per tempora cuncta maniplis / innumeris'.[39] These saints may be interpreted merely as depictions of holy figures, with both H. M. Taylor and Alan Thacker raising the possibility that the passage refers to wall paintings on the west side of the building.[40] However, the poet goes on to state that the saints 'ningent uocitati ad uota piorum', which lends support to the interpretation that this passage is describing a supernatural phenomenon.[41] The image of supernal spirits descending to join worshippers has a parallel in an earlier part of *De abbatibus*, in which the author explains that God sends heavenly birds down to places of worship to collect the prayers of the faithful.[42] The church of St Mary may therefore be viewed as one of the holy sites at which God's messengers mingled with human worshippers. These examples demonstrate a belief that Mary's presence could be felt at certain places dedicated to her.

It is also possible that the musical nature of the vision relates to the function of the oratory. The oratory of St Mary was used as a burial place from the time of King Eadbald's death,[43] but during the pontificate of Dunstan it may have also served a liturgical use. Helen Gittos has noted a correspondence between the rise in the

identification as Lindisfarne in one manuscript in '"Æðele Geferes": Northern Saints in a Durham Manuscript', *Saints of North-East England, 600–1500*, ed. M. Coombe, A. Mouron and C. Whitehead (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 153–76, at 159–60.

[38] Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus* 14, pp. 34–5.

[39] 'All the saints haunt the midmost floor of the church, and occupy it at all times, mustering in countless troops.' *Ibid.* pp. 36–7.

[40] H.M. Taylor, 'The Architectural Interest of Æthelwulf's *De abbatibus*', *ASE* 3 (1974), 163–73, at 168, and A. T. Thacker, 'The Saint in his Setting: the Physical Environment of Shrines in Northern Britain before 850', *Saints of North-East England*, ed. M. Coombe, A. Mouron and C. Whitehead, pp. 41–68, at 59.

[41] 'come down like snow when summoned to … the prayers of pious men'. Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus* 14, pp. 36–7. The author also describes a vision of a heavenly choir in the church of St Peter in *De abbatibus* 21, pp. 52–5.

[42] Æthelwulf, *De abbatibus* 6, pp. 16–17.

[43] In *Transl. Augustini* II.ii.9–10 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, cols. 434D–435A), Goscelin informs us that the oratory contained the relics of previous abbots of St Augustine's, as well as the bodies of four kings, including Eadbald. Following the destruction of the oratory, the bodies from the oratory were temporarily placed before the altar of St Mary in the western tower of the abbey (*Transl. Augustini*, II.ii.14, col. 435F). Gem suggests that the oratory may have been designed as a funerary church in his *Book of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (London, 1997), p. 105. In her *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*, pp. 62–4, H. Gittos draws comparisons between the alignment of the churches at St Augustine's Abbey and continental axial arrangements, highlighting the Probus chapel at Rome, a mausoleum next to Old St Peter's, as a 'possible inspiration' for the oratory of St Mary at Canterbury.

number of second churches dedicated to Mary at church group sites in the late seventh and early eighth centuries and Pope Sergius's introduction of the Candlemas procession on a number of Marian feast days, including Candlemas itself.[44] One of the earliest surviving manuscripts containing an *ordo* for this procession is the Dunstan Pontifical (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 943), thought to have been made for Dunstan's personal use.[45] The *ordo* specifies that the candles, having been lit and blessed, should be taken 'ad stationem sanctae mariae', where more lights were illuminated, antiphons and prayers were recited and Mass was conducted.[46] Gittos interpreted 'the station of St Mary' as a reference to the final destination of the cathedral procession, and names the oratory of St Mary as a 'possible candidate' for the site of this station in Canterbury.[47] The Marian altar in Christ Church cathedral would have been more practical, as the abbey's location outside the city walls would have made for an overly long journey, especially with lighted candles. Yet Dunstan's vision of heavenly praise inside a church bathed in light is suggestive of liturgical celebration of the Mother of God and may have been shaped by a ceremony that took place there.

The Marian message of the vision is also fitting, as Dunstan's devotion to the Virgin Mary, and to virginity more generally, is expressed at various points in B.'s text. Early in the *Vita*, Dunstan considers taking a wife, but a sudden illness brings him to the realization that he should dedicate his life to God. B. here compares Dunstan to the apostle and evangelist, John, whom Christ 'a thalamis nuptiarum reuocauit' ('called back from the marriage chamber').[48] Furthermore, B. explains that Dunstan's dream-vision of his mother's marriage to a king may symbolize the union between the church in his diocese and Christ; Dunstan takes charge of the church, mother to members of his diocese, and consoles her 'pura uirginitatis integritate' ('with the purity of his virginity') just as John, Christ's chaste disciple, took the Virgin Mary into his protection.[49] Evidence for Dunstan's devotion to

[44] Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*, pp. 111–12.

[45] *Ibid.* pp. 113–14. The manuscript was written at the end of the tenth century, probably at Christ Church (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 879, p. 633). It has been edited by M. A. Conn in 'The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals: an Edition and Study' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Notre Dame, 1993). A new edition by B. Ebersberger is in preparation.

[46] Conn, 'The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals', pp. 169–72.

[47] Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places*, p. 115.

[48] *VSD*, ch. 8.1 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 28–9).

[49] *Ibid.* 30.3 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 88–9). B. is careful to maintain the distinction between the church as Christ's Bride and as his mother. In the first part of his exegesis on Dunstan's dream-vision, B. conflates the Church, 'which like a mother brought about [Dunstan's] and many others' re-birth in the spiritual womb of holy baptism' with the Bride of the Song of Songs. He then suggests that the mother in Dunstan's dream may represent the church in Dunstan's diocese, which is given to him as Mary is given to John.

the Virgin can also be found outside the Life. Mary Clayton has pointed to a poem, purportedly by Dunstan, found in two manuscripts (Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 3 and Cambridge, Trinity College O. 1. 18), which makes the earliest reference in England to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[50] One possible reading of Dunstan's vision, therefore, is as a Marian revelation which rewards Dunstan for his service to the Virgin, mother of Christ, and to the church of Canterbury, a spiritual mother.

The setting of the vision thus illuminates the meaning of the heavenly song, contributes to B.'s portrayal of Dunstan's purity and dedication to the contemplative life, and affirms the holiness of the oratory. It is the only reference B. makes to an event that took place in Canterbury during Dunstan's years as archbishop,[51] which suggests that, however little B. knew about this time, he deemed the story significant. So crucial is the setting of the vision that even when other details were changed in a subsequent hagiographical work, the holy site of the oratory of St Mary remained a stable element.[52] Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi*, written between 997 and 1002, probably shortly after B.'s version of Dunstan's Life, mentions that Dunstan had two separate visions at the oratory, one of the heavenly virgins, and one of 'dulcissimum ymnum dulcibilis iubilationis' ('an exquisite hymn of harmonious jubilation') sung not by virgins, but by those who had been buried in the church: Eadbald and his successors.[53] The oratory's reputation as a site at which spiritual experiences of a musical nature could occur was thus firmly established by the time the eleventh-century hagiographers came to re-write Dunstan's history.

[50] Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 104–5. Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 3 was copied at Christ Church at the end of the tenth century or beginning of the eleventh (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 175, p. 151). Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 1. 18 was written in the second part of the tenth century or early eleventh century at either St Augustine's or Glastonbury (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 188, p. 161).

[51] M. Lapidge, 'B. and the Vita S. Dunstani', *Saint Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Ramsay, Sparks and Tatton-Brown, pp. 247–59. In this article, Lapidge commented on the lack of solid biographical information in this section, suggesting that B. was stationed at the monastery of St Martin in Liège at the time of Dunstan's archbishopric, and so simply did not know what happened in England during those years. In 'The Earliest Life of St Dunstan', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000), 163–79, M. Winterbottom proposes a different reason for the supposed generalities surrounding the Canterbury portion of Dunstan's life; he argues that B. discusses miracles merely to avoid the politically complicated business of writing about the murder of King Edward, allegedly at the instigation of his wicked stepmother whose son, Æthelred the Unready, lived, and reigned intermittently, until 1016. Lapidge revises his theory to accommodate Winterbottom's comments (see below) in *Early Lives*, pp. lxiv–lxxviii (esp. pp. lxxiii and lxxvii).

[52] See BR, *VSO* v. 7 (ed. Lapidge, pp. 162–3).

[53] *Ibid.*

Since Dunstan was a saint of local interest, his cult was fostered at the abbey as well as the cathedral, as liturgical evidence from the 1090s and early 1100s has shown.[54] Yet the abbey had a special claim to Dunstan – it is significant that his vision took place at the oratory of St Mary rather than in Christ Church, where he would have held his episcopal seat.[55] The hagiographers developing his cult at Christ Church in the eleventh century responded to and appropriated B.'s vision in order to place the emphasis on their own religious house as a place where heaven and earth came together in harmony.

Adelard of Ghent's *Lectiones* for the feast of Dunstan's Deposition (1006 × 1012) was commissioned by Archbishop Ælfheah for use in the Night Office at Christ Church.[56] Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom have already noted that Adelard's additions to the story of Dunstan's life contain more Canterbury-centric material than B.'s earlier hagiography, and suggest that it was commissioned shortly after B.'s Life to place the focus on the city.[57] I would like to add that Adelard shifts the focus of the hagiography to Christ Church. It is the only version of Dunstan's *Vita* written for the cathedral in the eleventh century not to contain the vision of the virgins in St Augustine's Abbey. This omission is likely to have been a deliberate choice, as Adelard, using B.'s *Vita S. Dunstani* as his main source for the *Lectiones*, included all of Dunstan's musical miracles apart from the vision in St Mary's oratory.[58] Not only does Adelard downplay Dunstan's

[54] Heslop, 'The Canterbury Calendars', notes that Dunstan is the only one of the cathedral's saints to receive a proper Mass in a late-eleventh-century missal from St Augustine's Abbey, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 270 (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 76, p. 94), and he shows that Dunstan also appears in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 231, a litany of saints from the abbey, composed around 1100 (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 920, p. 665).

[55] A. Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and his Successors', *St Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Ramsay, Sparks and Tatton-Brown, pp. 221–45, at 238, has suggested that Dunstan might have harboured a certain 'coolness' towards Christ Church, and he interprets the setting of his vision of the virgins as one of the 'hints' that Dunstan preferred St Augustine's Abbey. The vision, however, does not offer strong evidence to support this argument. B. states that Dunstan was on a nightly round of prayer and psalmody – by setting the vision in St Augustine's Abbey, B. shows that Dunstan took his peregrinations even outside the city walls.

[56] Adelard, *Lectiones in depositione S. Dunstani*, in *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. M Winterbottom and M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), pp. 111–45. For a discussion of the *Lectiones* as a liturgical *Vita*, see T. J. Heffernan, 'The Liturgy and the Literature of Saints' Lives', *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. T. J. Heffernan and E. A. Matter (Kalamazoo, MI, 2001), pp. 73–105, at 99–100.

[57] Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. cxxvii.

[58] Winterbottom and Lapidge identify B.'s text as the main source for the *Lectiones* in *Early Lives*, p. xiii.

associations with St Augustine's Abbey, its rival religious house, he also includes a vision – not found in B. – of a heavenly choir at Christ Church.

In the tenth lection, he records how Ælfgar, one of the clergymen of Christ Church, had a dream-vision in which Dunstan was invited to join the company of the cherubim and seraphim in heaven, where they would praise the 'highest bishop' with the thrice-holy.[59] The episcopal language used to describe Christ plays on the idea of the cathedral as a centre of heavenly power. Dunstan deferred his entry into the angelic chorus, explaining that he had to conduct the liturgical celebrations for the feast of the Ascension. On the day of the feast, Dunstan's preaching was said to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, and he appeared as an angel to his congregation.[60] Rather than joining the ranks of angels immediately, Dunstan bought heavenly joy into the community of Christ Church through his pastoral duties. The liturgical context in which the *Lectiones* was read would have reinforced the idea that the cathedral, not the abbey, is the place where heaven and earth meet in liturgical celebration. In the twelfth and final reading, Adelard recounts how Dunstan joined the ranks of saints as celebrated in the litany.[61] He was received as a patriarch into the bosom of Abraham, for the Fathers acknowledged that he had exceeded them in place and merit. Prophets counted him among their company because he had predicted the Viking invasions. Apostles, having visited him on earth in a dream-vision, did not turn him away from their company in heaven. He had the willingness to become a martyr, even if not the opportunity, and was therefore welcomed both as a martyr and a confessor. Virgins also welcomed him on account of his lifelong chastity. The reading would have ended with the *Te Deum*, which records the praises rendered to God by angels, apostles, prophets and martyrs, all of whom recognize Dunstan as belonging to their companies. The chant captured in musical form the belief that Dunstan was a member of every heavenly choir, a saint who could intercede among all spirits of the litany, and a powerful patron of the cathedral community.[62]

The next surviving hagiography of Dunstan was written at Christ Church in the late eleventh century by Osbern, the subprior and precentor in the cathedral community.[63] Osbern brought the hagiography of Dunstan up to date, appending

[59] Adelard, *Lectiones*, ch. 10 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 138–9). The angelic performance of the thrice-holy alludes to the chanting of the four beasts around the throne of God in Apoc. IV.8.

[60] *Ibid.* ch. 11 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 140–1).

[61] *Ibid.* ch. 12 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 144–5).

[62] D. Hiley has discussed the interplay between the text of the *Lectiones* and the chants accompanying it in his article on the *Historia* of Dunstan as found in the Worcester antiphoner, 'What St. Dunstan Heard the Angels Sing: Notes on a Pre-Conquest Historia', *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Szendrei and D. Hiley (Zurich, 1995), pp. 105–15.

[63] Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani* and *Miracula S. Dunstani*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, RS (London, 1874), pp. 69–161. J. Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of

to the *Vita* a collection of miracles, some of which he claimed to have witnessed. His version of the *Vita* contains several novel features, but he also relies on source material that derived from B. and Adelard's Anglo-Latin Lives.[64] He includes St Dunstan's vision at the oratory of St Mary in an expanded form, supplying the first four couplets of Sedulius's hymn, seemingly from memory.[65] A major way in which Osbern's version differs from B.'s is that, in addition to witnessing the song of the virgin choir, Dunstan saw the 'matrem Domini Salvatoris, reginam mundi, dominam angelorum', the Virgin Mary herself.[66] The experience Osbern describes was intensely sensory: on account of the purity and sanctity of his body, Dunstan saw the beauty of the queen of heaven and heard the 'mellifluas … voces' ('sweet-flowing voices') of the group of virgins. Although the vision was received via the senses, it transcended the body, and was seen 'acutissima vi corporalium oculorum in spiritualem potentiam translatorum'.[67] Even more so than B., Osbern thus emphasizes the hymn's Marian associations and its connection with Dunstan's bodily purity. Yet Osbern's focus is so much on these elements that the setting of the vision loses the significance it had in B.'s *Vita*. Only in the last line of the chapter are we told that this vision took place at the 'templum' of the virgin at St Augustine's Abbey. By diminishing the importance of the setting and heightening Dunstan's experiences as a holy witness, Osbern shifts the focus away from Christ Church's rival institution and inspires veneration for the former archbishop.

Like Adelard, Osbern inserts a new musical dream-vision into his hagiographical narrative in order to emphasize the significance of Dunstan's role in shaping the spiritual community at Christ Church.[68] In the *Miracula*, Osbern records that

Canterbury', *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, ed. Eales and Sharpe, pp. 27–41, at 38, dated Osbern's *Vita* and *Miracula* of Dunstan between 1089, the year of Archbishop Lanfranc's death, and 1093, the year of Anselm's appointment as the next archbishop of Canterbury.

[64] In his Preface to the *Vita S. Dunstani* (ed. Stubbs, p. 70), Osbern explains that he used English translations of the Latin sources, as the original Latin texts were destroyed in the fire at Christ Church (which took place in 1067). However, these Old English sources are now lost to us. Whether his source material was in English or Latin, Osbern was indebted to the two earliest known authors of Dunstan's hagiography; Winterbottom and Lapidge commented that he 'drew freely' on B. and Adelard's Latin texts in *Early Lives*, p. clii. For a detailed analysis of Osbern's authorial methods and one of his major contributions to the Dunstan narrative (the saint's attack on the devil with a pair of blacksmith's tongs), see H. Powell, 'Demonic Daydreams: Mind-wandering and Mental Imagery in the Medieval Hagiography of St Dunstan', *New Medieval Literature* 18 (2018), 44–74.

[65] Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 40 (ed. Stubbs, pp. 118–19). Lines 6 and 7 (in the third and fourth couplet) contain variations on Sedulius's version.

[66] 'mother of the Lord Saviour, queen of the world, lady of the angels'. *Ibid.* p. 118. All translations from Osbern's text are my own.

[67] 'with the most acute power of bodily sight transformed into the power of spiritual sight'. *Ibid.*

[68] Osbern's task was more difficult than that of Adelard, however, as he endeavoured to show a community of mixed ethnicity – French and English – united under Anglo-Norman governance. See K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Writing Community: Osbern and the Negotiations of Identity in the

he was once troubled by men who took out a lawsuit against him, and pleaded for divine help at the site of Dunstan's tomb in the cathedral.[69] Soon after, he retired to bed and dreamt that he was rapt into heaven, where he met Dunstan's clergymen. They informed Osbern that Dunstan had celebrated Mass with them, but they had not yet finished singing the antiphons of the communion, as Dunstan had instructed them to wait for someone who had laid down to rest. Upon realizing that Osbern was that very man, the clerics set about finishing the Mass. They began to sing an antiphon ('Dico autem vobis amicis meis') in very sweet and melodious voices, and invited Osbern to accompany them on an instrument.[70] The sound of their singing roused Osbern from sleep, and he rushed to Dunstan's tomb to finish his plea. With Dunstan's patronage, Osbern won the suit.[71]

One idea that Osbern's dream-vision illustrates is that Dunstan's relics functioned as the locus of his earthly power – Osbern must be present at the tomb before his prayer can be answered.[72] Another miracle in the collection makes a similar point: a crippled man who had found no relief at Dunstan's tomb met the archbishop on the way back home; Dunstan explained that, having been detained on business elsewhere, he had been unable to visit his relics or reveal his presence to the brethren.[73] The crippled man was cured only when both he and Dunstan returned to the tomb. Through these miracles, Osbern demonstrates the potency of the relic collection at Christ Church. Osbern's vision of the heavenly Mass also boosts the community's spiritual reputation by suggesting that the celestial and earthly choirs at the cathedral shared liturgical rituals and that he, as the precentor, was at the centre of musical life at Christ Church.[74]

Miracula S. Dunstani', *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. R. Stephenson and E. Thornbury (Toronto, 2016), pp. 202–18.

[69] The miracle is recorded in Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, ch. 25 (ed. Stubbs, pp. 158–9). Rubenstein, 'Life and Writings', pp. 32, 33 and 40, hypothesized that the conflict in question took place in 1089, involved Prior Henry of Christ Church and concerned the resting-place of Mildreth's relics.

[70] Hesbert no. 2205.

[71] Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, ch. 25 (ed. Stubbs, p. 159). See also ch. 16, p. 142, in which the cathedral burns down as a result of the withdrawal of Dunstan's protective presence. See O'Brien O'Keeffe's discussion of Osbern's treatment of the fire in 'Writing Community', p. 203.

[72] The text reflects the belief that, although Dunstan's soul has been taken to heaven, his presence manifests at the site of his relics. Abbo of Fleury expresses a similar idea in *Passio S. Eadmundi* in *Memorials of St Edmunds Abbey*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols. (London, 1890) I, 86.

[73] Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, ch. 10 (ed. Stubbs, p. 136).

[74] Rubenstein claims that Osbern held the positions of subprior and precentor by the time he wrote the *Vita S. Dunstani* ('Life and Writings', p. 31). In 'Chant Composition', p. 41, Hiley names Osbern as a 'likely candidate' for the composer of sequences and ordinary Mass chants found in a late-eleventh or early-twelfth-century gradual from Christ Church, Canterbury: Durham, University Library, Cosin V. v .6 (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 251, p. 198).

The cathedral's next precentor, Eadmer, also produced a *Vita* and *Miracula* of Dunstan as a remedy to Osbern's overblown style and the factual errors contained within his version of the saint's Life.[75] In the Preface, he fashions himself as a thorough and reliable scholar who drew on living authorities from all over England, older texts and his own testimony in constructing his narrative.[76] In aiming to provide a comprehensive record of Dunstan's visionary experiences, he gives an account of the choir of virgins and also recounts the version of the story found in Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi*. He departs from Byrhtferth's text, however, by failing to identify the souls singing within the oratory as those who were buried there. He describes them only as 'quendam cuneum candidatarum personarum' ('a certain group of people clad in white garments'), hence not identifying them explicitly as those buried in the oratory, and thus downplaying the importance of the abbey's relic collection.[77] His account of Dunstan's vision of the virgins differs from that found in B., Byrhtferth and Osbern. He states that Dunstan was intercepted on his way to the oratory by Mary herself and her choir of heavenly virgins – the presence of Mary among her choir suggests that Eadmer drew on Osbern's account of the miracle.[78] Dunstan joined them as they processed into the chapel, and he heard them perform the hymn of Sedulius in a responsorial style – two virgins acted as cantors, chanting the verses, and the rest of the choir repeated after them. His version of the vision may have mirrored the liturgical processions taking place at the abbey in his own time.[79] It is likely that, like Osbern, he updated the musical miracles associated with Dunstan to reflect his own liturgical practice.

Eadmer's collection of Dunstan's miracles omits Osbern's rather personal account of Dunstan's beneficence. He does, however, add a compelling story

[75] Eadmer, *Vita S. Dunstani* and *Miracula S. Dunstani*, in *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, ed. and trans. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir, OMT (Oxford, 2006), pp. 44–211. On pp. lxvii–lxix, the editors give the *terminus ad quem* as 1116 and suggest that the works might have been written during one of Eadmer's periods of exile from England (1097–1100 and 1103–6).

[76] Eadmer, *Vita S. Dunstani*, *Prologus* (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 44–7).

[77] Eadmer, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 53 (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 132–3).

[78] *Ibid.* ch. 54 (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 132–3).

[79] See *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. D. Knowles, rev. ed. C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 2002). There are various similarities between the virgins' ritual in Dunstan's vision and liturgical custom at Christ Church as detailed in the *Constitutiones*. For instance, ch. 55 instructs how, on Rogation Days, the brethren were to move in a procession to the church which marked their destination, and, once there, the cantor was to chant the antiphon or responsory of the saint to whom the church was dedicated (pp. 74–5). Also, two brethren were appointed to sing responsories during Mass on the vigil of principal festivals, including the Assumption of Mary (pp. 84–5), and on the day before the feasts of other festivals, including the Purification and Nativity of Mary (pp. 88–91). Eadmer has been identified as one of the scribes of a manuscript containing Lanfranc's *Constitutiones*: Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV. 24, fols. 47–71 (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 248, p. 197). See the segment of the introduction written by Brooke in *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, p. xliv.

of Dunstan's membership of the Christ Church community, purported to have taken place during the lifetime of Scotland. Eadmer records that Scotland was sitting outside at the hour of Vespers on the Feast of St Dunstan.[80] When the monks of the cathedral rang the bells to signal the beginning of the vigil, Scotland saw a beam of light shine down from heaven and pierce the roof of the cathedral and exclaimed, '[u]ere pius pater Dunstanus iam ad suam festiuitatem uadit, interesse uolens obsequio quod sui filii hac in nocte Deo et sibi exhibituri sunt'.[81] The brothers of Christ Church indeed 'sanctam praesentiam eius sibi adesse persenserunt'.[82] The miracle reinforces Osbern's conviction that Dunstan graced his relics with his presence and underlines the importance of the liturgical commemoration of the saint. The supposed testimony of Abbot Scotland is a particularly powerful tool. By claiming that Scotland was a witness to Dunstan's presence at Christ Church, Eadmer implies that even the abbot of the rival house recognized the potency of the relics.

In the hagiographies produced by Osbern and Eadmer, Dunstan's vision of the choir of virgins demonstrated his dedication to the Office, contributing to their portrait of Dunstan as a saint who uses his musical gifts in the service of God.[83] However, the vision as found in B.'s text was also a testament to the holiness of the Abbey of St Augustine. In their efforts to take the emphasis away from the abbey, the writers constructed competing narratives of heavenly choirs to show how the physical presence of Dunstan's relics acted as a site of connection between heaven and earth. It is little wonder, then, that Goscelin, who worked with one or both of these sources when compiling his own history of the Abbey of St Augustine, reappropriated Dunstan and his visions to emphasize the sanctity of the oratory and the building that was placed in its stead by Abbot Scotland.[84]

[80] Eadmer, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, ch. 18 (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 180–1). Osbern and Eadmer's portrait of Scotland is not a particularly flattering one. Both hagiographers record Scotland's obstinate reluctance to pardon two knights who killed his nephew (Osbern, *Miracula S. Dunstani*, ch. 17 (ed. Stubbs, pp. 142–3); Eadmer, *Miracula*, ch. 17 (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 178–9)).

[81] '[t]ruly 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'. Eadmer, *Miracula*, ch. 18, pp. 180–1.

[82] 'sensed his sacred presence among them'. *Ibid.*

[83] See Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 8 (ed. Stubbs, p. 78) and Eadmer, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 7 (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 58–61). M. Fassler comments on how Dunstan's musical persona was shaped in the Lives by Osbern, Eader and William of Malmesbury in 'Shaping the Historical Dunstan: Many Lives and a Musical Office', *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800–1500*, ed. K. A. Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel and M. E. Fassler, Writing Hist. in the Middle Ages 3 (Woodbridge, 2017), 125–50.

[84] Hayward has suggested that Eadmer and Goscelin were engaged in an 'ongoing dialogue' regarding the abbey's claim to relics ('Absent Father', p. 203). Although Hayward asserts that is it not possible to prove whether Eadmer's *Vita Petri* was a response to Goscelin's *Transl.*

Goscelin's narrative of demolition, restoration and succession is a spiritual, as well as architectural, history of the abbey, in which the oratory of St Mary is given a special place. The significance of the building is apparent from the second chapter of Book I of the *Transl. Augustini*, which begins by establishing the setting for the 1091 translations. Goscelin notes that the Anglo-Norman presbytery into which the saints were translated 'totum illud cum amplis porticibus amplectitur spatium, quod sanctae Dei genitricis ab Oriente contiguum possederat oratorium, suo caelestiumque virtutum jugi solennio ac signis illustrissimum', a subtle but distinct allusion to Dunstan's vision and the miraculous events that took place during the abbacy of Scotland.[85] Goscelin explains that Scotland started the building work on this expansive presbytery by pulling down the remaining nave of SS Peter and Paul, but dared not advance further when he reached the north porticus containing the relics of St Augustine and his successors for fear of incurring divine wrath.[86] At this point, Goscelin contrasts Scotland with the Anglo-Saxon abbot, Wulfric: 'Quid faciat ergo auctor aedificii devotus Abbas Scollandus? dum nec illa sancta penetralia, tanta aevo intacta, movere praesumit; nec opus coeptum, nisi ablatis obstaculis, procedere possit: maxime cum praedecessor suus praescriptam Dei genitricis basilicam fractam morte luerit?'[87]

Here, Goscelin only touches upon the story of Wulfric's ill-fated rotunda, but the account is given in full in the second book of the *Transl. Augustini*. In 1049, Abbot Wulfric (1047–1059 × 1061) told Pope Leo IX of his plans for the

Augustini or *vice versa*, the evidence that Goscelin's text was written between 1098 and 1100 (see n. 4 above) makes it more likely that Eadmer was responding to Goscelin's portrayal of Peter in his hagiographical cycle.

[85] 'covers with its great porches that whole area to the east formerly occupied by the oratory of the holy mother of God, most distinguished by its everlasting holiness and signs of heavenly power'. Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* I.i.2 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 413B). All translations from this text are my own.

[86] The north porticus of SS Peter and Paul (dedicated to St Gregory) contained the tombs of the following Gregorian missionaries and first archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine (d. *c.* 604) to Deusdedit (d. 664). Additionally, Nothelm (d. 739) was buried under the altar of St Gregory. To the north of the porticus lay Bishop Hadrian (d. *c.* 710) and, from *c.* 1049, St Mildreth of Thanet (d. *c.* 730). The early-twentieth-century archaeological evidence of the burials in the north porticus is set out in W. St John Hope, 'Recent Discoveries at St Austin's Abbey, Canterbury', *AC* 31 (1915), 294–6, and 'Recent Discoveries in the Abbey Church of St Austin at Canterbury'.

[87] 'Therefore, what may Abbot Scotland, devoted author of the building work, do? [Scotland] neither presumes to move that sacred sanctuary, which had lain untouched for such a long time, nor is he able to advance the work he has started unless he removes the obstacles, especially since his predecessor [Wulfric], who broke up the aforementioned church of the mother of God, paid with his life'. Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* I.i.2 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 413C).

restoration of the monastery at the Council of Rheims, and commenced building work having obtained his blessing.[88] Archaeological excavations have uncovered the foundations of a large tower to the south-west of the church of SS Peter and Paul and a chapel, both of which have been dated to the time of Wulfric's abbacy.[89] But the structure which is of greatest relevance to this article is the rotunda. This building, which was octagonal in shape on the outside and circular internally, connected the church of SS Peter and Paul to the oratory of St Mary.[90] In order to link these buildings together, Wulfric had to demolish the eastern end (the front) of SS Peter and Paul, which necessitated translating St Mildreth's relics into the north porticus where St Augustine and his episcopal successors lay.[91] He also demolished the western wall of the oratory of St Mary, and cleared the graveyard in between the two churches.[92]

According to Goscelin, his work was an affront to the Virgin Mary. Wulfric's sin was not architectural ambition, but his presumption that he could interfere with a sanctified place without divine dispensation. The oratory belonged to Mary – it was her 'templ[um]' (temple) 'sacrarium' (shrine) and 'vestiarium' (chamber). It is described as the 'multorum Sanctorum sinus … et gremium', a phrase which is suggestive of the oratory's function as the storehouse of relics as well as its dedication to the Mother of God.[93] Looking ahead to the next two chapters of Book II, Goscelin explains, '[h]ic, ut in consequentibus patebit, audiebatur concentus Angelorum, hic organa Virginum, hic assiduabatur virtus miraculorum'.[94] Wulfric's destruction of the oratory's western wall to make room for his rotunda demanded divine retribution. Mary appeared in a vision to an elderly woman, through whom she warned Wulfric of his impending death. His reluctance to believe an old wife's tale, and, consequently, his failure to make amends, led to his demise after a three-week illness.[95]

It is notable that Wulfric's necessary destruction of the eastern wall of SS Peter and Paul to make room for the rotunda does not so much as merit a comment, still less a vision from the vengeful apostles. Richard Emms, writing of how Goscelin attributes Wulfric's illness and death to Mary's displeasure, inferred that '[t]he

[88] Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini*, II.i.3–4 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, cols. 433A–B).
[89] Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey', p. 67.
[90] See St John Hope, 'Recent Discoveries at St Austin's Abbey' and 'Recent Discoveries in the Abbey Church of St Austin at Canterbury' for details of the first excavations and Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey', pp. 69–71, for a summary of later research.
[91] Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.i.4 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 433C).
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] 'the bosom and womb of many saints'. *Ibid.* II.i.5 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 433C).
[94] 'Here, as will be seen in what follows, the concert of angels and the *organa* of virgins [were] heard, and here the power of miracles was felt constantly'. *Ibid.* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, cols. 433C–D).
[95] *Ibid.* II.i.5 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, cols. 433D–E).

dedication of [the oratory] appears to have made it even more sacred than the original church of SS Peter and Paul'.[96] This may be due in part to Mary's high status as the Queen of heaven, and in part to the oratory's existing reputation as a site of miraculous experiences. Indeed, no sightings of heavenly presences were believed to have occurred within the neighbouring church of SS Peter and Paul. And since Dunstan's experiences of heavenly choirs were the only miracles thought to have taken place on the site of the oratory – at least in the written tradition of the abbey – they shaped Goscelin's accounts of miracles at the time of Abbot Scotland.

Scotland took charge of the abbey in 1070. Goscelin records that the half-finished rotunda, being unfit for use by the monks and hindering further building work, greatly displeased him.[97] His fear of the judgement of the Virgin Mary, despite his worry about the bad state of the old building, made him hesitate before setting about his own construction projects: 'terrebat vero Dei genitricis in Abbatem superiorem, de praerupta ecclesia sua, judicium; terrebat de veteri monasterio, longa carie consumpto, ruinae periculum'.[98] After discussing his proposed building work with Pope Alexander II in 1072 and gaining his support, Scotland overturned the rotunda.[99] Yet he paused for thought before destroying the oratory, the spot where Dunstan had enjoyed the company of heavenly spirits.

Verum residua pars Virginalis oratorii summae Mariae, [quae] ejus impetum morabatur, nostrae quoque orationis cursum hic modo remoratur. Occurrunt hujus sacrarii superna praeconia, & in ejus gremio adjacentium Sanctorum miracula. Hic ipsa praecelsa Parens Altissimi saepius visa, & cum dulcimodo Virginum choro ineffabili suavitate caelestis harmoniae noscitur audita. Huic candidissimo contubernio Angelum Domini exercituum, & post Augustinum suosque consortes nitidissimum decus Angelorum, familiarius & frequentius interfuisse Beatissimum constat Dunstanum; & ut cervum sitientem ad fontes aquarum [Ps. XLI.2], ita illum supernae modulationis dulcedine captum, inexplebiliter assiduasse hunc Sanctorum paradisum.[100]

[96] Emms, 'The Early History of Saint Augustine's Abbey', p. 422.

[97] Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.ii.7 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 434A).

[98] 'he feared the judgement of the mother of God concerning the destruction of her church in the case of the previous Abbot; he feared that the old monastery, which had long been consumed by rot, would fall into ruin'. *Ibid.*

[99] *Ibid.* II.ii.8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 434B).

[100] 'The surviving part of the oratory of the high Virgin Mary, which was hindering his attack, also breaks the flow of our oration for a moment. There occurred heavenly praises in this shrine and miracles in its womb of saints lying nearby. Here, that lofty Parent of the Most High was often seen, and is known to have been heard with a sweet chorus of virgins [singing] in the ineffable sweetness of celestial harmony. It is well known that the most blessed Dunstan, the angel of the armies of the Lord, and, after Augustine and his consorts, the brightest glory of angels, was present in the midst of this dazzling company intimately and frequently; and like the thirsting deer to the fountain of water, Dunstan, captivated by the sweetness of supernal song, tirelessly

This break in the flow of the narrative has a polemical purpose. Goscelin makes several references to the frequency of these visions and auditions, stating that Mary was seen there 'saepius' ('often'), that Dunstan stood amidst the heavenly throng 'familiarius et frequentius' ('intimately and frequently') and that he sought their company 'inexplebiliter' ('persistently' or 'steadfastly'). These words suggest that he was eager to emphasize Dunstan's connection to the Abbey of St Augustine. This was a particularly important point to make in the heightened atmosphere of late-eleventh-century Canterbury, when the abbey was demonstrating its primacy over Christ Church and St Gregory's Priory through its collection of saints. The reference to Dunstan implies that although Christ Church possessed his relics, St Augustine's accommodated the heavenly Queen who inspired his devotions. Goscelin's reference to multiple visions and auditions could also point to Eadmer's *Vita S. Dunstani* as his source, as Eadmer is the only one of Dunstan's post-Conquest hagiographers to record how Dunstan heard the song of spirits in the oratory on two separate occasions.[101] While Byrhtferth also makes reference to two auditions of heavenly choirs in the oratory, only Eadmer and Osbern claim that Mary herself was seen among the heavenly virgins, so Goscelin's statement that 'ipsa praecelsa Parens Altissimi saepius visa' ('that lofty Parent of the Most High was often seen') seems to derive from one or both of these post-Conquest texts. Whether Goscelin drew on Osbern, Eadmer, or a combination of both, it is striking that he reappropriated an interpretation of the vision from Christ Church in order to enhance the oratory's reputation as a 'Sanctorum paradisum' ('paradise of saints').

Goscelin's praise of Dunstan as second only to Augustine and his companions allows him to group the saint with the abbey's illustrious alumni. He employs this strategy later in Book II when considering the significance of the north porticus of SS Peter and Paul, where Augustine's successors were buried with him. Goscelin states: '[h]uc etiam suus post plurima lustra coheres sacratissimus Dunstanus, ut cervus ad fontes aquarum [Ps. 41: 2], crebris noctibus veniebat, & assuetas sibi visiones & hymnos supernorum civium frequentabat'.[102] Once again, he suggests that Dunstan belongs, spiritually, to St Augustine's Abbey. The saint is praised as a

sought this paradise of saints'. *Ibid.* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 434C). BL, Vespasian B. xx, 128v, contains an annotation reading 'no*ta* b*ene*' in the margins next to the words 'virgin*um* choro'. There are also traces of a manicule.

[101] Eadmer, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 53 and ch. 54 (ed. Turner and Muir, pp. 132–3).

[102] 'Many years later, Dunstan, [Augustine's] most holy coheir, often used to come here at night, like a deer to a fountain of water, and frequently experience his customary visions and hymns of heavenly citizens'. *Ibid.* II.iv.27 (cols. 440E–F). Once again, a reader of Vespasian B. xx has highlighted the importance of this passage with a pen sketch of a bishop, whose hand is pointing to the words, 'no*ta* be*ne* sanctitate huius monaste*r*ii', 137v. The hand is similar to the manicule on 128v, suggesting that the same reader (a monk of St Augustine's) made the annotations.

'coheres' ('coheir') of the first archbishop of Canterbury, suggesting that his episcopal role is of significance to the writer. But Goscelin's primary focus is on Dunstan as a monastic worshipper. Allusions to Psalm 41: 2 are made in both extracts which mention Dunstan and his visions directly in order to convey the saint's insatiable desire for heavenly experiences. As a thirsting deer, Dunstan embodies the ideal of monastic worship – to praise God continually and thus emulate the never-ending praise of heavenly beings.[103] The use of the adjective 'creb[er]' and the verb 'frequentabat', along with the reference to Dunstan's 'assuetas visiones' ('customary visions'), once again suggests that Dunstan sought spiritual fulfilment at the abbey on numerous occasions.

Yet during his time as the abbot of St Augustine's, Scotland demolished in its entirety the very building which gave the abbey its reputation as a dwelling-place of the divine. On the site formally occupied by the oratory, he built the presbytery and a crypt dedicated to the Mother of God. Goscelin presents these changes in a favourable light by adapting the stories he found in Dunstan's hagiography. The miraculous visions and auditions, which revealed the holiness of the abbey in Dunstan's time, resumed during Scotland's abbacy, demonstrating that his plans for the restoration of the abbey met with divine favour.

The first miracle of this nature, which took place while the oratory was yet standing, showcases Goscelin's musical expertise.[104] Immediately following his first reference to Dunstan and the vision of the virgins, Goscelin describes how Scotland had a similar experience: 'quadam nocte ante nocturnas vigilias expurgefactus a somno, uti accubabat in vicina ipsi ecclesiae cella, chorus mire dulcisonus alternatim auditur psallentium, tamquam virorum et puerorum, gratissimam consonantiam diapason reddentium; dum modo cunctis modulis concinerent, modo distinctis organis parvuli viris responderent'.[105] Scotland heard 'a sweet-sounding choir, as though composed of men and boys … singing psalms' coming from the nearby oratory. The performance by the heavenly choir reflected contemporary music practice. The group, 'alternatim … psallentium', was divided into

[103] S. P. Millinger suggested that the double purpose of liturgical devotion was 'to praise God on earth, and in so doing, to strive to join the choirs of the blessed in heaven' in 'Liturgical Devotion in the *Vita Oswaldi*', *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in honour of Charles W. Jones*, ed. M. H. King and W. M. Stevens, 2 vols. (Collegeville, MN, 1979) II, 239–64, at 247.

[104] D. Hiley refers to this audition in 'Chant Composition at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest', p. 31, but he stops short of exploring how it was interwoven with Goscelin's construction of the abbey's status and architecture.

[105] 'On a certain night, before nocturnal vigils had aroused him from sleep, as he was lying in a room of the church next to the oratory, a sweet-sounding chorus, as if composed of men and boys, was miraculously heard singing psalms, one side alternating with the other, rendering the most graceful of consonances, an octave. While they sang together in this manner through all the intervals, the boys responded to the men with different intervals in *organum*'. Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.ii.8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 434C).

two, mirroring the arrangement of monastic choirs. Sometimes the boys sang 'cunctis modulis' ('through all the intervals') of the scale, that is, at 'diapason' ('an octave') above the men; sometimes, they sang 'modulis … distinctis' ('at different intervals'), in *organum*.[106]

This second type of polyphony is discussed in the ninth-century musical treatise, the *Musica enchiriadis*.[107] It is described as a two-voice harmony whereby the organal voice follows the principal voice, note for note, at the interval of a fourth or fifth below it.[108] The practice was common on the Continent, and theoretical texts such as the *Musica enchiriadis* were available at Winchester and Canterbury.[109] Indeed, organal performances at Winchester came to be written down and codified in the Troper.[110] The rubrics that appear alongside the *organa* in the Troper emphasize the sweet and sublime quality of the sound; one such rubric reads, 'Melodia sublimis et dulcis'.[111] It appears that Goscelin was familiar with this style of polyphony and, deeming it to be supremely beautiful, described the melody of the heavenly citizens in similar terms. His depiction may well have been influenced by a passage in Osbern's *Vita* where Dunstan hears a heavenly Kyrie sung in *organum* during one of his visions.[112]

Goscelin's technical description of the performance may even give us a hint of the kind of music that was performed at the abbey during his time as its precentor. David Hiley has suggested that '[t]hose dedicated to a religious life naturally strove to reproduce … celestial harmony in their worship, and this in turn is reflected in the hagiographers' descriptions of earthly events'.[113] But the relationship also worked the other way around, with hagiographer-precentors depicting heavenly music in light of earthly practices. Osbern's account of the heavenly rendition of the antiphon 'Dico autem vobis amicis meis' in his *Miracula* of Dunstan was surely

[106] I am grateful to C. Bower (email, 21 June 2014) and S. Rankin (email, 2 June 2014) for discussing this passage with me and providing a gloss on the terms.

[107] *Musica enchiriadis and Scolica enchiriadis*, trans. R. Erickson, and ed. C. V. Palisca (New Haven, CT, 1995).

[108] See the introduction to the above-cited edition of *Musica enchiriadis* and *Scolica enchiriadis* (pp. xxii, xxvi, xxxiii) and also *Musica enchiriadis*, ch. 13, p. 37.

[109] *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction*, ed. S. Rankin (London, 2007), p. 62. Rankin mentions two manuscripts containing the *Musica* and *Scolica enchiriadis* that were copied at Canterbury: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 260 was written at Christ Church, Canterbury, at the end of the tenth century (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 72, p. 91) and Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5. 35 was copied at St Augustine's in the mid-eleventh century (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 12, p. 25).

[110] Rankin, *Winchester Troper*, pp. 61–73.

[111] *Ibid.* p. 63.

[112] Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 40 (ed. Stubbs, pp. 117–18. See Fassler, 'Shaping the Historical Dunstan', p. 141, for how this passage came to shape the Dunstan office in Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160 (Worcester, *c.* 1230).

[113] Hiley, 'Chant Composition', p. 31.

informed by liturgical activity at Christ Church, and Eadmer's description of the virgin train singing while processing into the oratory of St Mary no doubt drew inspiration from the liturgical processions in which he participated on festival days. In Goscelin's vision, Scotland was mesmerized by the 'insueta melodia' ('unusual melody') but, as he was not paying full attention to the celestial songs, he supposed that the sound came from brethren processing through the abbey after completing Matins. This detail gives us a somewhat mixed picture, suggesting both that the music was unfamiliar to Scotland and that it was similar enough to monastic practice for him to rationalize his hearing of it. Although we should be wary of over-interpreting Scotland's response, which is highly conventional in hagiographical narratives, the passage implies that organal singing was at once beautiful and strange. The otherworldly quality of the music and Scotland's bafflement captures something of the sound of the virgins in B., whose voices are 'insolitas' ('unfamiliar')[114]

Goscelin frames Scotland's audition of this strange, new music with reference to Dunstan's visions. The segment ends with the abbot's revelation that the holy reputation of the oratory was truly deserved: 'intellexit incunctanter cum omnibus audientibus, vere in illo loco olympica convenisse agmina, saepiusque ante narrata miracula verissima sibi claruisse experientia, & vere supernos cives haec incolere habitacula'.[115] Although Scotland's audition is distinctive, Goscelin relates it to other wonders 'ante narrata' and suggests that the abbot's experience gives him an insight into these marvels of the past. Indeed, his experience bears a resemblance to Dunstan's vision of the virgins and to his audition of the souls singing in the oratory, both of which are recorded in Eadmer's version of the Life of Dunstan and may also have been passed on by the monks through oral tradition in the monastery. Rather than inviting a direct comparison between the previous archbishop and Scotland, however, the latter-day miracle functions as a sign of heavenly approval of the abbot, and suggests that the wonders of Dunstan's era resumed during his time as the Father of the monastery.

Goscelin may have presented Scotland in this way to take the focus away from his successor, Wido, whose appointment caused a great deal of turbulence in the abbey. While Goscelin makes no mention of the rebellion of 1087 and 1088, as Richard Emms has highlighted, he nevertheless paints Wido in a rather unflattering light.[116] In his haste to finish the nave begun by Scotland, Wido demolished

[114] B., *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 36.2 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, p. 101).

[115] 'he understood immediately along with all those who heard, that truly the celestial company gathered in that place, and genuine marvels that had often been related became clear to him in light of his experience, and heavenly citizens truly inhabited these dwellings'. Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.ii.8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 434D).

[116] Emms, 'The Historical Traditions of St Augustine's Abbey', p. 163.

the north porticus containing the relics of Augustine and his successors without even removing the precious hoard first: 'illud Beatorum cubiculum, morae impatiens qua Sancti eruerentur, forti ariete subvertit: totque superni Regni Principes, longiturna pace soporatos, festinata modo virtute negligentiam excusante, obruit'.[117] Goscelin's language seethes with connotations of invasion and even sexual violence. Wido is a world away from Scotland, who is careful not to cause unnecessary damage and offend the saints. Indeed, Wido is closer in nature to Wulfric; both, though motivated by virtue, act rashly. If the *Transl. Augustini* needed a hero of the times, Scotland – the abbey's first Anglo-Norman head, who was in charge before the turbulence at the end of the 1080s – was the obvious choice. Furthermore, as the architect of the Romanesque abbey, Scotland's contribution to the successes of the 1090s was substantial. It was his presbytery into which Augustine and his companions were translated, after all.

Goscelin takes pains to show that Scotland's destruction of the sacred space of the oratory and construction of the crypt of St Mary beneath the presbytery did not dislodge the heavenly crowds, but provided a fitting setting in which heavenly virgins could praise the Mother of God. In the third chapter of Book II, Goscelin records a number of miracles performed by the Virgin in the new space: 'Nec solum talibus curationum signis, verum etiam revelationibus manifestis, & supernorum civium concentibus dulcisonis, cum odore inaestimabilis suavitatis, frequenter ipsa mundi Regina dignatur ostendere, se non minus huic cryptae, quam priori ejusdem loci oratorio praesidere'.[118] The Virgin's presence is made manifest through bodily sensations. Her miracles of curing the blind and re-lighting candles reveal her holiness though the sense of sight;[119] she affects the sense of touch by relieving her supplicants of physical agony;[120] and the extraordinarily sweet scent indicates the presence of the divine.[121] The songs of the heavenly citizens are also

[117] 'he overturns the bedroom of the Blessed [saints] with a strong battering ram, and overpowers all the princes of the heavenly kingdom who were sleeping in a long-lasting peace, his hastiness in virtue being the only excuse for his negligence'. Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* I.i.2 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 413C).

[118] 'Frequently that Queen of the world deigned to show herself not only with such miracles of healing, but also with manifest revelations, and the sweet concerts of heavenly citizens, with an odour of inestimable sweetness, no less in this crypt than in the previous oratory that had stood in the same place.' *Ibid.* II.iii.20 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 437F).

[119] *Ibid.* II.iii.16 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 437B), and II.iii.19 (col. 437D).

[120] *Ibid.* II.iii.16 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 437B), II.iii.18 (col. 437C), II.iii.19 (col. 437E). Goscelin does not refer to the sense of touch directly in these examples – rather, the whole body is presented as the sense organ. For an exploration of touch in the hierarchy of the senses, and the difficulty medieval thinkers had with locating it in a specific body part, see K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Hands and eyes, sight and touch: appraising the senses in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 45 (2016), 105–40.

[121] Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.iii.20 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 437F) and II.iii.20 (col. 438B).

'dulcison[i]', pleasing to the ear.[122] Goscelin's appeal to the different senses in this passage suggests that holiness can be experienced through various bodily conduits to the soul, and presents the new crypt as a paradisiacal place where sensations of pleasure are heightened.

The two accounts of celestial concerts that follow owe a clear debt to the hagiography of Dunstan. The first briefly tells of how the custodian of the crypt saw Mary being praised 'cum candidissimo ac splendidissimo Virginum innumerabilium choro' while the odour of heavenly fragrances filled the air.[123] Detail about this celestial performance is lacking, though the small amount that we are told – that the virgins 'inexplebiliter circumfusae praecellentissimam ac benignissimam Principem dulcimodam modulabant aethereorum carminum laudem'[124] – brings to mind the circular dance of the virgins in B.'s text.[125] As previously noted, Eadmer's version depicts a linear procession of virgins, headed by Mary, rather than a round dance. However, the circular arrangement of virgins around the holy mother may have been suggested by Osbern's description of Mary, 'non vestali choro circumdatam, sed virginali corona circumfusam'.[126]

In the second case, a venerable brother named Gregory was recuperating in the infirmary located next to the crypt, when he was woken from sleep by the very clear sound of 'mira supernae harmoniae modulatio' coming from within.[127] He discerned the Office of the virgin and presumed that the brethren had gathered to celebrate Mass after Matins, 'nisi quod stupidum reddebat inaudita prius suavitas cantilenae'.[128] He hurried to take part in Mass, but found the crypt locked and barred, and the brethren asleep. Gregory then realized 'quod mortalibus dormientibus caelestem audierit concentum'.[129] The audition strongly recalls the one experienced by Abbot Scotland, emphasizing that although the material and structure of the building had changed from an oratory to a crypt, it remained the same in essence. That Scotland and Gregory mistook heavenly music for its earthly counterpart implies that the Office of the brethren harmonized with the praise of heavenly citizens – indeed, Goscelin remarks that the choir of heaven 'may re-echo' ('resultet') the music of the monastic Office of the virgin in their

[122] The enchanting effect of sweet-sounding music is discussed briefly by M. Carruthers in 'Sweetness', *Speculum* 81:4 (2006), 999–1013, at 1001–2.

[123] 'with a most bright and splendid choir of innumerable virgins'. *Ibid.* II.iii.20 (col. 437F).

[124] 'persistently encircling the most excellent and benign Leader, sang the sweet praise of heavenly songs'. *Ibid.*

[125] B., *VSD*, ch. 36.2–3 (ed. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 100–1).

[126] 'not enclosed within a vestal chorus, but surrounded by a virginal crown'. Osbern, *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 40, (ed. Stubbs, p. 118).

[127] 'the wonderful melody of heavenly harmony'. Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* II.iii.20 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, cols. 437F–438A).

[128] 'the sweetness of the song (such as he had never heard before) stunned him'. *Ibid.* (col. 438A).

[129] 'he had heard a celestial concert while men were sleeping.' *Ibid.*

praise of her.[130] Elsewhere in the hagiographical cycle composed for the abbey, Goscelin makes the concurrent praise of heavenly and earthly choirs more explicit in order to show how the holiness of the abbey and the sublimity of its liturgy bring it into closer contact with heaven than its rival institutions.

One vision that Goscelin lifted from his earlier work, the *Libellus contra inanes S. virginis Mildrethae usurpatores*, and incorporated into the *Translatio S. Mildrethe*, functions as propaganda in the row between St Augustine's Abbey and St Gregory's Priory over which community possessed the relics of St Mildreth of Thanet.[131] The story centres around Livinus, who, despite being an honourable Benedictine monk at St Augustine's Abbey, believed that Mildreth's relics rested at St Gregory's Priory.[132] The truth was revealed to him in a vision of Mildreth ascending the nave of the abbey as the bride of Christ, surrounded by throngs of hymning angels, and taking her place in her tomb in the new presbytery as if she were going to her bedchamber.[133] At the same time, the choir of St Augustine's was performing the twelfth responsory of the morning Mass in honour of Mildreth. The text of the twelfth responsory ('O diem illum festiuum'), which may have been composed by Goscelin himself, celebrates Mildreth's return from heaven to earth.[134] The content and the timing of the responsory thus harmonized with Livinus' vision. Goscelin urges each soul that is made happy by that *conuenientia* (which has the double meaning of 'harmony' and 'meeting') to consider 'ut in isto sui aduentus carmine uideretur cum superno contubernio aduenire et, hoc finito, sue requietionis apothecam subire'.[135] While Goscelin's account suggests that the vision is not caused by, but simply coincides with, the performance of the

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] In 1087 or 1088, the recently founded college of secular canons, St Gregory's Priory, began to claim that they possessed the relics of St Mildreth. See Sharpe, 'Setting of St Augustine's Translation', p. 4; Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth', p. 503; and D. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend* (Leicester, 1982), p. 21.

[132] Goscelin, *Translatio S. Mildrethae*, ch. 35, ed. D. W. Rollason, 'Goscelin of Canterbury's Account of the Translation and Miracles of St Mildrith: an Edition with Notes', *MS* 48 (1986), 139–210, at 204–6.

[133] Goscelin, *Translatio S. Mildrethae*, ch. 35, Rollason, 'Goscelin', p. 205.

[134] *Ibid.* p. 206. In 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildrith', pp. 514–15, Sharpe put forward the suggestion that Goscelin wrote the words and may have written the music of the antiphons and responsories found in the *Historia de S. Mildretha* in London, British Library, Harley 3908. The manuscript was written at St Augustine's at the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth century (Gneuss-Lapidge, *ASMss* 439.3, p. 361). Sharpe further developed his argument in 'Words and Music'.

[135] 'that [Mildreth] is seen to come with heavenly company along with the song of her arrival, and to go to the storehouse of her rest when this song has finished'. Goscelin, *Translatio S. Mildrethae*, ch. 35, Rollason, 'Goscelin', p. 206. Translation mine. 'Apotheca' also carries a sense of 'reliquary', thereby suggesting that Mildreth's presence can be felt alongside her physical remains.

twelfth responsory, there is an underlying suggestion that the song of Mildreth's arrival invokes invisible presences and brings the eternal into the temporal. Like relics themselves – which Peter Brown has called small objects with boundless associations – the liturgy brought the great, timeless expanses of heaven down in to the cloisters.[136] The passage is also an extended allusion to chapter 19 of the *Regula S. Benedicti*, which instructs monks to sing with their full attention 'in conspectu diuinitatis et angelorum eius'.[137] Goscelin takes this idea further by suggesting that angels are not merely audience-members, but members of the same, universal choir: '[c]um ergo credamus (psalmista docente) in conspectu angelorum nos Domino psallere, nec dedignare conciues angelos cum deuotis famulis Deum laudere'.[138]

The concurrent praise of humans and angels in veneration of saints' relics is also prominent in the first book of the *Transl. Augustini*. On the Octave of Augustine's translation, at the same time that members of the community of the abbey kept vigil with psalms around the altar of the saint, a priest from Canterbury witnessed a vision of a choir of angels descending a ladder from heaven into the nave of the abbey.[139] Goscelin offers a gloss on the vision: 'Nos quoque fide videamus, quod ille videndo forsitan non perpendit: scilicet Angelicos cives per illam scalam ad dulces exuvias animae contubernalis Augustini amabiliter descendisse, & revictura in sua claritate pignora visitatione gratissima refovisse, simulque ostendisse, se cum terrigenis ejus gloriae congaudere.'[140] Goscelin goes on to clarify that the ladder allowing angels to descend to the relics also allowed Augustine to ascend to heaven through his merits – an allusion to the ladder of humility in the Benedictine Rule.[141] This story, like the aforementioned vision of Mildreth, demonstrates that the relics of saints in St Augustine's Abbey act as a nexus between heaven and earth. The monks singing the office do not so much imitate celestial song as participate in a joint liturgy. The auditions of heavenly choirs in the oratory of St Mary in the *Transl. Augustini* differ from these two visions in that they focus on place, not relics, but they nevertheless contribute to Goscelin's portrayal of

[136] P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL, 1981), p. 78.

[137] 'in the sight of God and his angels'. *The Rule of St Benedict: the Abingdon Copy*, ch. 19, ed. J. Chamberlain, Toronto Med. Latin Texts 13 (Toronto, 1982), 39.

[138] 'Therefore, let us believe (as the psalmist teaches) that when we sing to God in the sight of the angels, the angelic citizens do not disdain to praise God alongside the devoted servants'. Goscelin, *Translatio S. Mildrethae*, ch. 35, Rollason, 'Goscelin', pp. 205–6.

[139] Goscelin, *Transl. Augustini* I.ii.14 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 415C).

[140] 'Let us also see in faith that which [the priest] in seeing perhaps did not understand: angelic citizens lovingly descended via that ladder to the sweet cast-offs of the soul of their companion, Augustine, and warmed again his famous relics in this most generous of visits, and they also showed that they rejoiced in his glory along with the people of the earth'. *Ibid.* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, col. 415D).

[141] *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 7, p. 28.

St Augustine's Abbey as a community where past and present, spirits and bodies, divine and human, come together in liturgical worship.

CONCLUSION

Dunstan's appearances in the *Transl. Augustini* enriched the abbey's reputation by suggesting that a line of holiness ran from Augustine, its co-founder, through Dunstan and to the Anglo-Norman abbots who renovated the building and translated its saints. Symbols of the abbey's Anglo-Saxon heritage, Dunstan and the heavenly choirs acted as validating presences, justifying the actions of Scotland, the abbey's first Anglo-Norman architect. As such, the text may fall into the category of what Hayward has called the 'authority-laden translation-narrative' of the post-Conquest era, with Goscelin both invoking the gravitas of Dunstan and drawing on the oratory's existing reputation as a place where celestial choirs could be perceived.[142] He picked up the threads of Dunstan's intense spirituality and his miraculous auditory experiences from earlier hagiographical narratives, which suggests that this aspect of his sainthood would have resonated with the Canterbury readership. By affirming that the oratory was a locus of divine praise, and that any other building on that spot would also play host to heavenly presences, Goscelin insulated the abbey against the potentially damaging effects of change. While the translation ceremonies of 1091 were an ephemeral, if spectacular event, the holiness of the site on which the abbey stood – a site shared by monks and heavenly choirs as both performed their liturgical praise – was everlasting.[143]

[142] Hayward, 'Translation-Narratives', p. 89.

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