

Saint Cuthbert: with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of his tomb in Durham Cathedral, in the year MDCCCXXVII ... / [James Raine].

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Saint Cuthbert.

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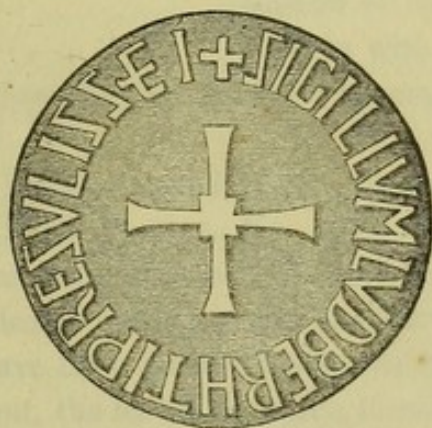
STEWART OF THE TOWN

Small Church

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Saint Cuthbert :

WITH
AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE STATE IN WHICH HIS REMAINS WERE FOUND
UPON THE
OPENING OF HIS TOMB
IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL, IN THE YEAR MDCCCXXVII.



"FROM THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE EARTH THEY COME,
TO KISS THIS SHRINE—THIS MORTAL BREATHING SAINT."

BY JAMES RAINE, M.A.,

*Rector of Meldon, Principal Surrogate of the Consistory Court of Durham, and Librarian
of Durham Cathedral.*

DURHAM:

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1828.

AN ACCOUNT

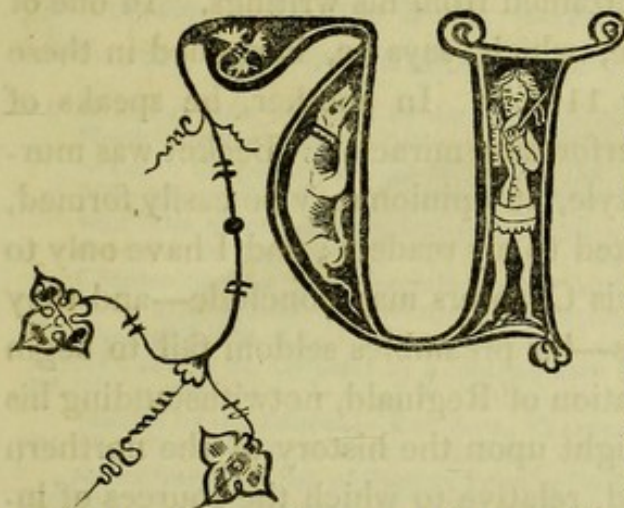
THE STATE IN WHICH HIS REMAINS WERE FOUND

OPENING OF HIS TOMB

IN THE YEAR MDCCLXXIV



PREFACE.



UNDER an impression, that certain of the authorities referred to in the following publication require a more minute specification than they have received in the pages where they are respectively quoted, I give here, as in the properest place, such further information as seems to be requisite.

I begin with Reginald, with respect to whom a few remarks are the more necessary, as his book has never been published.

The copy of which I have availed myself, belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Durham (MSS. Hunter, No. 101), by purchase from the executors of Dr. Hunter, who died in 1757; and from my acquaintance with the different modes of writing in use at different periods, I am of opinion that it must have been written before the year 1200. It is, of course, upon parchment, the leaves of which measure about six inches in length, and about four and a quarter in breadth. The space occupied by the writing varies in almost every page. The first Chapter is the Dedication, headed "*Incipit Epistola Reginaldi Dunelmensis Monachi ad Dominum Æthelredum* Abbatem Ecclesiæ Rievallensis directa,*" in which the writer styles Æthelred "*Piissimus Dominus & Pater, domus domini dispensator regius.*" Next succeed nine Chapters, chiefly of an introductory nature, and then commences the book itself, with the following title,—

"Incipit Libellus de Admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quæ novellis patratae sunt temporibus."

The initial U above is a fac-simile of the first letter of an endowment of the Vicarage of Norham, dated 11th June, 1580.

* See Fuller's *Worthies*, and Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*

The whole book contains 140 Chapters—a complete abstract of each of which may be seen in the lately published Catalogue of the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter, p. 399, &c.*

Reginald's period is easily ascertained from his writings. In one of his Chapters he records a miracle, which, says he, happened in these our days, "namely, in the year 1165."† In another, he speaks of Thomas a Becket as dead, and performing miracles. Becket was murdered in 1170. Of Reginald's style, an opinion may be easily formed, from the copious extracts submitted to my readers; and I have only to add, that however marvellously his Chapters may conclude—and they are almost all of them miraculous—his preambles seldom fail to begin with matter of fact. The publication of Reginald, notwithstanding his absurdities, would throw much light upon the history of the northern counties, connected with a period, relative to which the sources of information are so few.

From Reginald I pass on to another Manuscript on the subject of Durham and its early history. I mean the Compilations of Prior Wessington—a MS. belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, B. III. 30. fol. This book and its contents are minutely described in the lately published Catalogue of Durham Manuscripts.

The book to which I have more than once referred under the name of the YORK MS., is a manuscript in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral, containing *inter alia* a list of relics preserved at Durham in the thirteenth century; that Life of St. Cuthbert, which makes him of Irish extraction; a transcript of Reginald, and other tracts on the subject of Durham.

My other manuscript authorities have been sufficiently specified in the places where they are quoted.

* There is a transcript of Reginald upon paper in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 4843; another in the York MS. below; and I believe other copies may be found in the kingdom.

† That of a poor stag roused from his lair *in close time* by the hounds of Robert Fitz Philip, a Nobleman in the Lothians. The stag, after a long chase, finding death at his heels, bounded with all his might over the fence into the yard of a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and straightway was enabled to laugh his followers to scorn. According to Reginald, the dogs ran in full cry up to the fence, but when they got thither their feet became suddenly rivetted to the ground, and there they one and all stood gaping, but unable to give mouth. The stag the while was walking round the church at a moderate pace, *as if adoring the sanctuary of Cuthbert*; and at last he quietly laid himself down in the porch and fell asleep, under the protection of the Saint.

The printed books to which I have referred, are in general well known. One, however, requires particular notice,—I mean the volume of the “*Acta Sanctorum*” for March, compiled by Bollandus and his associates.* In this book, under the 20th of March, there are the following important tracts on the subject of St. Cuthbert :—

- I. *COMMENTARIUS PRÆVIUS*, by the Editors; containing, *first*, a brief account of the Kingdom of Northumberland—of the Diocese of Lindisfarne—of the territories bestowed upon St. Cuthbert—and of the period in which he lived. The *second* chapter introduces the reader to Cuthbert’s Biographers, the Monk of Lindisfarne, Bede, and Capgrave; but the latter compiler is treated with little ceremony (“*prefixa apud Capgravium ut fabulosa rejecta*”): and then follows a judicious enquiry into the real “*natale solum*” and parentage of the Saint. The *third* introductory Chapter contains the “*Veneration of St. Cuthbert*,” and a brief notice of the rule which he laid down to his followers.—Referred to in the following pages.—*BOLL. COM. PRÆV.*
- II. The Prose Life of St. Cuthbert from Bede.
- III. The Life of St. Cuthbert by a contemporary Monk of Lindisfarne.—*Ref. BOLL. MON. LINDISF.*
- IV. The removal of the body of St. Cuthbert to various places, and ultimately to Durham (a compilation by the Editors).—*Ref. BOLL. TRANSL. CORP.*
- V. The History of the removals of his body, from a MS. in the possession of Nicholas Belfort, completed from the Hist. of Turgot, Prior of Durham.—*Ref. BOLL. HIST. TRANS.*
- VI. The removal of the body of St. Cuthbert into his new tomb in the year 1104, from an anonymous author (supposed by Dr. Lingard to be Turgot), with preliminary remarks by the Editors. These three Chapters are contained in the second part of the Lawson MS. hereafter noticed.—*Ref. BOLL. TRANS. A° 1104.*

Another printed authority to which I have referred in almost every page, is SANDERSON. This is the history of the book—

There is among the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, MSS. Hunter, 44, 10, a Tract entitled “A Description or briefe Declaration of all y^e auntient Monuments, Rites, and Customs belonging to the Monasticall Church of Durham before y^e Suppression, written in 1593.” This compilation, which, from internal evidence, appears to have been written originally in Latin, and perhaps at a period somewhat antecedent to the above date, was published in 1672, by J. Davis, of Kidwelly, with the following title: “The ancient Rites and Monuments of the Monastical and Cathedral Church of Durham—collected out of ancient Manuscripts, about the time of the Suppression—published by J. D. of Kidwelly, *Tempora mutantur*. London: printed for W. Hensman, at the King’s Head, in Westminster Hall, M.DC.LXXII.” The book is dedicated (London, Oct. 4, 1671) to James Mickleton, of the Inner Temple, Esq., a man whose name is most closely connected with the History of the Palatinate. It is in a 12mo. of 164 pages, and is extremely scarce. Davies, or rather the MS. to which he had had access, came into the possession of Dr. Hunter, who in the year 1733 published a duodecimo, under the following title—“Durham Cathedral as it was before the dissolution of the Monastery, containing an account of the Rites, Customs, and Ceremonies used therein, together with the Histories painted in the windows, and an Appendix of various Antiquities collected from several Manuscripts. Durham: printed by J. Ross, for Mrs Waghorn, 1733.” The former part of Dr. Hunter’s publication differs little from the MS. printed by Davies. Here and there a monumental inscription is introduced, and here

* *Acta Sanctorum MARTII*, a Joanne Bollando S. I. colligi feliciter coepta, a Godefrido Henschenio et Daniele Papebrochio ejusdem societatis Jesu aucta digesta et illustrata. Antv. 1668. I beg to present my best thanks to the President of Ushaw College for the loan of this book.

and there the Doctor has modernized the orthography or style of the original. The Histories painted in the windows, which come in at p. 129, by way of an Appendix, are said by Hunter to have been written "by Prior Wassington,"—I know not upon what authority. They are printed from a M.S. then the property of the Doctor, and now belonging to the Dean and Chapter, MSS. Hunter, 4to. 44. 11. At p. 152, there commences an Appendix, containing, "I. Copies of Inscriptions beneath the figures of Kings and Bishops, in the screen between the Nave and Choir." "II. A note of Churches dedicated to St. Cuthbert" (v. p. 44 hereafter.) "III. IV. V. VI. Monumental Inscriptions." "VII. Bishop Pudsey's Charter to the Burgesses of Durham, with Pope Alexander's Confirmation;" and "VIII. Henry the VIth's letter, with reference to his reception at Durham," headed by a Latin memorandum on the same subject, (see p. 159 hereafter). A few lines of additional matter close the book, which is so scarce that I know of only two or three copies of it. I now come to SANDERSON, a "Bookseller at the Pope's Head, in Sadler-Street, Durham," who in the year 1767 re-published the old story under the still more novel title of "The Antiquities of the Abbey or Cathedral Church of Durham;" and to this he added, "A particular description of the County Palatine of Durham, compiled from the best Authorities and original Manuscripts, to which is added the succession of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Prebends; the Bishop's Courts and his Officers; and the Castles and Mansion Houses of the Nobility and Gentry, with other particulars. Newcastle: printed by J. White and T. Saint, for P. Sanderson, at the Pope's Head in Durham, 1767." There is "A Supplement" not noticed in the title page. The former part of the book is a reprint of Dr. Hunter's publication, with a few verbal alterations—the second part is not without merit. The lists of Dignitaries, *ad finem*, are extremely useful. This is the book to which I refer under the name of *Sanderson*, who, I must repeat, was merely its publisher.

I must further mention, that in the first pages of my publication, and in fact until the Monks quitted Lindisfarne for the last time, I have made copious extracts from that part of my History of "NORTH DURHAM," which is already printed.

The wood cuts at p. 15, 17, 20, 26, 28, 32, 38, and 71, are copies, in outline, of brilliant illuminations in a transcript of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, for the loan of which I am deeply indebted to Sir Henry Lawson, of Brough Hall, Baronet, its owner. The book is in 12mo. and appears to have been written about the year 1200. Each Chapter is, or has been, preceded by an illumination illustrative of the subject to be treated upon, but I have selected those only which are historical: a few are wanting. The full-length figure of St. Cuthbert at p. 15, is painted upon the leaf preceding the beginning of the book; and the D upon the same page is copied from the first letter of the dedication. The book further contains a transcript of the anonymous Monk's narrative with respect to the Translation of St. Cuthbert in 1104, printed in the "*Acta Sanctorum*."

AN ACCOUNT,

&c. &c.

THE History of SAINT CUTHBERT is so closely connected with that of the See of Lindisfarne, from the period of its establishment until the time when he ascended the Episcopal Chair, that a brief account of its foundation, and a concise notice of the five Bishops who preceded him, become a necessary introduction to the Life of the Saint himself.

The See of Lindisfarne* was founded by Oswald, King of Northumberland, in the year of our Lord 635.

The circumstances which led to its foundation may be briefly told.—In one of those commotions to which the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were from their nature liable—when at home the principle of hereditary succession was not always observed, and when abroad there were ambitious neighbours ever ready

* According to Bede and Symeon, the island took its name from the *Lindis*, a brook not more than two feet in breadth, which emptied itself into the sea from the opposite shore. *Farne*, the concluding syllable of the name, is, according to Grose, the Celtic *Fahren*, a place of retreat. The more modern name of *Holy Island* was given at the re-foundation of the church by the Monks of Durham, soon after the conquest, with reference to the original sanctity of the place, and the sacred blood which had been shed upon it by the Danes. (V. Prior Wessington de Orig. Ord. Monach. Benedict. MSS. Eccles. Dunelm. B. iii. 30. fol. 37. b.) The two appellations are used indiscriminately by Bishop Carileph, under whose auspices the second church was founded in 1093. He speaks of *Elande*, *Lindisfarne*, and *Halieland*, and, in fact, the original name had not fallen into disuse even in the reign of King Stephen. HOLY ISLAND is twice a day separated from the main land by a depth of *five*, and in spring tides of *seven*, feet of water, and twice a day it is accessible on dry ground. Its greatest distance from the coast scarcely exceeds two miles; but the path-way, at all times a precarious one, is considerably lengthened by pools and quicksands,

"Dry shod, o'er sands, twice every day,
The Pilgrims to the shrine find way;
Twice every day the waves efface,
Of staves and sandal'd feet the trace."

MARMION.

to avail themselves of internal dissension—Oswald, a Pagan Prince of the Royal blood of Northumberland, had been compelled to seek refuge in the Court of Scotland, and had, during his exile, embraced the Christian religion, then publicly professed in that Kingdom. Oswald, at no distant period, succeeded to the throne of Northumberland,* and in the very beginning of his reign was called upon to protect his subjects from an invasion of Cedwell, King of Cumberland. Like Constantine, he determined to fight under the banner of the Cross,† and like Constantine he was victorious. Cedwell and his invading army were left dead upon the field of Deniseburne,‡ and the King, grateful for his victory, formed upon the spot a determination to establish Christianity in Bernicia, the northern province of his kingdom. In order to carry his determina-

which have upon too many occasions proved fatal even to the experienced traveller.§ During low water, the intervening space presents a flat and dreary appearance; and, with the exception of the occasional whistle of a curlew, or the silver wing of a sea-mew sparkling in the sun, there is nothing to amuse either the ear or the eye. But reach the island, and recollect that here stood the first church between the Tees and the Frith of Forth—that of this church, the seat of sixteen Bishops in succession, not a vestige remains, and that a second structure, reared upon its foundations, is almost level with the ground—and there is enough to engage both the eye and the mind.

- ‡ 8 Jan. 1584. Old John Stapleton drowned.
- 19 Jan. 1591. Henrie Grame drowned.
- 16 Feb. 1601. Saunders Stobbs drowned.
- 28 Ap. 1640. A Scotch man that had beine drowned.
- 5 Nov. 1641. Samuell Waddell and his sone, of Swinhoe, who war drowned in the Low.
[The passage across is sometimes called the Low, from the little streamlet of that name (the antient *Lindis*) which empties itself into the Channel.]
- 10 Ap. 1644. David Smith, who was drowned in the Low.
- 2 Ap. 1680. Ralph Robinson, of Wooler, drowned.
- 25 Ap. 1682. Wm Gray drowned.
- 28 Jul. 1691. Matthew Swinhoe drowned.
- 13 Jan. 1723. Thos Wardle and James Wilson lost in the tide.
- 6 Feb. 1729. Henry White, of Dunbar, lost in the tide.
- 28 Jul. 1746. Robert Brown, Clerk of Holy Island, drowned.
- 13 Mar. 1763. A woman drowned.
- 24 Jan. 1796. Martha, wife of Robert Mort, a soldier, perished in crossing the sands.
- 8 Ap. 1801. Wm McMillan, of Berwick, drowned in passing the sands.
- 15 Dec. 1802. Alexander Warrack, Master of the Lark of Aberdeen, drowned in crossing the sands, &c. &c.
Holy Island Par. Reg.

* The kingdom of Northumberland extended at this period from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, and was subdivided into two provinces, *Deira* and *Bernicia*. *Deira* had already embraced Christianity; but its Bishop had, two years before this event, forsaken his See of York. This fact may explain the reason why Oswald had recourse to Scotland for a missionary to convert his Bernician subjects. Upon this subject see the final note appended to the life of Aidan. Bernicia was the northern province.

† Bede gives a minute account of this interesting transaction. One may, without much stretch of fancy, see the youthful King supporting a rude cross, made upon the spur of the moment, until his soldiers had firmly fixed it in the ground, and one may imagine the eagerness with which the following most striking exhortation would be obeyed—"Flectamus omnes genua, et Dominum omnipotentem, vivum ac verum in commune deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce, sua miseratione defendat; scit enim ipse quia justa pro salute gentis nostræ bella suscepiamus."—*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 2. *Ed. Smith.*

‡ In the neighbourhood of Hexham, but its precise situation is unknown.

tion into effect, he had recourse for a missionary, not to Deira, his southern province, but to Donald, King of Scotland, who forthwith commanded Corman, a Monk of Iona, to convert the heathens of Bernicia. But Corman's attempt totally failed, and Aidan, another Monk of the same Monastery, voluntarily undertook the task, succeeded, and became

THE FIRST BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 635—652.

Aidan, upon his arrival in Northumberland, was permitted by its King to select for himself the seat of his Episcopacy. Bernicia, with its hills and dales, its streams and rivers, from the Tees to the Frith of Forth, lay open to his choice. A man gifted with less discretion, and with fewer reminiscences of past life, would have fixed his staff in one of those warm and well wooded vales with which the province must have then abounded. But other reasons seem to have operated upon the mind of Aidan in his choice of Lindisfarne. In the first place, its security held out no small inducement. It was twice a day insulated by the tide, and it was therefore twice a day protected by a broad moat of living water; and, secondly, it was within an hour's sail of the Royal residence of Bamborough*. Perhaps a third reason operated still more strongly upon the mind of the settler. Aidan had been long accustomed to the sea-girt shore of Iona. Habit is generally succeeded by attachment; and Lindisfarne, which, to one familiarized with fairer scenes, would have been little less than banishment, would doubtless appear to him a second Iona embosomed in the waves. But whatever might be his motives, here he unfurled the sacred banner of Episcopacy, which continued to wave over the island for many generations.

No particular account is given of the fabric erected by Aidan and his humble followers; but that it was merely a temporary edifice, sufficiently appears from its subsequent history. Here Aidan and his Monks daily, in their turns, taught the assembled multitudes; and when, in consequence of their Scottish dialect, the preachers became unintelligible to their hearers, Oswald condescended to explain the difficulty to his zealous subjects.

* Bamborough (Bebbanburch) had been built by Ida, King of Northumberland, in honour of Bebb, his Queen, not many years before the foundation of the See of Lindisfarne.

Before Aidan's arrival there had been no emblem of Christianity, no church, no altar, no cross, in the whole province. The Pagan was buried in the corner of his field, or on the hill which overlooked his habitation.* But the word of God soon prevailed, and churches were speedily built in populous districts. Monasteries were endowed by Royal munificence, and in each of these a school was established for the purpose of qualifying a regular succession of Ministers. Aidan and his Monks devoted their leisure hours to the education of twelve English youths, of whom Eata was successively Abbot of Melrose and Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Cedde became the Patron Saint of Litchfield, the Chad of the Romish Calendar.

Thus lived the first Bishop of Lindisfarne until the eighth year of his Episcopate, when he was suddenly deprived of his patron King. Oswald's territories had been invaded by Penda, King of Mercia, under circumstances of great aggravation, and it became necessary for him to arm his subjects and avenge the insult. The invader retreated to Maserfield, in Shropshire, where he gave battle to the injured Northumbrians. Here Oswald fell in the conflict,† and here, upon the spot of his discomfiture, his dead body was treated with the most barbarous vengeance by the conqueror.‡

Oswald was succeeded in his kingdom of Bernicia by Oswy, his brother-in-law, and in that of Deira by Oswin, son of Osric, a former King of the province,—a Prince who had gained the esteem of Aidan by his unfeigned religion and unostentatious deportment. A war soon ensued betwixt the rival Monarchs, which was terminated by the assassination of Oswin, at Gilling,§ in

* The hills of Northumberland (now so called) are studded with grey cairns bleached by the elements; and in the low grounds single graves, and occasionally large burial places, are frequently discovered, in which each respective grave is composed of thin stones set on edge, with a cover of the same rude materials. Witness the late discoveries at Bamborough, Golden Hill, North Charlton, Abberwick, Cheswick, &c., all referring to the Pagan period of the Heptarchy.

† In the 38th year of his age and the 9th of his reign. His relics were speedily dispersed throughout the kingdom. His head only remained to his faithful Monks of Lindisfarne. It regularly attended them in their prosperity and adversity, and it forms no unimportant part in my subsequent narrative. In addition to his head, the Monks of Durham could boast of his ivory sceptre, his baldrick, his cross, and his standard. See the list of Durham relics in the fourteenth century, hereafter specified.

‡ The "*truncus stipiti impositus*," the trophy formed by Penda of the mangled limbs of the King, gave the new name of *Oswestry* (Oswald's tree) to the field of battle.

§ That Oswin was murdered at Gilling in the year 651, is matter of fact; but I know not who could have informed Dr Whitaker (see his *Hist. of Richmondshire*, under GILLING) that the vestiges of the Castle in which the murder was committed were removed only a few years ago. No such building exists either in recollection or tradition.

Richmondshire, an event which is stated to have hastened the death of the Bishop of Lindisfarne. The circumstances of his death appear worthy of record. The village church of Bamborough belonged to him, and a humble shed affixed to the western end of the structure afforded him an occasional residence. Here he was sojourning when the evil news of Oswin's death reached him, and here he sickened, and in twelve days died, reclining against a wooden buttress which supported the sacred edifice.* His body was buried in the cemetery of Lindisfarne, where it remained undisturbed until the days of Finan, his successor, who removed its decaying remains into his newly erected Cathedral, and gave them an honorable place on the north side of the altar. Colman, the third Bishop of Lindisfarne, purloined part of the sacred relicks when he resigned his Bishopric from conscientious motives, in 664; and the remainder were removed from their resting place by the Monks, upon their ultimate flight from the island, and, with the exception of a few fragments which King Edmund obtained during one of his northern expeditions, and which he subsequently bestowed upon the Monks of Glastonbury, finally found a resting place at Durham.†

The character of Bishop Aidan has been well drawn by Bede, who was in every respect, except one,‡ his most devoted admirer. Upon the present occa-

* Ob. 31st Aug. 651, in the 17th year of his Episcopacy. There is (1827) in a spandril of the Te Deum window, over the clock in Durham Cathedral, a full-length figure of Bishop Aidan in painted glass, in pontificalibus, with the inscription

Sanctus Aidanus.

† Prior Wess. f. 58. The relicks of Bishop Aidan preserved at Durham in the fourteenth century, were his cross of black jet (*de nigro geete*), and his skull set in copper, gilt and adorned with precious stones.—See the Inventory of Relics.

‡ This one point was Aidan's observance of Easter, at the period in which the Feast was commemorated by Scotland, rather than at the time prescribed by the Roman and English Church. A history of the controversy, which was at a subsequent period agitated with great acrimony, may be found in Smith's Bede, app. No. ix. p. 694, &c. But I return to Bede's character of Aidan, which he takes care thus to qualify:—"Scripsi autem hæc de personâ et operibus viri præfati, nequidquam in eo laudans vel eligens hoc, quod de observatione Paschæ minus perfectè sapiebat: immo hoc multum detestans," &c. And again, "Quod autem Pascha non suo tempore observabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, vel suæ gentis auctoritate ne agnitum sequeretur devictus, non adprobo nec laudo." And yet it immediately repents him of what he had written, for he adds these redeeming words:—"In quo tamen hoc adprobo, quia in celebratione sui Paschæ non aliud corde tenebat venerabatur et predicabat quam quod nos, id est, redemptionem generis humani per passionem resurrectionem ascensionem in celos Mediatoris Dei et hominum, hominis Jesu Christi.—Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl., lib. iii., cap. xvii.

sion, however, it must suffice to refer to the Historian himself.* I have given the particulars of Aidan's non-conformity in a note below, because I verily believe that, but for this, he would, at a later period, have become the Patron Saint of his Church.

FINAN, SECOND BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 652—661.

Aidan was succeeded in the Bishopric of Lindisfarne by Finan, another Monk, from the monastery of Iona.

Finan rebuilt his Cathedral Church after the manner of Scotland,† not of masonry, although the Island afforded materials in abundance, but of timber, (de robore secto), thatching it with reeds.‡ Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, dedicated the newly erected structure to St. Peter and St. Paul, and in this state it continued until the time of Eadbert, the seventh Bishop of the Island. Of Finan it is also recorded, that he removed the bones of Aidan his predecessor, from their resting place in the common cemetery of the Church, and enshrined them on the right side of the high altar. Walbottle,§ near Newcastle, seems to have been the favourite place of his ministry, for here, at different periods, he baptized Peada, King of Mercia, and Sigbert, King of the East Saxons.

The question with respect to the proper period for the observance of Easter, was still agitated with all the acrimony of bitter controversy. Although Finan

* Hist. Eccl. Ang., lib. iii., cap. v. and xvii. It ought to be stated that Aidan, during the whole of his Episcopate, exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not only over Bernicia, the province which owed its conversion to him, but also over Deira, the southern portion of the kingdom of Northumberland, which had been deserted by Paulinus, its Archbishop (of York), upon the murder of Edwin, King of Northumberland, in 633. After the flight of this Prelate no new appointment took place, and Aidan and his successors were virtually, though not nominally, Archbishops of York for the thirty succeeding years. Paulinus fled to Rochester, and upon this See entailed his pall, of which York was bereft for 125 years.—*Higden*. These facts sufficiently explain the reason why the four first Bishops of Lindisfarne came from Scotland.

† Bede and Symeon.

‡ The *arundo* of Bede was, in all probability, the long, wiry, bent grass, which grows in abundance on the Island, and serves, by its deeply penetrating roots, to bind fast the sand-banks which run along the coast. This grass, the Monks of Holy Island, many centuries afterwards, used as *strewnments*, instead of rushes, in their Church and Hall. In the year 1343, their *bent* for the hall and chamber stood them in the sum of 10d.

§ Bede Hist. iii. xxi., &c. At the period of which I am writing, the Roman remains at Walbottle were, doubtless, of sufficient magnitude and importance to ensure the occasional residence of the Bishop.

was by no means backward to enter the lists, yet, according to Bede, he was a man of the greatest obstinacy, and so far proof against the soundest arguments, that Ronan, who undertook to convince him of his erroneous tenets, was totally unsuccessful. He, however, succeeded to a certain degree, in gaining over many of the Bishop's adherents, a circumstance which seems to have given great satisfaction to the historian. Even the Palace itself was divided. When the King was celebrating his passover, with the Queen it was only Palm Sunday, so that for several years Easter was twice celebrated in the Court of Northumberland.

Finan died in the tenth year of his Episcopate, 10th Feb., 661, and was succeeded by

COLMAN, THIRD BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 661—664,

a third Monk from Iona.

The Paschal dispute still raged with all its violence, until at length Oswi, King of Northumberland, convened a general Synod at Whitby, for the purpose of settling the controversy. The King himself presided at the meeting, and the speakers were Colman, in favour of the practice of the Scottish Church, and Wilfrid, in defence of the Romish observance. The latter, as might have been expected, quoted the well known, but much perverted text, (Matt. xvi. 18.) with which the Church of Rome has never failed to arm her disputants; and the King having ascertained from Colman, that St. Columb, the founder of the Church of Scotland, could boast of no similar declaration in his favour, closed the conference in these remarkable words: "I declare to you that this St. Peter is a Porter whom I should be slow to contradict—nay, rather, I wish to obey him in all points, to the best of my knowledge and power, lest, haply, when I shall present myself before the gate of heaven, there may be no one to open to me, he who is proved to be the bearer of the key having turned upon me his back."*

The result was the discomfiture of Colman,† who forthwith resigned his Bishopric, and retired to Iona, carrying with him a few relicks of the body of Aidan, his predecessor.

* Bede. Hist. Eccl. iii. xxv.

† Colman died in 676.

TUDA, FOURTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 664—5.

Upon the resignation of Colman, Tuda, another Monk, professing all the opinions of the Church of Scotland, succeeded to the vacant See. But in less than a year he and almost the whole of his flock of Monks were swept away by a pestilence which raged throughout the whole of Northumberland.

At that period Lindisfarne seems to have been much frequented by the nobility of the province. Their primary objects in quitting their home were religious instruction and seclusion. Many of them became afterwards professed Monks, and devoted themselves to the Church. Others returned home, carrying with them into their several districts such a stock of sacred learning, as by its co-operation greatly facilitated the labours of the Clergy.

Bede closes his account of the four Scottish Bishops of Lindisfarne, with a highly laboured eulogy upon their humble mode of life, and their unwearied anxiety in the discharge of their religious duties. The Church, says he, was almost their only building upon the Island. They abounded not in flocks and herds, and they possessed no regular pecuniary income. Their sole object was to promote the glory of God, and the eternal interest of those over whom they presided.*

EATA, ABBOT OF LINDISFARNE, 664—678.

Upon the death of Tuda, considerable changes took place in the Bishopric of Northumberland.†

Alcfrid, the heir apparent of the kingdom, seems to have determined that Wilfrid of Ripon should succeed Tuda, and remove the See from Lindisfarne to York, and with this view had sent him to France for consecration; but Wilfrid, when once consecrated, made no haste to return, and Oswi the Sovereign, exasperated at his delay, conferred the vacant See upon Ceadda, Abbot of Lastingham. Ceadda, who had been a scholar of Aidan, the first Bishop of Lin-

* Bede. Hist. Eccl. Angl. iii. xxvi. See a translation in Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. i. p. 12.

† I am now speaking of Northumberland in its fullest extent, from the Humber to the Frith of Forth.

disfarne, and who had in the mean time been labouring in the vineyard with no ordinary success, was, after some difficulty, consecrated by Vini, Bishop of the West Saxons.

But, after an interval of three years, Wilfrid returned, and claimed the See to which he had been consecrated; and Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, having espoused his cause, Ceadda found it convenient to offer no resistance, but retired to his Monastery of Lastingham, and, after a short time, was prevailed upon to resume his Episcopal functions in the newly established Diocese of Lichfield, where his fame became great, and his miracles innumerable.

Wilfrid, in the mean time, took up his abode at York, and continued for several years to exercise spiritual jurisdiction throughout both the provinces of Northumberland. But although he built and endowed churches without number (Hexham, at that time the wonder of the north, among the rest), yet those who were best acquainted with his character, gave him credit for no higher motives than those of splendour and ostentation. Egfrid, his contemporary King of Northumberland, was equally ambitious, and, if any credit can be given to Wilfrid's Chaplain, somewhat disposed to rapacity, or rather sacrilege. Under these circumstances, a quarrel soon took place, which ended in the interference of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wilfrid's resignation of his See.

EATA, FIFTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 678—685.

After the resignation of Wilfrid, by no means on his part a voluntary one, the See of Northumberland was again divided, and the Tees became, as it had been before, the boundary between the two dioceses. Bosa was appointed Bishop of Deira, the southern province, and the spiritual jurisdiction of Bernicia was consigned to Eata, Abbot of Lindisfarne.

Eata had been originally a scholar of Aidan, the first Bishop of the island. At a subsequent period he had been elected Abbot of Melrose,* and had been especially recommended to the King by Colman, as his successor in the See of Lindisfarne. But the election of Tuda and the intrigues of Wilfrid for a while deprived him of the honour to which he at length succeeded. Notwithstand-

* Melrose was founded by Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindisfarne.—Chalmers, i. 525.

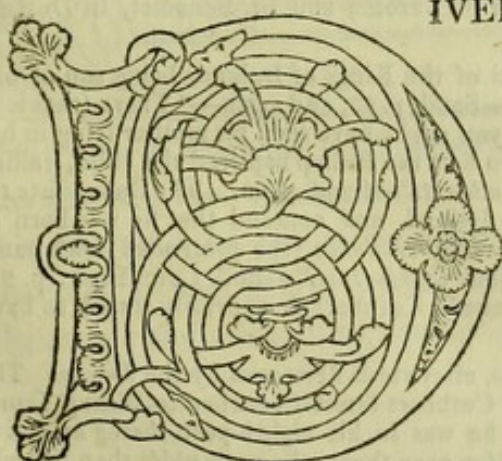
standing, during the interregnum of the Bishopric, if it may be so called, in the interval between the death of Tuda and his own election, he had for fourteen years regularly presided in the Monastery of Lindisfarne, under the title of Abbot, and had professed spiritual allegiance to Ceadda and Wilfrid in their turns. But the time at length came when he was called upon to enlarge his sphere of action, and was left at full liberty to reside at Hexham or Lindisfarne, according to his discretion. In the third year after these arrangements took place, the See of Lindisfarne was again dismembered. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, for reasons which are nowhere stated, appointed Tunberct to be Bishop of Hexham, and Trumvin to be Bishop of that part of the Diocese of Lindisfarne which lay beyond the Tweed. In the space of three years Tunberct was deposed, and was succeeded in his See of Hexham by Cuthbert, the subject of the present narrative. An arrangement soon afterwards (684) took place between the neighbouring Bishops, in consequence of which Eata retired to the See of Hexham,* leaving the Saint in full possession of Lindisfarne, where even at the present day his name is the "household word" of the old and the young.†

* Eata died at Hexham, and rested quietly in his grave until the days of Thomas, Archbishop of York, who, in the year 1115, meditated the removal of his remains from Hexham to York, and repaired to Hexham for that purpose, attended by a numerous body of clergy. The relic-hunters reached Hexham at night-fall, and the Archbishop, fatigued with his journey, retired to rest, but at midnight he saw in his sleep Eata standing before him, *arrayed in his Episcopal robes, and holding in his hand his pastoral staff*. "What," said the dead man, "is this which you are intending to do? You have come hither to transfer me from the place of my repose to a church which has no part in me—a thing which I know has not been enjoined you from above. I tell you that you shall suffer the punishment due to your presumption;" and, without further parley, he raised his pastoral staff and began to accompany his threats with blows soundly laid on. The Archbishop awoke, and howling aloud from fear, roused his clerks, who were sleeping in the same room with him, and, frightened almost out of his senses, told them with faltering voice what he had seen. The result was the departure of the whole body next morning, leaving Eata undisturbed in his grave.—*MS. Life of St. Eata, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York*.

† The original possessions of the See of Durham, Norham, Island, and Bedlington, have long engaged my attention, and in my frequent visits to the two former of these districts, I have treasured up many a legendary tale connected with St. Cuthbert, never alluded to by his Biographers.



SAINT CUTHBERT, SIXTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE,
685—688.



IVERSE accounts are given of the parentage and early history of St. Cuthbert. It is recorded by more than one Chronicler, that he was born of Royal blood in Ireland, and a probable reason is given for the migration of his parents into Scotland. This high descent of their *patron* is countenanced by Prior Wessington,* and by the Romanist whose "Rites and Monuments of Durham Abbey" were first printed by Davies, and afterwards by Hunter and Sander-

* "Sanctus Cuthbertus Patronus Ecclesiæ Civitatis & Libertatis Dunelm., natione Hibernicus

son.* Bede, however, and after him, Simeon and Reginald, make no allusion to the exalted origin of their Saint, and therefore it may fairly be presumed that the tale was invented at a later period.

Cuthbert was, in all probability, born of humble parents, in that district of Scotland now denominated the Lothians. We first hear of him as performing a miracle when a mere youth, upon the banks of the Scottish Tine,† a river which empties itself into the sea northwards of Dunbar; and he next occurs as a shepherd on the Lauder, a stream which falls into the Tweed a few miles below Melrose.

Here he was sojourning, and this was his occupation, when, according to Bede, in consequence of a vision which burst upon his eyes in the night season, the newly departed soul of Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindisfarne, winging its way through the sky to heaven, amid a host of attending angels, he was induced to forsake his flocks and folds, and bid farewell to the world.

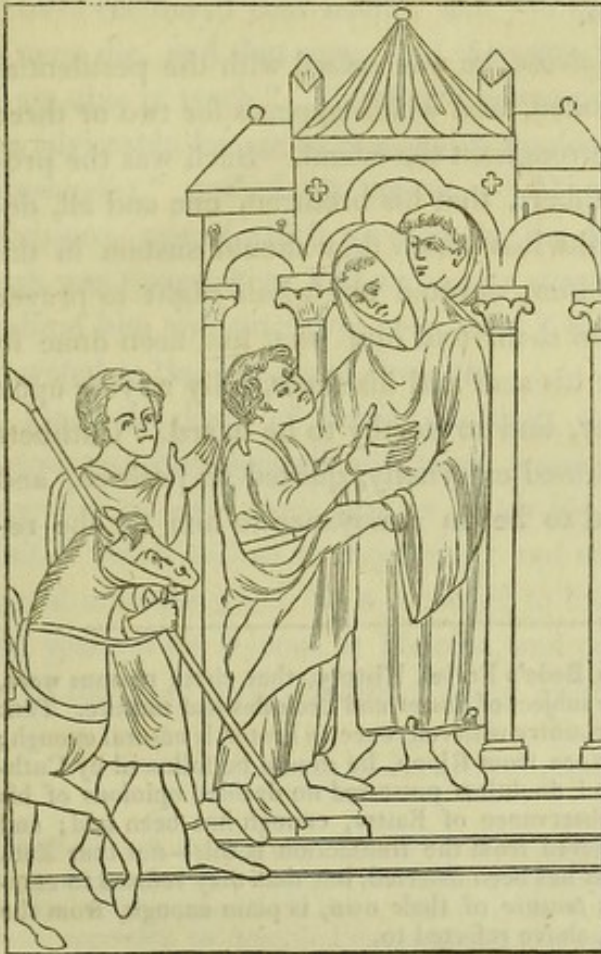
It may be gathered from this marvellous tale, when taken in connection with

regis parentibus ortus, nutu Dei Angliam perductus et apud Mailros monachus est effectus; deinde in Ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem per Abbatem suum Eatam translatus, postea vitam anachoriticam in Insula Farne ducebat solus. Demum per Egfridum regem & Theodorum Archiepiscopum Cantuar. in plenâ synodo in Episcopum Lindisfarnensem eligitur et a septem Episcopis Eboraci consecratur. Cujus corpus per Alduinum Episcopum Dunelm. translatus, ibidem post 418 depositionis suæ annos incorruptum & flexibile, dormienti quam mortuo similis est inventum. Beda de gestis Anglor. Libro 4^{to}. Cap. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. Et ex libro de exordio & progressu Ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis simul & Dunelm. Floruit anno gratiæ 680." I quote Prior Wessington's transcript of the inscription (doubtless written by himself) which was placed under the image of St. Cuthbert, above the Altar of St. Jerome and St. Benedict, in Durham Cathedral.—Wess. f. 15.

* He is said to be descended from the blood royal of the Kings of Ireland, being son of one Muriardach, and Sabina his wife, a King's daughter.—Sand. p. 63, and again—"There (that is in the painted glass of the East Alley of the Cloisters) you might have seen his mother lying in her child-bed"—*I gladly omit the next paragraph.* "Also how the Bishop baptized the child, calling his name Yullock in the Irish language, in English *Cuthbert*."—Sand. p. 69. The Bollandists totally reject the account that Cuthbert sprung from Ireland, and contend that he was born in England, of Saxon parentage. "Servent Hibernici suum *Nulluhoc* (the pretended Irish name for Cuthbert) *ejulantem*, et relinquant Anglo-Saxonibus *Cuthbertum*."—Boll. Com. Præv. p. 95. See also Bede's Poetical Life of Cuthbert, cap. 1, where Cuthbert is expressly stated to have been born in *Britain*.

† Upon which stood the Monastery of Tiningham, afterwards destroyed by the Danes. The absurdity of Bede's first chapter is manifest, but yet Cuthbert himself vouched to Bishop Trumwine for its truth. It appears, that one day, when he was in his eighth year, being an active and quick boy, fond of play, and more than a match for even those who were older than himself, his future rank in the church was foretold to him by a boy scarcely three years old, who recommended him to desist forthwith from his boyish amusements, and devote his body and his mind to higher pursuits. Bede, in telling the tale, exults in the comparison which might be drawn between Samuel and his Saint.

the other chronological data of Bede, that in the year 652 Cuthbert was but a youth, that he was a shepherd in the immediate neighbourhood of Melrose, or at least that he dwelt at no great distance from that Monastery, and that he, for reasons satisfactory to himself, about that period devoted himself to a religious life.



Eata, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, was at that time Abbot, and Boisilus, Prior of Melrose. The former happened to be absent when Cuthbert presented himself at the gate of the Monastery; but the latter, whose virtue and learning had induced Cuthbert to prefer Melrose to Lindisfarne, no sooner saw the youth than he welcomed him with open arms, and saluted him in the memorable words addressed to Nathanael—"An Israelite, indeed, in whom there is no guile."* Upon Eata's return home, Cuthbert received the tonsure,† and straightway set himself to surpass his fellow Monks in works of discipline and devotion. But soon afterwards Eata was appointed Abbot of the Monastery of Ripon, and upon his departure from

Melrose was attended by Cuthbert, as the Hostillar of his Church. I pass by the tale that here Cuthbert entertained an angel, who sought hospitality under his roof, and the still more marvellous story of the three loaves of bread, not made by human hands, which were found upon his table after his guest had departed; and come to the matter of fact, that in the year 661 he and his supe-

* Bede v. S. C. cap. vi., from the relation of Sigfrid, who was present at the arrival of Cuthbert. At the time when Bede wrote his history he was living at Jarrow, far advanced in years.

† Bede v. S. C. cap. vi. "Acceptâ tonsurâ"—the words are important.

rior, Eata, were obliged, for reasons not stated by Bede,* to leave Ripon, and return home again to Melrose. But change of place brought along with it no change of purpose. In fact, his return from Ripon was a source of joy to Cuthbert, inasmuch as it afforded him renewed opportunities of profiting by the precepts and example of Boisil, the master who had originally discovered his worth, and had foreseen his exaltation.

Soon after Cuthbert's return to Melrose he was seized with the pestilential disease which has been already mentioned, and which appears for two or three years to have prevailed more or less throughout the island. Such was the progress of the disease in the case of Cuthbert, that his brethren, one and all, despaired of his life, but well aware of the loss which they should sustain in the event of his death, they, unknown to him, devoted one whole night to prayer for his recovery. At day break one of them told him what had been done in his behalf, and forthwith he called for his staff and his shoes, fully relying upon the prayers of men so many in number, and so worthy to be heard. Cuthbert recovered, but a tumor, which had formed externally, quitted its position, and taking an internal direction, continued to be an annoyance to him for the remainder of his life.†

* Dr. Smith infers, from some passages in Bede's Eccles. History, that these reasons were, Eata's adhering to the Scottish custom on the subject of Easter and Ecclesiastical tonsure. That Eata should continue in the observance of his country with reference to Easter, is natural enough; and it is equally natural that, upon his departure from Ripon, he should be followed by Cuthbert, who was still a youth, and at that period doubtless possessed no decided opinions of his own upon the subject. As to the Scottish observance of Easter, enough has been said; and with reference to tonsure, all that can be inferred from the transaction is this—not that Eata and his followers refused the tonsure *in toto*, as has been asserted, but that they refused to comply with the *cut* of Rome. That they had a *tonsure* of their own, is plain enough, from the sixth chapter of Bede's prose life of Cuthbert, above referred to.

† Bede Vita S. C. cap. viii. I record this story, because I think it worthy of credit. That an epidemic disease was then raging in Northumberland, is matter of fact; for Tuda, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and many of his flock of Monks, were swept away by it. That Cuthbert might have been attacked by the same disease is probable enough; and as to his recovery, I think it may be accounted for without the aid of a miracle. The power of the mind over the body in certain diseases is universally acknowledged; and I do not see why, in the case before us, a strong mental effort, proceeding from such an impulse, might not have contributed mainly to the recovery of the patient. The prevalence of pestilential disorders, even down to the seventeenth century, is not to be wondered at. As long as our ancestors lived almost exclusively upon salted food, fish, or flesh, and paid no attention to cleanliness, either in their persons or dwellings, there was invariably a tremendous periodical "*visitation*," as our early parish registers term it, which never failed to hurry hundreds to their grave, even in the most remote, and now the most healthy, districts. I know of more than one country church-yard, in which there is a portion of ground where the buttercups and daisies are never disturbed by the spade of the sexton, and for this avowed reason, that "here were buried all those who died of the plague, and we dare not open the ground."

Cuthbert had scarcely recovered his strength, when Boisil, his master, was attacked by the same disease. But Boisil was conscious, probably from a consideration of his age, when taken in connection with the nature of his disorder, that he should not survive the attack, and his last words were such as to leave a strong impression upon the mind of his scholar—"You," said he to Cuthbert, "have recovered your health, and you must live a while longer; as to myself, I must die, and that soon, and therefore I would have you to learn as long as I am able to teach." Cuthbert's answer was—"What is there which it would be adviseable for me to read which would occupy me for a week?" "John the Evangelist," replied his master,—“My copy of the book is stitched in seven divisions, one of which we may, by the help of God, read every day.” The task was undertaken, and no sooner was it finished than Boisil died,* leaving behind him a distinct prophecy, that Cuthbert should, in process of time, be elevated to the Episcopal chair.†

Upon the death of Boisil, Cuthbert was appointed Prior of Melrose, and began to devote himself still more intensely to his ministerial duties. I refer my reader to the ninth chapter of his life by Bede, for an account of the difficulties which he had to encounter,‡ and am equally brief with respect to the six signal miracles which he is recorded to have performed during the few remaining years of his sojourn at Melrose, and pass on from fable to history.

In the year 664, Cuthbert again quitted the Monastery of Melrose, and

* Bede v. S. C. cap. viii. Those of my readers who are acquainted with the death of the venerable authority of which I am availing myself, will not fail to recognize the striking circumstantial coincidence which exists between the death of Boisil and his own. See the Life of Bede appended to Smith's Edition of his Historical Works, and Southey's *Vindiciæ Eccles. Angl.* p. 86. Bede in his few last days undoubtedly had the death of Boisil, as recorded by himself, full in his memory.

† This prophecy, however, Cuthbert kept to himself, until it was upon the point of being fulfilled.—*Ibid.*

‡ Bede v. S. C. cap. ix—xv. One of the prejudices which Cuthbert had to eradicate, was the sovereign use of incantations, and other dæmoniacal mysteries, in behalf of those dying persons who had embraced the Christian faith. That the same delusion prevailed upon the borders for almost a thousand years after the time of Cuthbert, is sufficiently manifest from the following curious extract:—

“23 Jul. 1604, at Wooller. A proceeding of his Worship (*the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Durham*) against Katherine Thompson and Anne Nevelson—presented for being common “*charm*ers of sick folkes and their goodes, and that they use to bring white ducks or drakes, “and to sett the bill thereof to the mouth of the sick person and mumble uppe their *charm*es in “such strange manner as is damnable and horrible.”—*Visitation Book, Registrar's Office, Durham.*

formed his first connection with Lindisfarne, as Prior of that Monastery under Eata, its newly appointed Abbot.*



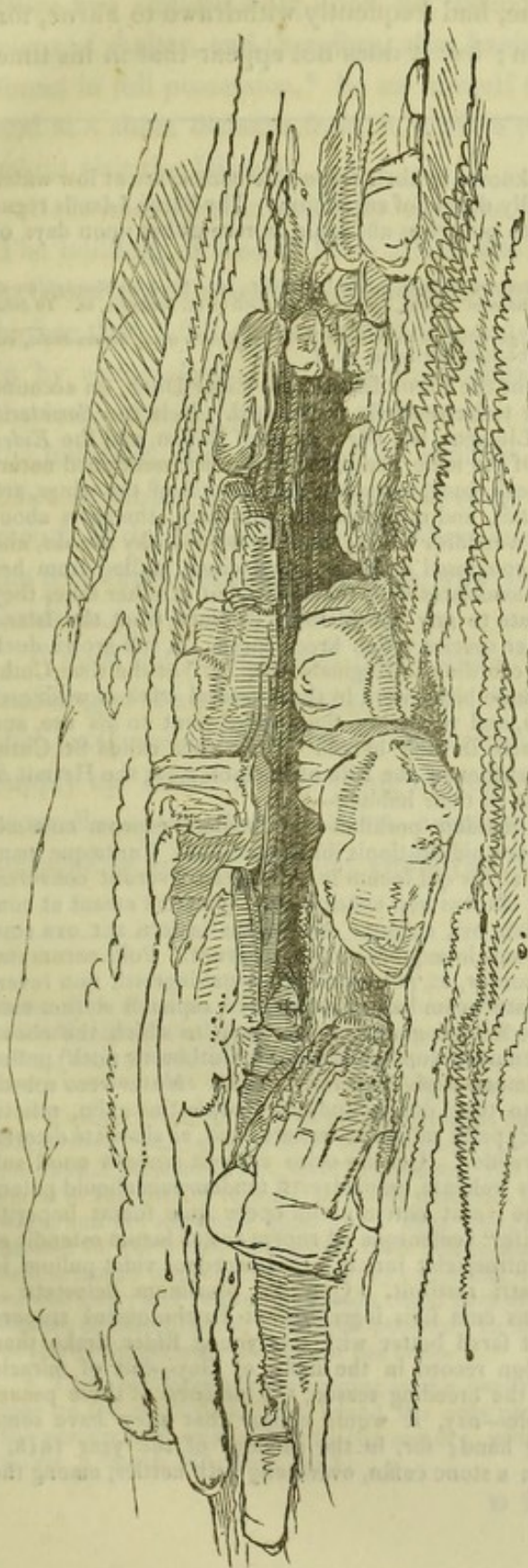
Here, according to Bede, his acts of mortification were more frequent, and his humility became daily more and more manifest. He never celebrated the solemnity of the last supper without bursting into tears; and it seemed to be his wish to excite a religious feeling in his congregation, not by his words, but by the internal agitation under which he laboured—not by the voice of music, but by groans. His dress was simple, remarkable neither for its cleanliness nor the contrary. Even to the time of his Biographer, his example in this respect was carefully observed by the church to which he belonged. There was in the Monastery no robe, either of a diversified or an expensive colour.

The material was wool, and it was in its undyed state.

After twelve years had elapsed, Cuthbert, in the year 676, determined to quit Lindisfarne, and devote himself to a solitary life. He had long wished to separate himself from the society of mankind from religious motives, but he was for a while at first cautious in carrying his design into execution. Bede, whose historical information ought not to be doubted, states, that in the first instance he retired to a secluded place, somewhere upon the borders of the territory more immediately connected with Lindisfarne, and here his information stops short as to the name of the place, and its precise situation.† There is, however, on the southern slope of a long ridge of hills, near the village of Howburn, a na-

* See above, A° 664. p. 13. Here again he healed the sick and cast out devils, even when far absent from those who craved his aid.—Bede v. S. C. cap. xvi.

† Bede v. S. C. xvii.



tural cave, which has invariably been called St. Cuthbert's Cave, or, in the words of the villagers, *Cuddy's Cove*, and which, according to uniform tradition, was at one period inhabited by the Saint. Is there any thing improbable in the supposition, that this was the hermitage for which, in the first instance, Cuthbert quitted Lindisfarne? Two things are certain, that the place of his retirement was not one of the adjacent Islands, and that wherever it was, it was at no great distance from the Church to which he belonged.

But Cuthbert coveted a still greater seclusion from the world, and retired, soon afterwards, to FARNE, the largest of the group of Islands, now denominated from it THE FARNE ISLANDS, upon the coast of Northumberland, and at no great distance from Lindisfarne.*

* Farne Island consists of a few acres of ground partially covered with grass, and hemmed around with an abrupt border of basaltic rocks, which on the side nearest the main-land rise to the height of 80 feet above the level of the sea. There is, however, a gentle slope towards the sea on the side of the ocean, and on this side Cuthbert erected his habitation. He was succeeded in his small abode by one hermit after another, at intervals, until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it became occupied by a cell of Benedictine Monks, from Durham. The nearest point to Farne Island, upon the coast, is Bamborough Castle, from which it is distant about two miles and a quarter. The adjacent Islands,

Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindisfarne, had frequently withdrawn to Farne, for the purposes of retirement and devotion; but it does not appear that in his time

all of which have, from an early period, been known by their respective names, are at low water sixteen in number, and many of them are totally devoid of vegetation. The Farne Islands regularly supplied the great Church of Durham with porpoises and seals, as rare dishes upon days of festivity, until the dissolution.

1538. For one sea swine (porc. marinor) bought of the Master of Fayrne, on the 1st of Sept., 10s. To John Mondey, for its carriage, 2s. 4d. One sea calf (vitul' mariu.) bought of the Master of Fayrne, against the Festival of St. Nicholas, 5s. To John Mondey for its carriage, 2s. 4d.—Reers, Book, 1538.

Sir Thomas Swinburne, High Sheriff of Northumberland, gave 10s. to his "Cozen William Read's man, for sea-foule, out of the flarne yland," during the Assize week, in the year 1628.—MSS. Mickleton, No. 9.

Of the sea fowl which breed upon or frequent the Farne Islands, the Eider Duck, on account of its connection with St. Cuthbert, deserves to be specially mentioned. It is the *Somateria Mollissima* of Leach, the *Anas Mollissima* of Linnæus, the *Oie à duvet* of Buffon, and the *Eider* or *Cuthbert Duck* of Latham and Pennant. Of the male, according to the last mentioned naturalist, the crown of the head, the cheeks, the neck, back, scapulars, and coverts of the wings, are white, the lower part of the breast, the belly, tail, and quill feathers, are black, the parts about the ear and the feet green. The female is of a reddish brown, marked with dusky streaks, and lays five olive-coloured eggs, in a nest chiefly composed of light elastic down, pulled from her breast. During the breeding season the male associates with the female, but at other times they keep themselves distinct. They do not migrate to any considerable distance from the Island during the winter season, like most of the other species which breed there. A full-grown duck or drake weighs from four to five pounds. According to Reginald (Cap. 27.) at the time Cuthbert took up his solitary residence at Farne, these birds were in their natural state of wildness; but the Saint soon succeeded in taming them, and rendering them subservient to his use, and upon more than one occasion wrought a miracle in their behalf. They were called St. Cuthbert's ducks in the time of Reginald, and the author of the *Life of Bartholomew, the Hermit of Farne*, gives the following excellent description of their habits:—

"Hanc autem insulam vetusta longinquitas quasdam perhibet aves incolere quarum cum miraculo et nomen perseverat et genus. Tempore nidificationis ibi conveniunt. Tantæque mansuetudinis gratiam a loci sanctitate vel potius ab his qui locum in suâ sanctificaverunt conversatione mox impetrant ut humanos contactus et obtutus non abhorreant. Quietem amant et cum strepitu non deturbantur. Secus altare quædam ova cubant. Nullus eas lædere aut ova contingere sine licentiâ presumit. Cum masculis suis in æquore victum quærunt. Pulli eorum statim ut creati sunt matres precedentes subsequuntur, et, patrias undas semel ingressi, non revertuntur ad nidos. Matres quoque, oblitâ lenitate quam habuerant pristini sapiendi statum cum mari recipiunt." I cannot resist printing the following miraculous story, to which the above stands as the preamble:—"Quodam autem tempore dum quædam (St. Cuthbert's duck) pullos suos, ipsâ præeunte, duceret unus ex eis in rimosâ rupis baratrum incidit. Mater vero substitit tristior et humanæ rationis habitum nemo tunc dubitat induisse; confestim enim, relictis ibi filiis, ad Bartholomeum venit et ora (oras?) pallii sui rostro trahere cepit, ac si apertè diceret, "Surge et sequere me et filium meum mihi redde." Cui ille ocius assurgit credens quod sub ipso nidum quæreretur. Illâ vero magis ac magis trahente, animadvertit tandem eam aliquid petere quod significatione vocis non noverat expedire: erat autem perita opere quæ fuerat imperita sermone. Præcedit igitur ea, illeque subsequitur, veniensque ad rupem rostro locum ostendit et Bartholomeum intuita quo potuit indicio ut introspeciat innuit. Qui accedens videt pullum in rupe pennulis herentem, et descendens matri restituit. Quo illa plurimum delectata ... ore, vultu, putabatur gratias agere. Aquas cum filiis ingreditur et Bartholomeus stupore repletus ad oratorium suum ingreditur." It fared better with this young Eider drake than with the "forward chick," whose fate is upon record in the fables of Gay—but of miracle enough. It is extremely true, that, during the breeding season, the tameness of these peaceable and harmless birds is quite remarkable—nay, it would appear that they have some recollection of Cuthbert and his protecting hand; for, in the summer of the year 1818, I literally saw one of them hatching her eggs in a stone coffin, over-hung with nettles, among the

there was any building upon the Island. At all events, Cuthbert found no place of shelter, and therefore, after having banished the evil spirits, which he found in full possession,* he set himself to build a humble oratory for himself, and at a short distance from it, a place of temporary residence for those who might visit the Island.

Bede and Symeon minutely describe the humble dwelling of the Anchorite. The building, if it could be so called, was of a circular shape, four or five perches in diameter. Its wall, constructed of unhewn stones and turf, was not much higher than a full-grown man, but a considerable height had been gained within by excavation. The roof was composed of unhewn timber, covered with the long coarse grass which grows upon the Island. A slight partition divided the building, and separated an oratory from the general place of residence. This structure stood at a little distance from the margin of the sea. In the mouth of the little harbour, Cuthbert erected another and a larger mansion, for the temporary residence of those who should visit the Island from motives of devotion.†

It must not be imagined that Cuthbert was unassisted by his brethren in the building of these habitations, humble though they were. Bede expressly states, that many were concerned in the undertaking, but that Cuthbert alone could supply the Island with a spring of fresh water. The Historian proceeds to his marvellous tale, that the Saint, aware of the defect, and fully confiding in his miraculous powers, one day employed his brethren in digging a cavity within

ruins of his mansion. It grieves me to state that since that time their numbers have been considerably diminished, their eggs have been broken, the soft lining of their nests prematurely taken away, their young destroyed, and they themselves wantonly shot by the crowds of idlers, who every summer visit Farne and its sister Islands.

* Cuthbert's power only so far prevailed, as to banish these evil spirits to an adjacent Island, where they remained Lords of the Ascendant for many centuries afterwards. A manuscript in the British Museum (Harl. 4845) containing the life of Bartholomew, a Hermit, who died at Farne in the twelfth century, minutely describes their short stature, the black cowls which they wore, and the she-goats upon which they rode, their long beard, and dreadful looks, and the manner in which they brandished their lances like men of war. For a while at first their diabolical attempts might be frustrated, by exhibiting a cross in their view, but their forbearance lasted not long; and before the Monks could bury any of their departed brethren upon WEDUM, the nearest adjacent Island, it became necessary to hem in a plot of ground, with a circumvallation of straws signed with the sign of the cross.

† These buildings were remaining in the twelfth century. There was still the small low cottage on the north side of the Island, the only part approachable by a boat, and there was still the narrow path-way leading to the oratory, which was purposely concealed among the rocks. —Vit. S. Barth. MS. Harl. 4845.

the very walls of his habitation,*—in which cavity there was, next morning, found a spring of water, which ever afterwards continued to flow in a moderate

* The words are, *in medio tuguriunculi mei*; but it is plain, that the only little spring which the Island contains, at the present day, could not have been enclosed within the walls of the oratory. If there be any truth in the story, the well of the Saint must have been elsewhere.

Of this well, Reginald the Monk has recorded a *signal miracle*, (upon the authority of Bartholomew and Ælvin, two hermits from Durham, who witnessed the event) without at all considering that his manner of telling the story, and the facts which he relates, totally deprive the transaction of any pretension to a miraculous character. This is his tale (cap. 29).—During the reign of Stephen, King of England, Æstan of Norway (one of the Sea Kings whose daring deeds have been so frequently the theme of our early Poets), landed upon Farne, with a large fleet and a numerous body of armed men. For a while, at first, the strangers conducted themselves peaceably, and assured the Monks that their little property should remain unmolested; and, as long as they kept their promise, there was water in the well in abundance for the King and his men—but the work of plunder soon began; the few sheep upon the Island were killed, and roasted or *boiled*—the timber of the little building was torn out, and used in repairing the ships—and as to the well, they one and all flocked to it, to assuage their thirst. A little pitcher was first filled for the King, and then each began to help himself with such eagerness, that many a blow was given and received. Surely, my reader, after what he has read, will be able to account for the temporary drying up of the spring without a miracle—that spring, which, according to Bede, was never a copious one, and which had been supplying its water for more than a day to a numerous body of men. But, strange as it may appear, this natural cause was wilfully overlooked. *It was St. Cuthbert who dried up the well, for the express purpose of compelling the pirates to quit the Island.* But the story ends not here:—According to the same grave authority, the streamers of the departing enemy were no sooner floating in the wind, than the water again burst forth with its usual supply. Here, again, is a simple consequence wilfully perverted, and that is gravely called a miracle which took place as a matter of course.

Since the above was written, I have read, with great interest, Southey's extremely acute and perfectly original remarks upon Bede, and the nature and sources of his information, with respect to the miracles which he records. These remarks are equally applicable to Reginald, who never, as far as I have examined him, records a miraculous event upon the authority of his own senses. (Vindic. Eccles. Angl. 112, &c.) I have also read the Laureate's judicious classification of the miracles of the Romish Church (ib. 151, &c.); and have before me, in the 140 chapters of Reginald, abundance of materials for forming a volume under each of his heads, and for thoroughly exposing the gross delusion which that Church authorised on the subject of miracles. The one above detailed might be enough, as a specimen; but I cannot refrain from laying before my reader a brief abstract of two more, especially as they are closely connected with Farne.

1. Reg. cap. 31. p. 76. The tale begins with blasphemy:—"We offer a sacrifice and libation to the Lord our God if we serve St. Cuthbert in true devotion—for whatever service we render (the words are *quicquid impendimus*) to St. Cuthbert, the same we do to God himself, of which head he is a member:"—and proceeds to relate, that not long ago, more ships than one, manned with sailors and fishermen, from London, Berwick, Lindisfarne, Bamborough (Bebburch), and other places, were obliged to put into Farne from stress of weather, and that the tempest continuing for many days, their last resource was that of prayer to St. Cuthbert, that he would still the raging of the waves, and permit them to depart in safety. Their prayers were made, and, at midnight, one of them having occasion to go out, saw a light, above the brightness of the sun, and forthwith turning his eyes towards the ships, saw near them a man, tall and graceful, and clad in the robes of a Bishop. The sailor's first act was to fall down in prayer, but when he saw the vision linger, and move backwards and forwards, he bethought him of his comrades, and hastened to summon them to the sight. Out they rushed, men and women—the Saint was still there, but a few of the women could see nothing, and turned the thing into ridicule. After gravely recording thus much, Reginald good-naturedly states, that although the Saint moved about, yet it was only *around a large heap of fish*, which had been caught by the

abundance, sufficient for the wants of the Saint and his successors, without spreading itself over the floor of the apartment in which they resided in their turns.

For a while at first Cuthbert was easily accessible to his brethren from Lindisfarne. He would go out of his cell to meet them upon the beach, when he saw their bark making for the Island, and when once they had landed he would render them any service in his power. He would even wash their feet with warm water, and occasionally he would permit them to render the same service to himself. I may call it a service, for he had so far withdrawn his mind from his body, that the latter, as far as cleanliness was concerned, must have been not unfrequently in a woeful plight. According to my author,* it often happened that his sandals, or whatever they were which he wore upon his feet, were not removed from one Easter to another, and the filth which they must of course have contracted during the year, would not have been disturbed even then, had it not been to commemorate the washing of feet, recorded in the Gospel.†

fishermen in question, and left upon a rock out of the reach of the sea. Thus the phosphoric light, emitted from a mass of fishes during the dark, was believed to be St. Cuthbert. But there was next morning a calm, and the ships departed in safety. Be it so,—what was there miraculous in this? Must the morning be stormy, because the night has been foul? “Non si malè nunc et olim sic erit.”

2. Reg. cap. 58. p. 131. There were once upon Farne Island two Monks (Monachi) from Durham (Reginald and Ælvin, as I suppose), *constantly worshipping St. Cuthbert*, (sancto Confessori sui ministerii jure sacrificium persolventes). They had, according to the custom of the universal Church, sung their midnight mass on the eve of the Nativity, and one of them, who was a lay-man (laicus), had retired to rest. The other, who still lingered and prayed in the choir of their small oratory, found himself on a sudden surrounded by a shining light, streaming in from the doors of the church, which, although bolted internally, were bursting open of their own accord. In a moment, two Monks caught his eye, bearing each a glittering torch before a man, honorable in years, clad in the robes of a Bishop, who straightway sped him to the altar, and began the mass suited to the solemnity of the night. “*To us a child is born*,” was sung by the united melody of the three; but when the Master Spirit gave out, “*Glory to God on high*,” a blaze of light filled the church, and a choir of angels chanted the response. In the end, when all had been duly performed, the three retired in stately silence, and—to leave Reginald for reason—the Monk awoke. He had evidently fallen asleep, when his body was worn out with the fatigues of one day, and his mind fully occupied with the solemnities of the next.

“Et quoi quisque fere studio devinctus adhæret,
 “Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati,
 “Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
 “In somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire.”

Lucr. iv. 959, &c.

The Monk, however, came to Durham, and told the marvellous tale to Reginald, who recorded it in his book. “I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream—past the wit of man to say what dream it was—Man is but an ass if he go about to expound this dream. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream.”

* Bede v. S. C. cap. xviii.

† This falls far short of the filthiness of Bartholomew, a hermit, who sojourned upon the Island at a later period.

The time soon came for still greater seclusion—when Cuthbert began to content himself with talking to his brethren through the casement of his window; but at length even the window itself, small though it must have been, was closed upon his visitors, except when they came for the express purpose of craving his blessing, or soliciting his advice in cases of importance.* In this manner Cuthbert continued for nine years to practise every austerity that misguided zeal could impose. If Bede may be credited, his only amusement must have been the performance of miracles; such miracles as “make fools stare and wise men suspect;” but which, notwithstanding their absurdity, were duly recorded, and implicitly believed for centuries.† But I pass them by, lest I should come under the description of men mentioned in my note,‡ and proceed to state, that, after nine years of solitariness, Cuthbert was reluctantly induced to quit his place of seclusion and mix again in the world.



The circumstances which called him from retirement, have been to a certain degree already stated; but I may here briefly recapitulate, that his elevation to the Episcopal chair was, in the first instance, owing to the deprivation of Tumberct, Bishop of Hexham, whom he was unanimously called upon to succeed. His election took place at a Synod, held at Twi-ford|| upon the Alne, in which Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided, and from which messenger after messenger was despatched to Farne to require the concurrence and presence of the Bishop elect. But their entreaties were vain. Cuthbert clung to his solitary rock, and refused to be exalted, until at length the whole Synod, with King Egfrid at its head, sailed to the Island, and

* Bede ut supra.

† Prior Wessington is perpetually referring even to the most marvellous of Bede's tales.

on bended knee, entreated him to quit his solitude, and comply with their request. Still for a while, Cuthbert lingered in a state of indecision—but at length their entreaties prevailed, and he eventually permitted himself to be consecrated BISHOP OF HEXHAM, by Theodore and six assisting Prelates.*

But in the self-same year, as I have above stated, an exchange took place between Eata, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Cuthbert, Bishop of Hexham, and the latter was left in full possession of Lindisfarne, with which he had been so long closely connected, and where, or upon an adjacent Island, he had so long been wearing out his life in acts of mortification. That Cuthbert should have preferred Lindisfarne to Hexham, is not to be wondered at. Such had been his previous habits, that he must, in his hours of solitary retirement, have become acquainted with every foot of ground upon its surface, and with all the

“ Splitting rocks cow’rd in the sinking sands,”

which hem it in from the sea; and his subsequent abode at Farne must have deeply attached him to a scene, where wind and wave, mighty in operation, were incessantly reminding him of the Being who rides in the storm.

Cuthbert, as may easily be conceived, devoted himself, with all intenseness, to the duties of his exalted station. The conscientious manner in which he

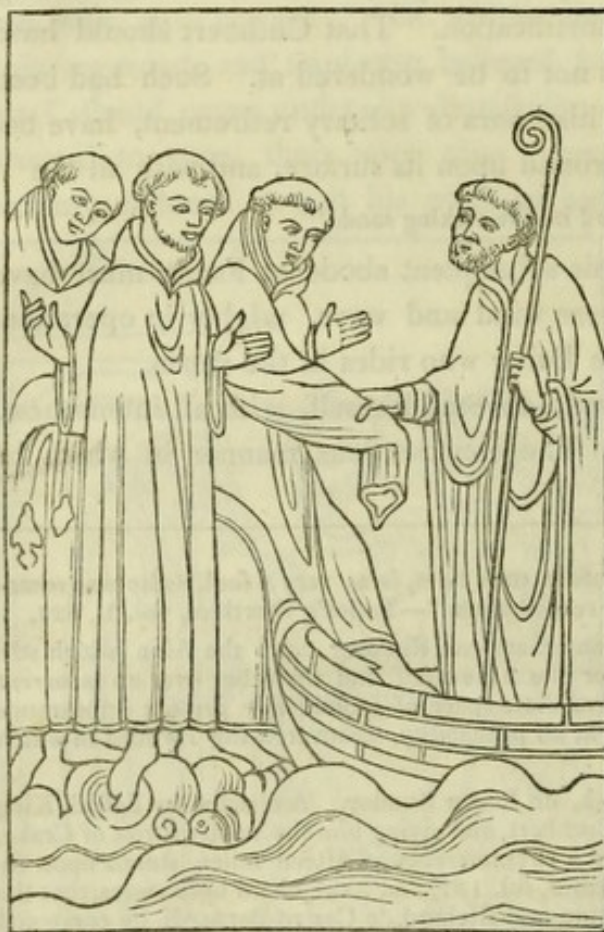
† “He who shall go about seriously to confute such tales, is as very a fool, as he was somewhat else, who first impudently invented and vented them.”—Fuller’s Worthies, vol. 1., 527.

|| Now totally unknown; but if any local antiquary can discover upon the Alne (which still maintains its name) a *double ford*, the one over the Alne itself, and the other over an *incurrent* stream, and can moreover find upon the intermediate space of ground any present appearance of an antient town, I should say that he had, in all probability, discovered the Twiford in which Cuthbert was elected a Bishop.

* Somewhere in the neighbourhood of York, on Easter Sunday. A charter by Egfrid, King of Northumberland, reciting the election of Cuthbert, and giving him the small district of Crake, not far from York, together with Carlisle, and a circumference of fifteen miles, stands upon record in the second Register of Durham Cathedral, fol. 137, and a subjoined note states, that the original document was lent to John de Kingston and Richard de Castro Bernardi, by command of the Prior. That a donation of this nature was made, admits of no doubt whatever. Crake has regularly belonged to the See of Cuthbert, from his time to the present day, and the period when Carlisle was alienated is well known; but that the document to which I am referring was a subsequent forgery may be abundantly proved. Cuthbert’s election took place in the year 684 or 685, and yet Egfrid’s charter is witnessed by Cedde, Bishop of the East Saxons, *who is known to have died in the year 664*. Another witness is Ceadda, Bishop of Lichfield, who, at the time of Cuthbert’s election, had been at least twelve years in his grave. The document in question does not occur in the original Cartulary of the Church, compiled about the year 1250, but only in the subsequent compilation, made almost two centuries afterwards, and therefore it must have been forged in the interval between these periods, to perpetuate the tradition of the Church. A book, containing an account of the origin and privileges of the County Palatine, and doubtless an authentic copy of this identical Charter, was torn in pieces by William Rufus, upon his quarrelling with Bishop Flambard.

discharged his Episcopal functions, is fully, and I may add, feelingly, described by Bede; and far be it from any one to insinuate, that the venerable Historian, in this instance, preferred panegyric to truth.*

The See of Lindisfarne, however, was destined to be soon deprived of its Bishop; for, after two years of painful exertion, Cuthbert, in the year 687, feeling the approach of death, resigned his charge, and returned to Farne, the place of solitude which he had so reluctantly quitted, where he almost immediately died.



The Monks of Lindisfarne crowded round the boat, which was upon the point of conveying him from their Island, and eagerly enquired when he would re-visit his Cathedral. "When," said an aged Monk, who was labouring under a dysentery, but full of faith, "When may we look for your return?" Cuthbert's answer was brief—"Then, when you shall convey hither my dead body."

The remainder of Cuthbert's history, or rather, the particulars of the few weeks which intervened between his departure from Lindisfarne and his death, are given by Bede, in the very words of Herefrid, Abbot of Lindisfarne, who was an eye witness, and evidently a minute recorder of every thing which took place.† Cuthbert, it appears,

quitted Lindisfarne immediately after Christmas; he was seriously attacked by illness on the 27th of February, and on the 20th of March he died. Herefrid shall now speak for himself:—"I happened to visit the Island (from Lindisfarne) on the very morning of his attack. My object was to receive from him his exhortation and blessing; and with this view I gave the usual signal

* Hist. Eccl. IV. xxviii. and V. S. C. xxvi.

† Bede V. S. C. xxxvii.

“ upon my arrival. He came to the window, and answered my salutation with
 “ a groan.” Herefrid next enquired whether the Saint was labouring under a
 relapse of his usual complaint, and Cuthbert’s answer was so far equivocal, that
 the Abbot was confirmed in his opinion; and conceiving his illness to proceed
 from “ his old infirmity,”* and not from any new disorder, craved a blessing
 upon himself and his brethren, and prepared to quit the Island, as the tide was
 favourable for their departure. “ Do as you say,” said the Bishop, “ embark,
 “ and return home in safety, and when God shall have taken to himself my
 “ soul, bury me in the front of this my oratory, close under the eastern side of
 “ the cross which I have there erected. You will find, on the north side of
 “ my dwelling, a stone coffin, hid in the ground, the gift of Cudda, the vene-
 “ rable Abbot. In this place my body, wrapping it in the linen cloth which
 “ you will there find—a cloth which I was unwilling to wear in my life-time,
 “ but, out of affection to its donor, Verca the Abbess, favoured of God, I have
 “ kept it for my winding sheet.”† Herefrid, upon hearing this, would gladly
 have left behind him some of his accompanying brethren, to tend the Saint,
 but his offer was refused—only he was requested to return at a convenient time.
 The boat, in consequence, sailed home again to Lindisfarne; and, in a full
 convent of his brethren, Herefrid detailed the woeful news, and commanded
 them to devote themselves to incessant prayer in behalf of their dying Bishop.

A storm, which continued for the five following days, prevented all inter-
 course between the two islands; but at length it abated, and the Monks eagerly
 put out to sea. Upon their arrival at Farne, they found their Bishop, not in
 his oratory, but in the guest hall, upon the beach; but of those who landed
 upon the Island, Herefrid alone remained to minister to the Saint. The rest,
 for some reason of necessity, were obliged to sail over to Bamborough. Here-
 frid’s first service was to wash in warm water one of Cuthbert’s feet, which had
 long been labouring under a disorder, probably entailed upon him by the plague,
 by which he had been attacked in his youth; and he next administered to
 him a small portion of warm wine, having observed, from his face, the low state
 to which want of food and weakness had reduced him. After this, Cuthbert
 sat down quietly upon his couch; and Herefrid, having taken a seat by his side,

* See above, p. 18.

† Verca was Abbess of Tiningham, where Cuthbert, during his Episcopate, had *turned water into wine*. Bede v. S. C. xxxv.

spoke in plain terms of his declining state, and remonstrated with him upon the impropriety of his having compelled them to leave him alone when they last visited the Island. But Cuthbert gloried in having been left to himself during a bitter trial of five days, and proceeded to state, that his reason for having taken up his residence upon the beach was, that he might be more easily accessible to those who might visit him from Lindisfarne; adding, that there he had remained for five days and five nights, without moving from his place. Upon hearing this, Herefrid enquired how he had survived so long without food; and to this question the Saint replied, by drawing from beneath the coverlid of his couch five onions, with which he had moistened his parched lips when need required, and beyond which he had enjoyed no other nourishment whatever; but of these, Herefrid remarked, that only one appeared to have been touched, and that more than half of it remained. The Bishop next alluded to the trials and temptations which he had undergone during the five days in question; but Herefrid, not venturing to make any particular enquiry upon this subject, again eagerly expressed a wish that Cuthbert would permit a few of the brethren to remain behind, and minister to his wants. In this instance he consented, and so far it was well;* but still Herefrid was obliged to convey home the sad information, that Cuthbert had determined to be buried at Farne. In delivering the determination of the Saint, Herefrid could not refrain from expressing his own personal regret, that the remains of their Bishop should not be honorably interred in his Cathedral. In this regret his brethren all concurred, and the result of their conference was another embassy to Farne, in order to prevail upon the Saint to alter his determination. The reason of that determination now, for the first time, appears, and is of such a nature as to prove, that in the Anglo-Saxon Church the privilege of sanctuary was universally recognized and allowed.† After stating his own individual wish to be buried upon the Island where he had fought his fight, and had finished his course, Cuthbert tells his brethren in terms, that, in his opinion, it would be better for them that he should be buried upon the Island of his departure, than at

* The elder (not the venerable) Bede was one; and Walhstod, the Monk who was dying of a dysentery in the preceding January, when Cuthbert gave his last farewell to Lindisfarne, was another.

† At a later period a minute account was kept of all those who, for debt, theft, manslaughter, or murder, fled to Durham, and craved the protection of St. Cuthbert. The "*SANCTUARIUM DUNELMENSE*," (for under this title the long list of offenders and their crimes should be published) would cause no ordinary sensation in the northern counties.

Lindisfarne, for this especial reason—that as he was notoriously a servant of Christ, culprits of every kind would flock to his tomb, and give much trouble to the church, by compelling it to intercede in their behalf with the potentates of the world. This was the last obstacle which the Monks of Lindisfarne had to overcome; and upon their professing their readiness to undergo this or any other labour, however great, which his presence might entail upon them, Cuthbert consented; but upon this condition, that his body should be buried *within* their church, in order that they themselves might have the opportunity of visiting his grave at their pleasure, and that they might have the power of excluding strangers whenever it seemed good. The Monks received the declaration on their knees, and a detachment hastened to Lindisfarne with the welcome news, that the Saint had consented to their prayer.

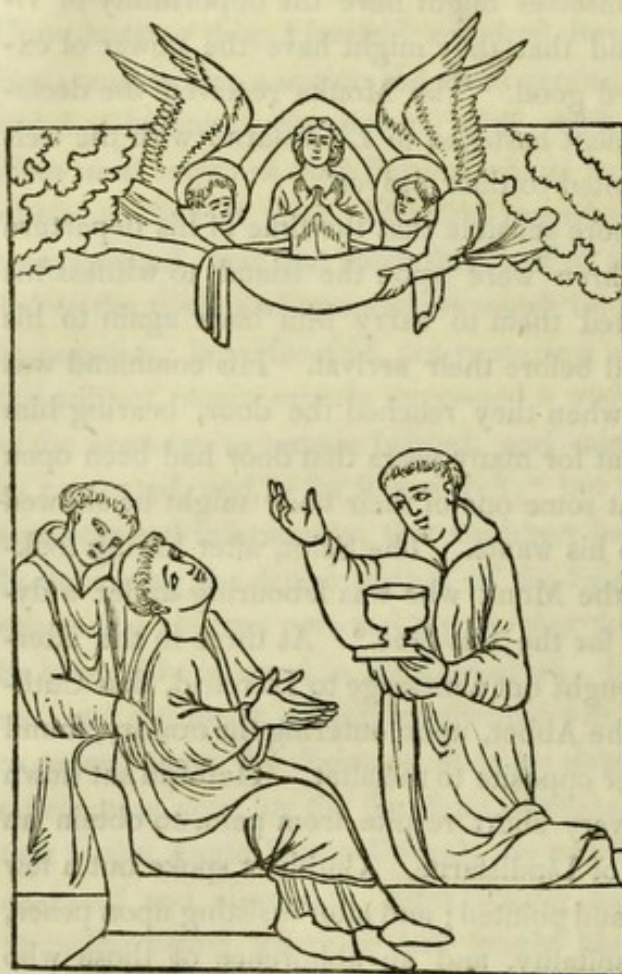
Cuthbert became every moment more sensible that the time of his departure was at hand, and now that his brethren were upon the island to witness his death, and close his eyes, he directed them to carry him back again to his oratory, from which he had wandered before their arrival. His command was obeyed at nine in the morning, and when they reached the door, bearing him across their arms, although aware that for many years that door had been open to none but himself, they begged that some one of their body might be allowed to enter in with him, and minister to his wants. The Saint, after having looked around him, selected Walhstod, the Monk who was labouring under a dysentery when he quitted Lindisfarne for the last time.* At three in the afternoon of the same day, Walhstod brought out a message to Herefrid, that Cuthbert commanded his presence; and the Abbot, upon entering the oratory, found the dying Bishop reclining in a corner opposite to the altar. Herefrid sat down by his side, and availed himself of every short respite from pain, to obtain an admonitory farewell for his brethren of Lindisfarne. Cuthbert spoke but a few words—these, however, were strong and pointed; and after insisting upon peace, humility, unanimity in counsel, hospitality, and an abhorrence of those who departed from Catholic unity, who observed not Easter at its proper time, or who led wicked lives,—he gave the memorable command with reference to his body, to which Durham and its splendid endowments exclusively owe their origin.

“Know and remember,” said he to Herefrid, “that if necessity shall ever

* No sooner, however, had Cuthbert leaned on Walhstod's arm than his disease forsook him, and he was made whole!—Bede v. S. C. cap. xxxviii.

compel you out of two misfortunes to choose one, I had much rather that you would dig up my bones from their grave, and taking them with you, sojourn where God shall provide, than that you should, on any account, consent to the iniquity of Schismatics, and put your necks under their yoke."

We shall hereafter see that this command was literally obeyed; but it was not in consequence of the setting in of heterodoxy at Lindisfarne, but from motives of personal safety, that the Monks ultimately fled with the bones of the Saint.



Cuthbert's concluding words were few, and much interrupted by the bodily pains under which he was sinking; and after lingering till mid-night, when he received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he breathed his last, with outstretched hands, and eyes firmly fixed on Heaven.*

Herefrid lost no time in communicating the death of Cuthbert to the brethren who were without upon the Island, and straightway one of them, according to appointment, went with a lighted torch in each hand to an eminence, and by this means communicated the sad event to the brethren at Lindisfarne, who understood the signal, and speedily assembled themselves in prayer.

No sooner had Cuthbert breathed his last, than according to the

* There is a marvellous tale connected with the death of St. Cuthbert, and recorded by Bede, which I feel disposed to notice, not so much for the purpose of making my reader smile at the Historian's credulity, as at the use which was made of this identical story six hundred years afterwards, when the Church of Rome was Queen of the Ascendant:—There had been for many years sojourning upon a little Island, in the lake of Derwentwater, a hermit of the name of Herbert, between whom and St. Cuthbert there had been a regular annual intercourse; in fact, Herbert had every year visited the Saint for spiritual advice. His last interview with Cuthbert was at Carlisle, where the latter was holding an Ordination. Cuthbert no sooner saw his old friend the hermit, than he warned him of his own approaching death, and of the necessity of

anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne,* the brethren washed his body from head to foot, and wrapped it in a cere-cloth, enveloping the whole of his head with a face-cloth or napkin. They next clothed him in the robes of a priest,† placing

making the most of a visit which would unquestionably be his last. Herbert, upon hearing the sad prophecy, earnestly prayed that they might die together, and enter together into glory—

“ Et quoniam concordēs egimus annos
“ Auferat hora duos eadē.”

The Bishop seconded the prayer of his friend, and was forthwith taught of the Spirit, that their request had been granted. And so it came to pass, for Herbert and Cuthbert both died at precisely the same moment in their respective and far distant Islands. And now for the sequel:—In the year 1374, Thomas Appleby, Bishop of Carlisle, by his charter of Indulgence, dated at Rose Castle, reciting the above miracle, and directed to the Vicar of Crosthwaite, granted an *indulgence of forty days* to all those who, in honour of St. Cuthbert, and in memory of Herbert, should visit the Island upon which the latter had died, and be present at the Mass of St. Cuthbert, which the Vicar was enjoined by the Indulgence to sing.—V. Smith's Bede, V. S. C. xxvii. and his Appendix, No. xxiii.

* Boll. Mon. Lindisf. Lib. iv. § 13.



† The words are “*vestimenta sacerdotalia indutus.*” What those robes were will be best understood by referring to the figure of Bishop Sixtus, in the margin, engraved from the embroidered stole found upon the body of St. Cuthbert, and hereafter described.

1. First, that is nearest the body, was worn occasionally, but not invariably, the *TUNICA TALARIS*, or Cassock, fitted to the body and arms, with long sleeves. This is the innermost robe upon the figure in the margin, and is visible from the ankle to the middle of the leg. In the case of Cuthbert, according to Reginald, the winding sheet given by Verca was used instead of the Tunic.

2. The *AMICTUS*, or Amice, a robe, generally made of linen, covering the shoulders, and fastened by means of strings round the breast. This, of course, cannot be seen upon the annexed figure.

3. The *ALB*, a long loose robe of linen, reaching, upon the annexed figure, from the neck to the middle of the leg, although only visible at its lower extremity, immediately above the Tunic. To this robe were affixed sleeves of the same material, not full, but close. At a later period the Alb was not necessarily white, as its name implies, nor was it invariably made of linen, according to the ancient custom of the Church.

4. The *CINGULUM*, or Girdle, which went round the middle, and bound the Alb to the body. In the figure in the margin, the Cingulum is concealed by the Chasuble, or upper robe, hereafter described.

5. The *STOLE*, or long narrow stripe of cloth, doubling like a scarf round the neck, and hanging down in front over the Alb below the knees. Its extremities, ornamented and fringed, are distinctly visible in the margin. This also was secured by the *Cingulum* above mentioned.

6. The *MANIPLE*, or, as it is occasionally called (especially by Reginald), the *FANON*, was originally intended to serve as a towel for wiping away any dust or defilement from the sacramental vessels. It may be seen in the annexed engraving, slung over the left wrist of the figure. At a later period it assumed a still more narrow ornamental character. See the figure, p. 15, where it is worn, not on the left arm, but on the right. Two Maniples were found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, both hereafter minutely described.

7. Next and uppermost was worn the *CHASUBLE* (*quasi parva*

the sacramental elements* upon his breast, and sandals upon his feet; and, finally, according to the same author, and to Bede† (who is silent as to the mode in which the body was prepared for the grave), they conveyed him to Lindisfarne, and buried him with all due honour, in a stone coffin on the right side of the altar.‡

casa, from its enveloping character), a close vestment reaching from the neck to the knee, and perhaps lower, but its front and sides were necessarily elevated by the hands and arms of the priest, as in the annexed engraving. We shall hereafter see what became of the Chasuble in which St. Cuthbert was originally buried.

To what extent the above-mentioned robes, especially the Stole and Maniple, were occasionally ornamented, will be seen hereafter. I will only add here, from a long roll of evidences, connected with the funerals of the Bishops of Durham from the time of the conquest, (Treas. Locello 2^{do}), that upon the death of Bishop Pudsey, A^o 1194, there fell to the convent, among the other furniture of his private chapel, *Chasubles* of red taffeta, "nobly embroidered" with gold leaf, bezants, great pearls, and precious stones, griffins and stars of gold; *Stoles*, embroidered with kings and towers; and *Albs* of blue, decorated with eagles and lions.

* The words are "oblatis super sanctum pectus positis." In strictness of speech the *oblata* was the sacramental bread *only* (v. Dufresne, and Somner's Gloss. in X Scriptores) but I see divers reasons, to be hereafter stated, for agreeing with Lingard, (Antiq. Anglo-Saxon Ch., p. 268), that both the elements were deposited in the coffin.

† V. S. C. cap. xl.

‡ I am unable to state the precise age of St. Cuthbert at his death, as it is not known how old he was when he first entered the Monastery of Melrose. He died, however, in the 37th year after he became a Monk; and as he entered the convent at an early age, he could not have been much older than 50 years at the time of his death.—V. Sim. Dunelm. l. x. p. 55.

Cuthbert is said to have been the author of a Code of Monastic Laws. He evidently alludes in his dying speech, if not to a distinct work of his upon that subject, yet, at least, to a body of rules and regulations, drawn up for the Church over which he presided. The book of the Gospels, which Cuthbert used during the latter part of his life, and which, as it will frequently occur during the subsequent narrative, requires to be mentioned and described, was written expressly for his use (v. Smith's Bede, p. 227, note) by Eadfrid, who eventually became the eighth Bishop of Lindisfarne. According to a note at the conclusion of St. Matthew's Gospel, Æthelwold, Eadfrid's successor in the See, supplied the illuminations, Bilfrid bestowed upon it a cover of silver and gold, ornamented with precious stones, and at a later period, Aldred, another priest of Lindisfarne, added an interlineary Dano-Saxon version, with marginal notes. The subsequent history of this interesting book may not improperly be anticipated in part, and told here. It remained in the Church of Lindisfarne, until the Monks were compelled by the Danes to flee from the Island, and then it became the companion of their travels; but having accidentally fallen into the sea, during their attempt to cross over into Ireland, and having been soon afterwards picked up upon the coast of Scotland, to which they were driven by stress of weather, it was for greater safety placed upon the lid of the inner coffin which contained the body of the Saint, where, as we shall see hereafter, it was found in the year 1104, when the Monks had established themselves at Durham. Soon afterwards it was carried back to Lindisfarne, its original home, where, in 1093, a colony of Monks from Durham had taken up their abode, under the auspices of their Bishop, and had built, upon the site of the original Cathedral, the Church, of which so many interesting portions still remain. Here, as the inventories of the Priory of Holy Island prove, it remained till the dissolution. With its history from that period until it fell into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, I am unacquainted, but it now constitutes the NERO D. IV. among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum; and although it has lost its splendid binding, it can still boast of its brilliant illuminations and caligraphy. It has been minutely described by Selden, Mareschall, Smith, Wanley, and last of all by Astle (ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF WRITING), who has given a fac-simile of its capitals and text, (pl. xiv.)

Cuthbert was succeeded in his See by

EADBERT, SEVENTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 688-698,

during whose Episcopate, he was raised from his grave in a state of incorruption,* and became the Patron Saint of his See.

It must have been observed, from the preceding pages, that up to this time the Church of Lindisfarne could boast of no Saint of its own, although almost every other Saxon See had long before this period canonized some one of its departed Bishops, and had placed itself under his especial protection.

But Lindisfarne had been peculiarly circumstanced. Aidan, its first Bishop, had maintained, what were soon afterwards considered to be, erroneous notions with respect to the proper time for the observance of Easter. Finan, its second Bishop, was still more heterodox; and Colman, his successor, so far defended the tenets of his predecessors upon this point, as to resign his See from motives of conscience. Tuda, the next Bishop, upon his election to the See, professed the same opinions, and, what is more, died within the year; and as to Eata, his successor, scarcely had he taken his seat in the Episcopal chair, when he resigned it to Cuthbert, and attached himself to the Bishopric of Hexham, where he soon afterwards died in the odour of sanctity, and became the tutelary spirit of his See.†

Notwithstanding the remote antiquity of this memorable book, there are among the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of Durham two, at least, of a coeval date—A. II. 16, and A. II. 17. The former containing the four Gospels, and the latter JOHN, LUKE, and MARK. The MS. A. II. 22, contains, at its beginning and end, portions of a still older copy of the Gospels: but the most ancient MS. in the Library is the MS. A. IV. 19, a LATIN RITUAL, with an interlineary Dano-Saxon version added at a later period, which Wanley, upon comparing it with that in the NERO D. IV. above mentioned, immediately ascertained to be in the same hand-writing—that of Aldred the Priest. Tradition calls this Ritual *the Prayer Book of King Alfred*; but I know of no connection between it and that King, except that, according to Wanley's conjecture, the interlineary version was written during his reign; nor is any such fact alluded to either by Wanley, who has minutely described it in his *ANTIQ. LITT. SEPTENTR.* p. 295, or by Rud, in his elaborate Catalogue of the Durham Manuscripts, lately published. If I may venture a conjecture as to the origin of the tradition, if it may be so called, I should say, that the name of *Aldred*, its translator, has been corrupted into *Alfred*, the one a familiar name, and the other not. Supposing this to have been the case, I need not proceed to account for the prefix of *King*. The book in question contains additions in a later hand. For instance, the 84th folio has evidently been written after the death of Cuthbert, as it contains four Latin prayers, in which he is mentioned, in his sanctified state, as an intercessor between God and man. I have been the more minute in my description of the above Manuscripts, as I shall have occasion to refer to them hereafter.

* How far this part of the story is worthy of credit, will be hereafter enquired into.

† The Life of Eata, which has never been printed, is contained in a MS. volume of miscellaneous tracts in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of York.

Cuthbert, therefore, was the first Bishop of Lindisfarne of whom a Patron Saint could fairly be made. Upon the important subjects of Easter and Ecclesiastical tonsure, although at one period he thought with the Church of Scotland, yet he had eventually altered his mind, and had conformed to the Romish observance;* but, if I am not mistaken, this was the least of his merit. I verily believe him to have been eminently distinguished for his original simplicity of manners, for his subsequent unfeigned piety,† and ultimately, in addition to

* See above, p. 18, when compared with Cuthbert's dying words to his brethren.—Bede, V. S. cap. xxxix.

† See, in the Appendix, a Ballad, founded upon a marvellous tale recorded in the Irish life of the Saint, and only varying from it, in not restoring the King's daughter from the burning chasm, at the prayer of her father. The real origin of Cuthbert's dislike to women was the abominable conduct of the Monks and Nuns of Coldingham. Their enormities had proceeded to such an extent, that when their Monastery was destroyed by fire, a short time before Cuthbert was consecrated, it was considered as a visitation from Heaven, on account of their sinful lives. It was on this account that females were prohibited from sojourning in the Church of Lindisfarne, and the same rule was subsequently observed at Durham.—V. Sym. D. C. xxii.

The following story, upon the subject before us, is abstracted from Reginald, (cap. 74, p. 174):—

David, King of Scotland (who died in 1153), married Maud, daughter and co-heir of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, and widow of Simon St. Liz, also Earl of Huntingdon, in right of his wife. The bridal party had reached Durham on their way to Scotland, when, on the morning after their arrival, the bride, surrounded by her waiting maids, proceeded from motives of curiosity towards the Church, but when she had reached the limits appointed to females in the church-yard, she was told that no woman had ever crossed that boundary with impunity. Upon hearing this, the Queen good-naturedly turned back, not at all caring to provoke the Saint; but not so Helisend, her chamber-maid, the most skilful embroiderer and weaver of purple in the kingdom. She openly professed her determination to make the experiment, and, relying upon her chastity, clothed herself in the black cowl and hood of a Monk, and, without being observed, took her station in a corner of the Church. Scarcely, however, had she done this, when she was seized with fear and trembling, and became totally unable to move from the spot. In the mean time, St. Cuthbert had detected the intruder, and hastening to Bernard, the Sacrist, who was writing in the Cloister, commanded him to lose no time in driving out the wench who had defiled the Church. That the Saint was in a mighty rage, is abundantly evident from his charge to the Sacrist. These were his words, but I must be excused from translating them:—"Vade quam citius, et lacissam illam quæ ecclesiæ meæ limina progrediendo fœdavit—sub festinatione projiciendo expelle; fetoris enim ejus spurcitia per orbita ecclesiæ meæ progreditur, fumoque pectoris illius aula meæ quietis læsa coinquinatur, nec quietis requiem in loco pacis meæ habere hic valeo quamdiu lacissæ ipsius immunditiæ odorem sentio, unde quam maturius eam quærendo progredere, lacissamque illam omnis immunditiæ contagione fœtentem de ecclesiæ meæ abjiciendo finibus expelle: non enim ipsius presumptionis insidiæ temerariæ latere me poterant, quæ mox ad sui introitum cuncta ecclesiæ meæ interioris aera fetoris suæ nubibus circumquaque consperserant." Away went the Sacrist, and having found the girl, saluted her in no courteous terms:—"Pro dolor! inquit, tunc es illa lacissa pectoris, canicula spurcitiae putredinis, nubes iniquæ bajulationis, caligo fuliginis, umbra fetoris, discipula iniquitatis, laqueus fœditatis, cloaca corruptionis? nunquid tu furiosa dei sanctuarium præsumendo prophanasti, loca sancta et nitida polluisti, beatum Cuthbertum Dei contemplatione soporatum inquietando suscitasti, celestibus impeditum negotiis fatigando incursare præsumpsisti? Vere tu es quæ sacris ipsius naribus fetoris putredinem ingessisti, et hanc beatitudinis aulam spurcitiae immunditiis inquinasti." The poor wench was straightway dragged out of the Church, and, terrified at the hein-

both these rare qualifications, for his judicious deportment during the short period of his exaltation. It would not be safe to affirm, that every thing upon record concerning him, beyond his mere chronological history, is the invention of his early Biographers, the Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede. His Biographers, writing as they did—the former having been his contemporary, and the latter flourishing almost immediately after his death—would not have ventured to ascribe to him a moral character which he had not possessed; and if they have invested him with supernatural powers, and have rashly made him perform miracles—some too absurd to be even alluded to, and others blasphemously surpassing those of the Gospel, and therefore not to be mentioned—it must be remembered, that he lived at a period, when the bright light of his character could not possibly be hid under a bushel, and that, bursting forth, as it must have done, in all its brilliancy during the darkness of the age, it was no fault of his if the corruptions and credulity of the period induced his Monks and Historians to ascribe unto him extraordinary powers, for the aggrandizement of their Church.

The primary object of the Monks of Lindisfarne, in raising Cuthbert from his grave, is distinctly stated by Bede, and my readers must judge how far it is in accordance with the above remarks.

The brethren, says he, conceiving that, as eleven years had elapsed from the time of his death, nothing would be remaining of the Saint except his bones, proposed to elevate them from the ground, and place them above the pavement in a slight coffin, that they might receive worthy veneration (*dignæ venerationis*

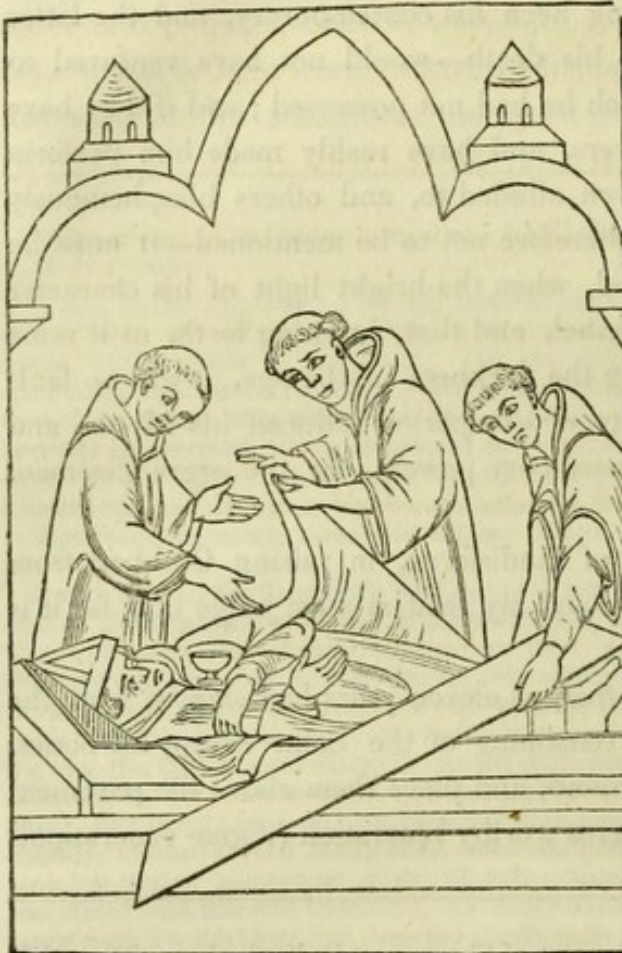
ousness of her crime, became a Nun in the Convent of Elstow, near Bedford, where after a while she was forgiven by St. Cuthbert. “*Beatus Cuthbertus pietatis dulcedine ductus penitentem in parcendo sustinuit, et piâ longanimitatis patientiâ illius tranquillitatis offensas indulgendo piavit.*”

It appears, from the above story, that the line of demarcation was at that period in the church-yard. If it be true that the blue cross, which reaches almost from pillar to pillar in the pavement of the middle aisle of the nave, in a direction between the northern and southern doors, was at a later period the *ne plus ultra*, the Saint must have relaxed considerably in his misogyny.

It may be necessary to mention, that Cuthbert was no respecter of persons—for there is the story of Queen Philippa, the wife of King Edward the Third, who, in the year 1333, upon attempting to sleep with her husband in the Priory (now the Deanery), was compelled by the Monks to quit his side and make for the castle with all haste, clad only in her nether garments; and there is also a tale upon record, of two women from Newcastle, who, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, “by instigation of the devil and attempt temerarious,” dressed themselves in men’s clothes, for the express purpose of seeing the shrine of St. Cuthbert. How they were detected and compelled to perform penance in the Churches of St. Nicholas and All Saints, in the very dress by means of which they had hoped to impose upon the Monks, may be seen in Bourne’s *NEWCASTLE*, p. 208. See also Sym. *Dunelm.* cap. xxiii.–xxiv.

gratiâ), and having communicated their wish to the Bishop, he readily gave his sanction to the intended proceeding.*

I may be forgiven for detailing, in the quaint words of Hegge,† the discovery which they are stated to have made :—



“ But whiles they opened his coffin they start at a wonder, they lookt for bones and found flesh, they expected a skeleton and saw an entire bodie with joynts flexible, his flesh so succulent, that there only wanted heate to make his bodie live without a soul, and his face so dissembling death, that elsewhere it is true that sleep is the image of death ; but here death was the image of sleep. Nay, his very funerall weeds were as fresh as if putrefaction had not dared to take him by the coat.”

The amazed Monks hastened with the account of their discovery to Eadbert, their Bishop, who was spending his Lent upon an adjacent Island,‡ taking along with them the Chasuble§ in which the body had been buried, and which they had

found in the same state of incorruption as the body itself. The other vestments they ventured not to disturb. The Bishop saw and believed, and kissing the robe which retained its original freshness, commanded the Monks to swathe the body in a new garment, and place it above ground in the *coffin which they had*

* V. S. C. cap. xlii.

† Legend of St. Cuthbert.

‡ Not Farne, as is proved by the context.

§ Bede calls it the *extreme* or outer robe, which was unquestionably the Chasuble. But all doubt upon the subject is removed by Reginald, who speaks of that robe, in express terms, as the robe removed from St. Cuthbert's body, and tells many a wonderful tale of its miraculous powers in after times. According to the Monk of Lindisfarne, Cuthbert's face-cloth and sandals were also taken away, and preserved as relics in the Church.—Boll. Mon. Lindsf. iv. 14.

prepared; he himself dying soon afterwards, was buried in the grave from which the body of Cuthbert had been raised.

EADFRID, EIGHTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 698-721,

was the writer of the Book of the Gospels, noticed p. 34, note, and to him and his Monks Bede dedicated his prose life of St. Cuthbert. After him succeeded

ETHELWOLD, NINTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 724-740,

During whose Episcopate, Ceolwulf, King of Northumberland, resigned his crown, and became a Monk of Lindisfarne. The Ex-Monarch, after having gifted the Church with numerous possessions, and having taught the Monks to drink wine and ale instead of the milk and water prescribed by Aidan their founder, died a Saint, and his body was, a while afterwards, removed by Ecgred, the fourteenth Bishop of Lindisfarne, to the newly-erected Church of Norham. His head, however, was afterwards conveyed to Durham, where it was found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert in 1104.*

CYNEWULF, TENTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 740-780.

HIGBALD, ELEVENTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 780-803.

During the Episcopate of Higbald, the Danes, availing themselves of the internal commotions which at that period prevailed to a great extent in the kingdom of Northumberland, landed upon its coasts, and enriched themselves with its spoils. The tale of their ravages has been often told. It may suffice to state, that after their pillages elsewhere, they came, on the 7th June, 793, to the Church of Lindisfarne, which fell into their hands an easy prey. The invaders were not content with robbing the Church of its silver and gold, but they exercised every possible cruelty upon the few Monks who fell into their hands. Some they at once put to the sword, others they stripped naked and compelled to undergo every indignity, and others they drowned in the sea;† and so far were they from being satiated with plunder and cruelty, that the next year brought with it a second descent, and a repetition of their barbarous

* See hereafter.

† Sym. Dun. Ed. Bedf. p. 87, and Lingard's Angl. Sax. Ch. p. 362

outrages. But the kingdom of Northumberland for a while laid aside its internal animosities, and, aided by its neighbour Mercia, surprised and destroyed the invaders, as they were plundering Jarrow upon the Tyne. Higbald, and those of his ecclesiastics who had escaped the fury of the Danes, lost no time in returning to their Church from which they had fled, and were overjoyed to find that, although stripped of every other valuable, it still possessed the treasure for which they were most afraid—the incorruptible body of their Saint—which had been left undisturbed by their foes.*

EGBERT, TWELFTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 803–821.

HEATHURED, THIRTEENTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE,
821–830.

ECGRED, OR EGFRID, FOURTEENTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 830–845.

EANBERT, FIFTEENTH BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 845–853.

EARDULPH, THE SIXTEENTH AND LAST BISHOP OF LINDISFARNE, 854–900,

was, after many years of trouble, compelled by the Danes to flee for safety from the Island (875). York seems to have been the first place which the invaders attacked. Thence they proceeded northwards as far as the Tyne; but they were repulsed by Osbert and Ella, the two rival Kings of Northumberland, who seem for a while to have laid aside their animosities, and to have united in one common cause. But the Danes were eventually victorious, and from that time their path, whatever direction it took, was marked by ruin and desolation.† Again they turned northwards, and, after plundering the Monas-

* Symeon as above, and Hutch. Durh. i. p. 44.

† Reginald's description of the outrages committed by the Danes is brief, but horrible. "Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCCLXXV transacto, contigit Angliæ fines latâ strage vastari et seviente pyratarum predonumque mucrone populos circumquaque ex interneccione deficiendo deperire. Nam civitates ignibus conflagrando consumeabant, ecclesias et cymiteria multimodis sacrilegiorum pollutionibus prophanabant, puerperia de materno uteri gremio excidebant, infantulos jaculis spiculis et hastis transfodientibus lanceabant, nec ætati nec sexui vel ordini parcendum deliberabant." I subjoin the following dreadful account of their conduct at Croyland, a Monastery in Lincolnshire.—Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 29, &c.

"A few youths of Sutton and Gedeney communicated the fatal catastrophe (the defeat of

tery of Tinmouth, proceeded to Lindisfarne, which they doomed a second time to destruction. For the Bishop and his clergy nothing was left but flight; but they forgot not the dying injunction of their Saint. His body was hastily removed from its shrine: into his *wooden* (Reg.) coffin were cast the relics mentioned below,* and with treasures such as these they set out, they knew not whither—deserting, as Symeon has well said, their noble Church, the first

the English) to the Monastery of Croyland, while its Abbot and the society were performing matins. The dismal tidings threw terror into every breast; all foreboded that the next stroke of calamity would fall upon them. The Abbot, retaining with him the aged Monks and a few infants, sent away the youthful and the strong, with their relics, jewels, and charters, to hide themselves in the nearest marshes till the demons of slaughter had passed by. With anxious haste they loaded a boat with their treasures. They threw their domestic property into the waters; but as part of the table of the great altar, plated with gold, rose above the waves, they drew it out, and replaced it in the Abbey. The Abbot, and they who were too young or too old to fly, put on their sacred vestments, and assembled in the choir, performing their mass and singing all the Psalter, with the faint hope that unresisting age and harmless childhood would disarm ferocity of its cruelty. Soon a furious torrent of howling barbarians poured in, exulting to find Christian priests to massacre. The venerable Abbot was hewed down at the altar by the cruel Oskitul, and the attendant Ministers were beheaded after him. The old men and children, who ran affrighted from the choir, were seized and tortured, to discover the treasure of the place. The Prior suffered in the vestry, the Sub-Prior in the refectory; every part of the sacred edifice was stained with blood. One child only, of ten years of age, whose beautiful countenance happened to interest the younger Sidroc, was permitted to survive. The spoilers broke down all the tombs and monuments, with the avaricious hope of discovering treasures; and, on the third day, they committed the superb edifice to the flames." I cannot refrain from making the following extract from a subsequent page (32):—"The northmen turning to the south (after having plundered and burnt the Monastery of Peterborough, and murdered its clergy), advanced to Huntingdon. The two Earls Sidroc were appointed to guard the rear and baggage over the rivers. As they were passing the Nen, after the rest of the army, two cars laden with vast wealth and property, with all the cattle drawing them, were overturned at the left of the stone bridge, into a depthless whirlpool. While all the attendants of the younger Sidroc were employed in recovering what was possible of the loss, *the child of Croyland* ran into the nearest wood, and walking all night, he beheld the smoking ruins of his Monastery at the dawn. He found that the Monks had returned from Incarig (the place to which the junior brethren had retreated) the day before, and were laboriously toiling to extinguish the flames, which yet raged in various divisions of the Monastery. When they heard from the infant the fate of their superior and elder brethren, unconquerable sorrow suspended their exertions, till wearied nature compelled a remission of their grief. They collected such as they could find of the mutilated and half-consumed bodies, and buried them with sympathetic reverence—a deputation of Monks was sent (to Peterborough), who found the corpses (of the murdered clergy), and interred them in one large grave, with the Abbot at its summit. A stony pyramid covered his remains, round which were afterwards engraved their images, in memorial of the catastrophe."

* The head of St. Oswald, a few of the bones of Aidan, and the bones of Bishops Eata, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold, above mentioned.—Sym. Dun. p. 97. To these may be added, from Leland's Collectanea, the remains of Eata, Ceolwulph, and Oidilwald, an Anchorite. The relics which were found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, at his translation in 1104, will be specified hereafter from the York Manuscript and other authorities. I must add, upon the authority of the *Hist. Transl. apud Boll.*, cap. 11, that at the same time the laymen of Lindisfarne forsook the Island and followed their Saint.

which had been built in all Bernicia, and in which there had dwelt many a Saint.*

The Bishop and his clergy would naturally, in the first instance, flee to the hills of Northumberland; but their subsequent wanderings are no where clearly detailed. Symeon contents himself with stating that they moved from place to place in the kingdom of Northumberland, like sheep fleeing from wolves; and that, during their wanderings, seven only of the brethren were permitted to touch the coffin of the Saint, and attend to the bier on which it was borne.†

In the third year after the flight of the Monks from the Church of Lindisfarne, anno 878, an event is said to have taken place, which I feel myself obliged to notice, for no other reason than because, whatever might have been its real character, it was believed by more than one King in after times, and tended much to enrich the succeeding guardians of the body of St. Cuthbert. The story may be told in few words. King Alfred, not daring to face the Danes, who were making rapid progress in the subjugation of his kingdom, concealed himself in the marshes of Somersetshire, until circumstances should enable him to raise an army and meet his foes. Here he had been lingering in a state of poverty and privation for three years, when his charity was one day solicited by a poor beggar, to whom he readily gave the small portion of food which he happened to possess. The beggar was St. Cuthbert in a bodily shape, who again appeared to him in his sleep the following evening, and promised him a speedy

* Reginald states, that at the time of their departure it happened to be high water, and that the waves fled back, and gave them a passage upon dry ground! One clerk, however, according to the historian, was intentionally left behind, to watch the motions of the Danes; but when he saw their glittering swords upon the threshold of the church, he fled for refuge to the empty shrine of Cuthbert, and in a moment found himself, to his joy, hid in a hollow cloud.

“Cernere ne quis eum, neu quis contingere posset.”

Thus protected he witnessed their proceedings, and, amid their awful imprecations, heard them threaten a speedy return. After their departure, he hastened to join his brethren, who, in consequence of his information, determined for ever to desert their church.—Reg. p. 22.

† Sym. Dunelm. cap. xxv. It clearly appears, from the same authority, cap. xxviii., that the bier on which the coffin was placed was furnished with wheels. In the chapter last referred to, it is first called *carrus* in quo corpus circumfertur, and next *vehiculum* quod illum celestem thesaurum thecâ inclusum ferebat. I am aware that much is said in Symeon of the seven *portitores*, or bearers of the body; but the word only occurs in the heading of his chapters (xxv. and xxvii.), which were evidently not written by himself, as in both instances they give a very inaccurate epitome of the chapters themselves. The book itself invariably speaks of the seven merely as *curators*, if I may so say, of the body and bier. The real bearers, or rather drawers of the vehicle, were the laymen of Lindisfarne, who had quitted the Island with the Monks, and who continued to follow them until the attempt was made to pass into Ireland and leave them behind to their fate.

victory over his enemies.* Symeon gives the speech made by Cuthbert to the King, which is brief and blasphemous.† The King, however, gained a victory; and under whatever delusion he might, at the time, have laboured, he and his descendants, as we shall afterwards see, remembered the Saint and the fancied aid which he had bestowed.‡

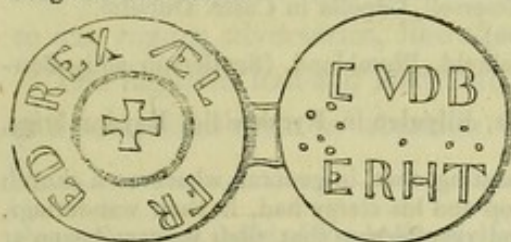
But I return to St. Cuthbert and his wandering attendants.

Wherever they went, according to Reginald,§ they were received with veneration, and their wants were readily supplied. Of those among whom they sojourned, some gave money, others vestments of silk, linen, or woollen, wool or fleeces, and others of less ability loaded them with bread and cheese. Thus they wandered from place to place,|| laying the foundation of many a legendary

* Bromton. X Scriptorum p. 811. See also Spelman *Ælfr. Vit. Lib. 1. p. 30.*

† Cap. xxv.

‡ I wish I could as easily account for the above miraculous story, as I can expose the absurdity of two fancies of a much later date, which rest upon the supposed intimacy between the King and the Saint.



"To returne to King Alfrid's devotion to St. Cuthbert, whome he made to share with him in his soveraigntie, and honour'd his name upon his own coyne, as it is proved by the true purtraytures (I have seen) of some silver monie dig'd up anno dom. 1611, in Little Crosby, in Lancashire, and sent to the learned Antiquarie and my honoured friend, Mr Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall, in Oxford, stamp't upon one side with Alfrid, on the other with

Cuthbert, in this form."—Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert.

The coin is a genuine one—but the name of Cuthbert, on the reverse, is the name of Alfred's Mint-master, and of no one else.

The other story is connected with a splendid jewel of gold and chrysal, in the shape of a locket, containing, upon one of its sides, a portrait, in enamel, of a King holding a sceptre in each hand, and around its margin a legible inscription, purporting that it was made by order of Alfred. This curious relic was found towards the end of the seventeenth century, at Athelney, in Somersetshire, the very place in which the King, for a long time, lay in concealment. It was first noticed (with a drawing) in the *Phil. Trans.* for Dec. 1698, and next by Hickes, with neatly executed sketches of its obverse, reverse, and side, in his *Gram. Anglo-Sax. Moeso-Goth.* p. 142. Wallis was the first (*Hist. Northumb.* II. 422) to assert that the figure on the obverse was that of St. Cuthbert. Hutchinson repeated the absurdity (*Hist. Durh.* I. 25) and it has been since believed, although the figure bears no resemblance whatever to an Ecclesiastic. Hickes, judging from the two sceptres, is of opinion, that it was intended to represent our Saviour in his glorified state, and doubtless he is right.

§ Cap. 15. p. 25, in his preamble to two miracles, one, of the man who, for having stolen a piece of cheese from the Monks, was turned into a wolf, and the other of the horse, which miraculously presented itself to the fatigued bearers.

|| Upon the authority of Prior Wessington, the temporary residences of the Monks may be, in many instances, ascertained. "While these things, says he, (fol. 30) were going on (*i. e.* during the wanderings of the Monks), St. Cuthbert ceased not from performing miracles; for which reason, in those parts, at a distance from the eastern coas (*in partibus occidentalibus*),

tale, which has descended even to modern times, until, at length, despairing of a peaceful and permanent abode in England, they prepared themselves to bid farewell to its coasts, and settle in Ireland with the remains of their Saint.

where the said Bishop and Abbot for a while sojourned, through fear of the Danes, many churches and chapels were afterwards built in honor of St. Cuthbert—the names of which are *elsewhere* contained.

By his *elsewhere*, the Prior refers to a list of churches and chapels dedicated to St. Cuthbert, which he himself had compiled and had placed over the choir door of his Church of Durham. This list is imperfectly given in Sanderson, p. 131. I subjoin the following accurate transcript from the original compilation, in the hand-writing of the Prior, preserved in the *Locellus 2^{dus}* of the Treasury, premising, that he has occasionally placed a church in a wrong county, and that he has enumerated some, such as Norham, &c., which owe their origin to an earlier period, or other circumstances.

LANCASTRIESCHIRE. Furnes, Kirkby Ireleth, Haxheved, Aldynham, Lethom in Amundrenesse, Meler, Halsall, Birnsale in Craven, Emmyldon (? Millom) in Coupeland, Lorton, Kelett in Lonsdall, Middleton near Manchester.

CLEYVFLAND. Lethom, Kildale, Merton, Wilton, Ormisby.

RYCHMONDESCHIR. Southcoton, Forsete, Overton near York, Barton, (and I may add, upon the authority of Roger Gale, Marske, which the Prior has overlooked).

YORKE. In Pesholme, Fysslake, Acworth.

DUREMSCHIR. Eccles. Cath. Dunelm., Cestre, Redmersell, Capella in Castr. Dunelm.

WESTMERLANDE. Cleburn, (Sanderson adds *Duflon*).

COMMERLANDE. Church in Carlisle, Edynhall, Salkeld, Plumbland, (Sanderson adds Bewcastle).

NORTHUMBERLANDE. Norham, Bedlyngton, Carram, Ellysdon in Ryddesdale, Haydon brigg, Beltyngeham.

Now assuming that Prior Wessington is correct in stating, that, in general, wherever a church was in after days dedicated to St. Cuthbert, the Bishop and his clergy had, in their wanderings, visited that very place with the body of the Saint, and recollecting that their journey began at Lindisfarne, and ended at Craike, it becomes, in my opinion, an easy matter, with the assistance of the above list of churches, and the few notices contained in Symeon, to trace their route during their seven years of uncertain peregrination.

Elsdon was evidently the first place to which the fugitives directed their steps. They then travelled down the Reed, from which they turned upwards to Haydon Bridge. Afterwards they ascended the South Tyne to Beltingham—thence they followed the line of the Roman wall to Bewcastle—afterwards they went in a southern direction to Salkeld—thence to Edenhall, and thence to Plumbland, and afterwards into Lancashire, to the places above enumerated. Next they came towards the Derwent, and here it was that they formed the determination of passing over into Ireland. But a storm prevented them from carrying their design into execution, and drove them back to the English coast, but not before their copy of the Gospels had fallen into the sea. After that they took a northern direction, and proceeded along the shore in quest of their lost book, as far as Whitherne, on the coast of Galloway; and when once they had found it, they straightway returned into England, and proceeded into Westmoreland, where they lingered for a while, first at Cliburne, and next at Dufton, and then they crossed over Stainmore into Teesdale, where, as the name of the hamlet proves, they took up their abode for a while at Cutherston. Thence they crossed the hills to Marske, which they quitted for Forcett and Barton, and after this they migrated southwards to Craike, the territory given to Cuthbert at his consecration, lingering on their way, first at Cowton, and afterwards at the different places in Cleveland above mentioned. It will be observed, that in the above line of migration from place to place, I have made no allusion to the marvellous tale of Cuthbert's voyage down the Tweed from Melrose to Tilmouth, in a boat-shaped coffin of stone, the remains of which are said to be preserved at the latter place. I have seen these remains, and am of opinion, that they are

The design of migrating into Ireland first suggested itself to Eardulf, the Bishop, and Eadred,* his Abbot. These two, for a while, conferred in private upon the subject, and at a fit season they communicated their determination to the oldest and most experienced of their attendants, who heartily concurred in the propriety of a step, which would at once place them out of the reach of their foes. Still the project was kept a secret from the majority, from the junior Monks, and the laymen who had followed the body from Lindisfarne. In furtherance of the design, a ship was appointed to meet the assembled band at the mouth of the Derwent, in Cumberland; the body of St. Cuthbert was put on board, the few who were in the secret followed, and the rest were left behind in perfect ignorance of the step which was about to be taken. But the intention of the Bishop and his few immediate followers was soon made manifest. "Farewell," cried they to their brethren upon the beach, as the wind was filling their sails—"Turn the prow to Ireland." The grief of those whom they were leaving behind, immediately burst forth in wailing and woe. "Thou," cried they to St. Cuthbert, "thou, our Patron and Father!—lo! thou art carried like a prisoner into exile—we, equally wretched and captive, are exposed to our raging adversaries, like sheep to the teeth of wolves."

The fugitives had not made much way in their voyage, when a storm arose, and compelled them to abandon their project. But before they could effect a

those of a stone coffin of the ordinary shape and character; and as to the tale itself, which, as it is a poetical one, has not escaped the Master Spirit of modern days, it is not older, to the best of my belief, than the middle of the last century, when it was printed by Lambe, in his new edition of the old poem of *Floddon Field*. But Lambe, if I am not mistaken, did more than write *Legends of St. Cuthbert*. I believe him to have been the author of the *Ballad of the Laidley Worm of Spindleston Heughs*, which he communicated to Hutchinson as "a song 500 years old, made by the old mountain Bard, Duncan Frasier, living on Cheviot A. D. 1270, from an ancient manuscript"!—V. Hutch. *Northumb.* ii. 162.

In their selection of their places of safety, as far as I am acquainted with them, the Bishop and his Clergy appear to have exercised great judgment. Elsdon, to which, perhaps, they fled in the first instance, is admirably hid among the hills of Redesdale; and more than this, its ancient British encampment, the lines of which are so manifest at the present day, must have afforded additional security. Then, again, there is Marske, equally concealed by the high hills and hanging woods of Swaledale; Forcett, protected by the ancient British lines which encircle it, where, as we shall afterwards see, Cuthbert's name was long had in remembrance; and Cowton, a hillock, surrounded by a marsh, and therefore a place of safety. At this latter place, there is more than a church dedicated to the Saint—the very village is called after his name; for *Cud* or *Cuth*, its first syllable, as it is written in *Doomsday*, is evidently the first syllable of *Cuthbert*. In the course of time, there was fought upon this very spot, in after days, the bloody, but decisive battle of *THE STANDARD*, which brought peace to the Church of Durham.

* Eadred was properly Abbot of Carlisle, but he had been summoned to Lindisfarne, to aid the Bishop with his counsel upon the arrival of the Danes, and he had continued attached to the wandering suite.—Sym. *Dunelm.* cap. xxi.

landing upon the coast from which they had so lately departed, the book of the Gospels, above described (p. 34), fell into the sea and disappeared. It is probable that the Bishop, or some one of his followers, had, in his despair, laid hold of it as his last hope, and that during the violent motion of the ship it had fallen out of his hands—but, as we shall soon see, it was not finally lost.*

No sooner had the Bishop and the few who had been anxious to leave England reached the land, than they fell upon their faces and acknowledged the justice of the storm—the tears of those who had been left behind were turned into joy; and reasoning, as men would of course reason, from the fact, that at the time their valuable book was lost, the wind was blowing strongly to the land, they prepared themselves to seek for it upon the coast.†

But the late proceeding, when taken in connection with the hardships which they had previously undergone, had created great disunion in the band. With the exception of the Bishop, the Abbot, *the seven*, and a very few more, all the rest had withdrawn themselves from the Saint, and had retired to their respective homes. There was, in consequence, a lack of men to draw the vehicle in which the body was conveyed, and therefore a horse was procured to lighten the labour of the few upon whom the task had devolved.‡

In this manner they proceeded along the coast, in quest of their lost book, as far as Whitherne, in Galloway, where to their great joy they found it upon

* The above account of the attempted voyage into Ireland is chiefly from Symeon, cap. xxvi. But those who would read of the marvellous waves of blood by which the ship was assailed, must go to the Historian himself.

† Sym. Dunelm. *ibid.* The Historian, however, will not give the wanderers credit for common sense. They must have known enough of the coast and its extensive sands, to know that they would be almost morally certain to find the book washed up in safety, and yet he makes St. Cuthbert appear in a vision to Hunred, one of *THE SEVEN*, and command him to seek for it in the place where it was eventually found.—Cap. xxvii.

‡ Here again, according to both Symeon and Reginald, there was another miracle. According to the former, in the midst of the general discontent and despair, St. Cuthbert appeared in a dream to Hunred, one of the *seven*, and after telling him where to seek for the lost book, commanded him to rise and look for a bridle, which he would find hanging upon a tree—this he was to exhibit to a horse which was feeding hard by, which would immediately run towards him, and suffer itself to be yoked to the vehicle in which the body was drawn. Reginald is still more communicative. According to his account, three of the *seven* were performers in the miracle. Stritheard found the bridle, and was ever afterwards called by the surname of *rap* (rope)—the second found a *red* horse, and obtained the surname of *coite* (colt) *quod equum sonat*—Hunred, the third, bridled the horse, and as he was leading him away met with a most beautiful chariot, with wheels and every other requisite, and thus gained the additional name of *cretel*, the Saxon name for the vehicle.—Reg. p. 28. Reginald must have been aware that this vehicle was not wanted.—See above, p. 42.

the sands, almost three miles from high water mark, during the ebb of a spring tide.*

The book still remains, and by its present appearance abundantly confirms this part, at least, of the marvellous legend of St. Cuthbert, and by so doing completely disproves the assertion of Symeon, that it was uninjured by the waves. I say nothing of Sanderson's Romanist (p. 64), who asserts, that it was found "much more beautiful than before, both within and without, being no way injured by the salt water, but rather polished by some heavenly hand."

A period of almost twelve months seems to have intervened between the recovery of the book and the arrival of the Monks with the body of St. Cuthbert at Craike, in the neighbourhood of York, in the autumn of the year 882. It has been already stated, that Craike and its appendages were given to Cuthbert by King Egfrid, on the day of his election to the See of Lindisfarne; and here the Saint had afterwards founded a Monastery, which either had not been deserted by its clergy through fear of the Danes, or the fugitives had returned before the arrival of our wanderers from the north.

The Danes, it must be remembered, had by this time, in a great measure, established themselves in Northumberland; but, a while before the period of which I am writing, Haldene, their King, who had long been detested by his army for his arbitrary conduct, and by the clergy on account of the hardships which he had compelled them to undergo, had, as a matter of necessity, quitted his kingdom, attended by two or three ships, and was never more heard of.† The invaders, therefore, were without a leader; but Alfred was too deeply engaged in the southern provinces of England, to avail himself of this favourable opportunity of reducing them to obedience, or expelling them from his land.

In this state of affairs, the Monks of Lindisfarne became politicians, and by a bare-faced stratagem gained to themselves and their successors a much firmer footing in Northumberland than had previously been possessed by their church. Eadred, their Abbot, soon after their arrival at Craike, asserted that Cuthbert had appeared to him in a dream, and had enjoined him to hasten to the Danish army, with a command from the Saint, that they should point out to him the place of abode of Guthred, the son of Hardacnut, one of their chieftains,

* Sym. Dun. xxvii.

† Sym. Dunelm. xxviii.

whom they had a while before sold as a slave. The Abbot was further commanded to pay, upon his discovery, the price of his ransom to the widow whom he was serving, and to raise him to the throne of Northumberland, upon the hill of Oswy (? Tinmouth), by placing upon his right arm a bracelet, the emblem of Royalty. The boy was found at Whittingham, in a state of servitude, and the supposed commands of Cuthbert were implicitly obeyed.*

Hutchinson† reasons well upon the policy of this transaction. "By appointing," says he, "the son of a Danish general of fame, and of revered memory amongst his countrymen, the minds of that people were conciliated; and, under the influence of their Patron Saint, the old Northumbrians were reconciled to his government."

That Guthred was grateful to St. Cuthbert for his exaltation, is abundantly manifest; for scarcely had the Bishop and his clergy sojourned four months at Craike, when they, under his auspices, migrated northwards to Cuncacestre (Chester-le-Street), in the beginning of the year 883, and there took up their abode in a Cathedral, built of wood and munificently endowed by the King.‡

Soon after the wanderers had settled at Chester-le-Street, Eadred dreamed another dream, attended with still more advantageous consequences to his Church. "Tell the King," said St. Cuthbert to him, in a vision by night, "to give to me and those who minister in my Church, the whole of the land between the Wear and Tine, for a perpetual possession. Command him, moreover, to make my Church a sure place of refuge for fugitives, that every one, for whatever reason he may flee to my body,§ may enjoy inviolable protection for thirty-seven days." This mandate was no sooner conveyed to the King than it was obeyed. Alfred, upon whom Guthred was gradually becoming a dependent Prince, confirmed the gift, and the two bestowed upon the Saint the other extensive privileges and immunities, which eventually converted the patrimony of St. Cuthbert into a County Palatine, and exalted its Bishops

* Sym. Dunelm. xxviii. The simple fact, that Cuthbert had not informed his Abbot of the place where Guthred was to be found, but that the information could only be obtained from them, might have convinced any thinking Dane that the command under which Eadred was acting had proceeded from no supernatural source. Guthred's kingdom extended only to the Tyne. Bernicia was consigned to Egbert.—Chron. Mailros. A° 883.

† Hist. Durh. i. p. 58.

‡ Sym. Dunelm. xxviii.

§ See note †, p. 30.

to the high estate of Temporal Princes, in few respects amenable to the laws of the land, or inferior to the Kings under whom they lived.

——— *seminibus jactis se sustulit arbor—*

Tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram.

The Monks of Durham, could they again appear, would perhaps proceed with my quotation—

*Pomaque degenerant succos oblita priores,
Et turpes avibus prædam fert uva racemos.*

Guthred died in the year 894,* and after his death, in consequence of some symptoms of commotion which were beginning to appear, Alfred at once united the kingdom of Northumberland to the other members of the Heptarchy over which he already bore rule, and thus became the first Monarch of England.

Alfred died in the year 900, commanding Edward, his son and successor, to love and honour St. Cuthbert and his Church, from a recollection of the difficulties and misfortunes from which he, the father, had been delivered by the Saint.†

In the same year also died Eardulph, the sixteenth and last Bishop of Lindisfarne, and the

FIRST BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET, 883-900.

This Prelate had held his high station for forty-six years; and I am not without my suspicions, that, for a considerable period before his death, he was, from his age, incapable of more than moving from place to place, and giving his senile sanction to the dreams of Eadred, who was evidently as designing an Ecclesiastic as ever imposed upon the credulity of the period in which he lived. Eadred was invariably the man to see visions, and dream dreams. The Bishop is never, by any chance, mentioned as the medium through which the behests of the Saint were conveyed to the world. Either, therefore, he was too old, or too honest, to enter into the deep and designing plans which were laid for the advancement of his Church. He was succeeded by

CUTHEARD, THE SECOND BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET, 900-915,

whō, with the treasures of St. Cuthbert, purchased Bedlington and Sedgefield,

* Sym. Dunelm. xxviii.

† Sym. Dunelm. xxx.

which became, in consequence, parts of the Palatinate.* Wealth was evidently beginning to flow to the shrine of the Saint, in a rapid and auriferous stream.

Cui non certaverit ulla

Aut tantum fluere aut totidem durare per annos.

During the Episcopate of

TILRED, THE THIRD BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET,
915-928,

and in the year 925, died King Edward, the son and successor of ALFRED, a Monarch, who, during his life-time, strictly complied with the dying injunction of his father, and who entailed, in his last moments, upon his son Athelstan, the solemn charge to reverence St. Cuthbert, and promote the welfare of his Church.†

In the year 934, during the Episcopate of

WIGRED, THE FOURTH BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET,
928-944,

King Athelstan visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert in person,‡ on his road into Scotland for the purpose of compelling Constantine, its King, to adhere to a treaty which he had broken. The numerous gifts which he bestowed upon the Saint on that occasion, are enumerated in the following document, with precisely the same solemnity as if they had been so many testamentary bequests.§

“In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I, Athelstan, King, give to St. Cuthbert this copy of the Evangelists,|| two chasubles, one alb, one stole with a

* *Lel. Coll. ii. 373.*

† *Sym. Dunelm. xxxii.*

‡ Anno 934, upon the authority of the Chronicle of Mailros. Symeon states, that the event took place in the tenth year of Bishop Wigred (938).

§ MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. Claud. D. IV. fol. 21. b. &c. See also *Mon. Angl. i. 40, &c.* The King had visited the shrine of St. John of Beverley, on his road to Chester-le-Street, and had left upon the altar his knife, which he promised to redeem in a manner befitting him, in the event of his gaining a victory over the treaty-breaking King.

|| This identical book was in existence among the Cottonian MSS. (Otho B. 9) until the fatal fire in 1751, in which it totally perished. It was, however, minutely examined by Wanley (v. his Supplement to Dr. Hicke's *Antiq. Litt. Septentr. p. 238*), and from his description I extract the following particulars, with a few remarks of my own.

The book was in folio, of a small size, and appeared to have been written in France. It con-

maniple, one girdle (cingulum), three altar cloths, one chalice of silver, two patens, the one made of gold, and the other fabricated of Grecian workmanship,* one censer of silver, one cross, ingeniously made of gold and ivory, one Royal crown† woven of gold, two tablets‡ fabricated of gold and silver, one missal, two copies of the Gospels ornamented with silver and gold, a life of Saint Cuthbert written in verse and prose,§ seven robes (pallia), three curtains||

tained the four Gospels, with the usual prefaces, tables, &c. A memorandum in the Saxon tongue, prefixed to the Gospel of St. John, which Wanley has left untranslated, stated, that it was given by King Athelstan to St. Cuthbert, and denounced the most dreadful punishments here and hereafter upon any one who should attempt to make it his own. This entry was succeeded by a notice of the other presents made at the same time, and by the same King, to the Saint; and in the other originally blank parts of the book, were contained memoranda made by the Monks at a subsequent period, relative to the emancipation of divers of their bondsmen. The illuminations were the usual ones—the pictures of the four Evangelists: but in addition to these, there was prefixed to the Gospel of St. Matthew, a delineation of St. Cuthbert, in a sitting position, with his head encircled by a crown and nimbus of glory, holding in his left hand a book, and with his right hand giving the blessing. Before him was the King upon his knees, offering, in his right hand, the book in question, and grasping his sceptre in his left. Below was a Latin inscription, to the following purport:—

“To Saint Cudberht the Bishop, Eathelstan, the very pious King of the English, presents this Gospel.”

Upon the first page, among other entries relative to St. Cuthbert, was a Latin memorandum in Saxon characters, referring to the last mentioned illumination:—

“I, the blessed Evernenficus, have caused this to be painted in honour of Saint Cuthbrecht, the Bishop.”

Who this Evernenficus was, I know not; but I am willing to believe, that as the pronominal first person is not expressed in the entry, the word *feci* may possibly be a mistake for *fecit*, and then he will stand acquitted of auto-canonization.

* “Greco opere.” Qu.?

† “Regius pileus.” The *pileus Episcoporum* was the mitre; the *pileus rubeus* was the hat of a Cardinal. V. Du Fresne. The *pileus regius*, therefore, can only designate the crown of a King.

‡ At a stated period, during the solemnization of Mass, a *tablet* or small oblong board (occasionally constructed in a folding fashion) was exhibited to the congregation, upon which was generally depicted the Crucifixion; and upon which the communicants individually imprinted the *kiss of peace*, and hence it was not unfrequently called the *pax*. It is recorded upon the gravestone of a Monk of Jervaux, as an important feat, that he was the fabricator of the *Tabula* which belonged to the Abbey. *Paxbred* and *Deosculatorium* are also different names of the *Tabula*. The *pax* at Durham, at a later period, was “a marvellous fair book which had the Epistles and the Gospels in it, and which laid upon the altar. It had on the outside of the covering the picture of our Saviour Christ, all of silver and goldsmith’s work; all parcel gilt, very fine to behold, which book did serve for the *pax* in the mass.” A paper by Dr Milner, on the use of the *pax* in the Romish Church, may be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. p. 536, accompanied by an engraving.

§ Doubtless Bede’s two lives of the Saint, which had perhaps contributed more than any thing else to enrich the Church in which his bones were enshrined. The avidity with which any thing proceeding from the Bede would be read, may be easily conceived, and that was not the period of scruples and doubts.

|| The curtains here mentioned were suspended from iron rods which projected from the eastern

(cortinas), three pieces of tapestry* (tapezia), two cups (coppas) of silver with covers, three large bells, two horns fabricated of gold and silver, two banners, one lance, and two bracelets of gold." The document proceeds to enumerate South Wearmouth and other territorial possessions, which the malignity of evil men had taken away from the Church, and which the King now restored, God and St. Cuthbert being his witnesses; and concludes with the following awful imprecation:—If any one shall take away any of these things, let him be condemned in the day of judgment with Judas the traitor, and let him be thrust into the everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his angels.

The record further states, that the King filled the two cups above mentioned with "the best money," and that his army made an offering of twelve "hundred" and more to the Saint. Symeon, when recording the donation, says, that the gift of the soldiers consisted of more than ninety-six pounds of silver. Before the King quitted the sanctuary he warned his brother Edmund, in the event of his falling in battle, to bring his body to St. Cuthbert, and leave it in his charge, to be presented by him to God in the day of judgment.

I have been the more minute in my account of the above splendid gifts, because I shall have frequent occasion to refer to them hereafter, and I have only to add, that the King, aided by St. Cuthbert, gained a signal victory over his foes.

Athelstan died in the year 940, and was succeeded by Edmund his brother, whom he had taught to reverence St. Cuthbert, and to evince his regard by his deeds.

UHTRED, FIFTH BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET, 944—947.

The Scots were again in arms, and the presence of the King was again required in the North. Edmund, after the example of his brother, turned aside

wall of the chancel, at each end of the altar, about eight or ten feet from the ground, and at such a distance as to leave room between the curtain and the altar for an officiating priest at either end. See the plates illustrative of the manner of creating Knights of the Bath in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 531, Ed. 1. At Durham, before the reformation, "at either end of the high altar was a wand of iron fixed in the wall, whereon hung curtains or hangings of white silk daily. The daily ornaments that were hung both before the altar and above, were red velvet, with great flowers of gold in embroidered work, with many pictures besides, very finely gilt; but the ornaments for the principal feast, the Assumption of our Lady, were all of white damask beset with pearls and precious stones, which made the ornaments more glorious to behold."—Sanderson.

* To be suspended against the naked walls of the chancel.

on his march, to solicit the aid of St. Cuthbert, and on bended knee, in all the solemnity of prayer, recommended to him himself and his army, placing upon the holy body two bracelets, taken from his own arms, together with two robes of Grecian workmanship.*

SEXHELM, SIXTH BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET, 947.†

ALDRED, SEVENTH BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET,

947-968.

In 948, King Eadred, another brother of Athelstan, visited the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and offered divers gifts worthy of a King.‡

ELFSIG, EIGHTH BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET, 968-990.

During the episcopate of Elfsig, there came to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, for the only time in his life, Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of the Monasteries of Abingdon, Ely, Thorney, Peterborough, and besides of two similar establishments in his Episcopal city,§ the *translator*, moreover, of the bones of Saints Swithin, Birin, Brinslaw, and others, his predecessors; and the man in whose chair, after his death, no inattentive or drowsy worshipper could sit, without being "punished with terrific sights and painful sensations."|| Of this Prelate it is recorded, as an instance "of the highest audacity," that during

* M.S. Cott. Claud. D. 4. fol. 22.—"Duas armillas a brachio suo extrahens, et duo pallia Græca supra sanctum corpus posuit." Symeon, when recording this gift, is more concise; his words are "auro et palliis," which are fully explained by the nature of the gifts above specified.

Hegge's very pertinent remarks upon the two Kings, and their presents to the shrine of Saint Cuthbert, are worthy of notice:—

"And here I will not deny, but as it may be expedient for the Commonwealth, by way of policie, that some men (though altogether guiltlesse of that art) bee accounted of the vulgar people as skilfull magicians or conjurers, that they who will rather trust God with their unlawful secrets than man, might bee more affray'd to offend: so a King might make some use of that opinion which his souldiers had conceived of St. Cuthbert's being a tutelary Deitie against the Scotts; in conceite of whose protection, the English much were encouraged, to the great disadvantage of their enemies, and obtaining the victory, as also this perswasion kept (no doubt) those parts from more frequent incursions, when the Monks had invented so many fearful miracles, to awe those that by stealth or hostility attempted to wrong any thing that belonged to St. Cuthbert."—*Legend of St. Cuthbert*.

† Convicted, by *St. Cuthbert*, of Simoniacal practices, and expelled from the See.—Sym. Dunelm. xxxiv.

‡ Sym. Dunelm. xxxv.

§ Prior Wess. M.S. Dunelm. f. 6.

|| Milner's Hist. of Winchester, p. 168.

this his first and last visit to the north, he raised the lid of St Cuthbert's coffin, talked with the dead man as with a friend, and placed upon his body a pledge of his love.*

ALDUNE, NINTH BISHOP OF CHESTER-LE-STREET, and
FIRST BISHOP OF DURHAM, 990-1018.

The year 995† witnessed the abandonment of Chester-le-Street, by its Bishop and Clergy, their brief residence at Ripon, and their final settlement at Durham.

The Danes were a second time the cause of their flight; but I must refer my reader to public history for an account of public events.

The Bishop and his Clergy, as upon the former occasion, took along with them the body of their Saint, and the various treasures with which it and they had been enriched, and hastened to Ripon, a place which had long been the seat of religion, and which, from its inland situation, held out the hope of security against the inroads of the enemy. The flight took place in the spring of the year; and Symeon exults in the fact, that their journey was attended with no detriment either to the fugitives themselves, or the cattle which they drove before them, many of which were necessarily young.‡ Here they sojourned for three or four months, and when all danger had disappeared, they again turned themselves northwards towards their forsaken Cathedral.

But it pleased the Bishop and his Clergy to rest at Durham on the way. No one can arraign their taste or discretion in coming to this determination, for the apex of the hill which they destined for their Cathedral, must have appeared to them formed as it were by nature for that specific purpose; and the deep and well watered ravine by which it was almost entirely surrounded, must have held out to them all the advantages of cleanliness and security. One may, however, feel disposed to regret their want of honesty, in assigning the following absurd account of the cause which induced them to pitch upon a place, in itself so eminently adapted by nature to arrest their attention and become the place of their abode.

* Wessington ut supra, &c. &c. It must also be stated here—and my readers shall hereafter see why—that once upon a time, to buy food during a famine, Ethelwold converted into money the ornaments and silver vessels of the Church. The former are said to have been raised.

† One hundred and thirteen years from the first establishment of the See at Chester-le-Street.

‡ Sym. Dunelm. xxxvi.

This is their story.* When the travellers had advanced to a place, called by Symeon, Wrdelau, somewhere to the east of Durham, the vehicle in which the coffin of the Saint was conveyed became rivetted to the earth, and in that state it continued, notwithstanding the united efforts of the whole body of men by whom it was attended. It now became apparent to all, that the Saint was unwilling to be carried back again to his former resting place; and yet no one could surmise where it was his pleasure to abide. The place where they then were, appeared to them to have no charms—it was, in fact, uninhabitable. In this emergency the Bishop enjoined fasting and prayer for three days; and no sooner had this period of time elapsed, than Cuthbert was pleased to communicate to Eadmer, one of the Clergy, his determination to be conveyed to Dunhelm, the place of his future abode. The Monks, overjoyed at the declaration, lost no time in removing his body to Durham, (the Dunhelm of Symeon) a place which they found fortified by nature, and, with the exception of a small naked plot of ground on its summit, entirely overgrown with the undisturbed brushwood and forest trees of centuries.†

A small Church, or resting place for the coffin of the Saint, was hastily fabri-

* It is a matter of very little consequence, to enquire into the real situation of the place in which the coffin became immoveable—occurring, as it does, in connection with as arrant a fable as ever was invented or believed. Why may not the name have been invented for the occasion? But admitting that Symeon speaks of a real place, and taking Leland's marginal note ("nunc Wardele, ubi ædes olim monachis recreandi gratiâ concessæ," Coll. vol. 2. p. 330) as our guide, the place was unquestionably Wardley, in the parish of Jarrow, where certainly in after-times stood one of the Manor-houses of the Priory of Durham. See a very interesting paper on this subject, by Mr Hodgson, Archæol. Ælian. 1. p. 112.—Wardley is considerably to the north of Chester-le-Street, the Church which they had last forsaken; but I perfectly agree with Mr Hodgson, that it is by no means clear, that Chester-le-Street was the place of their destination. Symeon states that they were on their road to the Church which they had *formerly* inhabited, and when it is remembered that Chester-le-Street was, at best, merely a wooden Church, and that it had stood for 115 years, the supposition is by no means a forced one, that they were in reality on their road to Lindisfarne; and then, supposing that there is truth in the story, the difficulty, in a local point of view, vanishes at once.

† It will be observed, that Symeon makes no allusion to the tale of the Dun Cow—but here it follows from tradition. It had been announced by the Saint, that it was his determination to repose in Dunholme, but no one of his followers had ever heard of the place. In this state of suspense a female was heard enquiring of a home-wending milk-maid, if she could direct her to her cow, which had strayed from its accustomed haunts. "Down in Dunholme" was the reply, and the overjoyed Monks hearing the name, soon found out the place. This is the tale which is told, as explanatory of the sculpture of the two women and the cow, affixed to a turret at the north-west end of the eastern transept of Durham Cathedral; but Hutchinson and Surtees both reason well, that in all probability the stone is rather emblematical of the riches of the Church, than commemorative of any real occurrence. The original carving, an engraving of which may be seen in the former author, fell into decay about fifty years ago, and was in consequence replaced by the present *good pointed* cow of the short-horned breed, attended by the two portly dames, arrayed in the costume of the late reign, who are standing by her side.

cated of branches cut from the trees which grew in abundance upon the ground.* This temporary edifice was succeeded by another, called the White Church, a

But let me detain my reader for one moment longer in the Church-yard, now that I am upon the subject of legendary lore.

There is a marvellous tale told in Durham, by both young and old, of a man, who, for a purse of money, leapt down from the middle tower of the Cathedral to the ground, and escaped unhurt, but perished in a second attempt, undertaken for a similar reward. In support of this traditional tale, a recumbent effigy in blue marble, in the Church-yard, of a person clad in a loose robe, and holding something which is said to be a representation of the purse in question, is pointed out as the monument of the adventurer. The effigy is that of a female, holding in her hand a glove, the usual monumental emblem of her sex; but the following extract, from an authentic record in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, (Locello vi.) proves that there is some authority for the tale itself. The extract, however, requires two or three words of introduction. When Prior Thomas Melsonby was chosen Bishop of Durham by his Convent, upon the translation of Bishop Poor to the See of Salisbury, A. 1237, Henry the Third opposed his election by every means in his power, and took seventeen objections, some of them frivolous enough, to his exaltation. These are all crowded into a small piece of parchment, preserved in the place to which I have referred, and one of them gives, if I am not mistaken, the real origin of the above story. It may be thus translated:—

“Item he (the Prior) ought to be rejected as an homicide for this reason, that when once a certain rope-dancer in his Church-yard, had ascended upon a cord, stretched from tower to tower, with the consent of the said Prior, the said rope-dancer fell down and was killed. Which Prior ought neither to have been present at, nor to have consented to, such unlawful amusements—nay, he ought to have expressly prevented them from taking place.”

These towers could only have been two pinnacles upon some lower part of the Church; perhaps the early Norman turrets which rise above the northern end of the middle transept, but there is enough in the extract to account for the tradition.

So much for the rope-dancer. Let me proceed to kill the Prior himself, who, as may easily be imagined, was no match for the King. Prior Melsonby, failing to obtain the confirmation of his election, resigned his Priorate, and retired to Farne Island, to spend the last of his days with Bartholomew, a hermit, who was sojourning in the very cell in which our Saint had died. But Bartholomew's humble fare and austerities soon disgusted the ex-Prior, and sent him home again to Durham. After a while, however, he returned, conscience-smitten, to the hermit, and was soon afterwards attacked by a mortal disease. Heming, the man who watched over him in his last moments, saw choirs of angels, clad in white apparel, hovering over the hermitage, to receive his spirit; and at the same instant of time, Bartholomew detected the devil sitting in a corner of the little mansion, in the shape of a bear, lamenting grievously that the dying man had escaped his snares, and was going to his reward. Bartholomew, not much relishing the presence of such a guest, sprinkled the beast and the place where he was sitting with holy water, but without effect: at last, however, he dashed at once the vessel and its contents full in the face of the evil one, who straightway disappeared. Thomas had by this time breathed his last, and his body was forthwith conveyed over the narrow channel, which separates Farne from Bamborough, and placed in a vehicle, in which it was intended to be conveyed to Durham for sepulture. But the horse destined to draw it was lame—this defect, however, was speedily remedied by a miracle. The body, on its road, rested during one of the nights of its journey, before the altar of St. Mary's Church, in Gateshead, and was guarded through the hours of darkness by snow-white doves, which hovered over the coffin, and afforded it their protection. At last, it reached Durham, and was buried in the Chapter House; upon which occasion, the bodies of Bishops Edmund and Etheldred were discovered in making the grave.

The above marvellous story of the death of Prior Melsonby is extracted from the anon. Life of Bartholomew, the Hermit of Farne, in the Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 4843. 10. 231.

* It has been supposed that the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, adjoining the East end of the Cathedral, stands upon the precise spot occupied by this first Church of *Boughs*, and that its name is derived from thence. The former supposition may, or may not, be true; but the latter

second building, if it may be so termed, of wood, but more substantial than the former, and in this latter St. Cuthbert's body rested for three years; during which period the Bishop, aided by Uhtred, Earl of Northumberland, and the whole of the population from the Tees to the Cocquet, was employed in building a Church of stone worthy of the Saint.

This fabric was soon finished, for at that period "church work" was not "slow;" and on the fourth of September, 999, the body of St. Cuthbert "was reverently deposited therein."

It forms no part of my design, to enter into a lengthened detail of the splendid donations with which the Church of Durham became speedily enriched,* neither do I see the necessity of henceforward noticing the succession of its Bishops, in their respective order, after the manner which I have hitherto pursued.† I shall content myself with following the stream of time, and placing

is evidently a mistaken notion. The Church is never called St. Mary-le-Bow in ancient records, but only St. Mary in the *North Bailey*; and it derives its adjunct of *le-Bow*, by which it is distinguished in common parlance from the Church of St. Mary in the South Bailey, from the *bow* or arch which supported its tower, and which bestrode the street at its western end, affording a thoroughfare to man and horse beneath the steeple.—See Speed's Plan of Durham in the corner of his map of the County. The Church of St. Mary-le-Bow in London takes its name from a similar peculiarity in its structure.

* On this subject take the following quaint quotation from one of our earliest Topographers:—"After that Aldhunus and his wanderinge mates had reposed the reliques of their great patron Cuthbert and buylded somewhat at Durham, then begged they hard not for cantels of chese, as other poor men doe, but for large corners of good counties, as all their profession used."—Lambarde's Topogr. Dict., p. 324.

† I subjoin a list of the Bishops of Durham till the period of the Reformation, for the sake of reference:—

990 Aldwinus or Aldhune.
1020 Eadmund.
1041 Eadred.
1042 Egelric.
1056 Egelwine.
1072 Walcher.
1080 William de Carileph.
1099 Ralph Flambard.
1128 Geoffrey Rufus.
1143 William de St. Barbara.
1154 Hugh Pudsey.
1197 Philip de Pictavia.
1217 Richard de Marisco.
1227 Richard Poor.
1241 Nicholas de Farnham.
1249 Walter de Kirkham.
1260 Robert Stichell.
1274 Robert de Insula.

1285 Anthony Beck.
1311 Richard de Kellawe.
1317 Lewis Beaumont.
1333 Richard Bury.
1345 Thomas Hatfield.
1381 John Fordham.
1388 Walter Skirlaw.
1406 Thomas Langley.
1438 Robert Neville.
1457 Lawrence Booth.
1476 William Dudley.
1483 John Sherwood.
1494 Richard Fox.
1502 William Sever.
1507 Christopher Bainbridge.
1509 Thomas Ruthall.
1523 Thomas Wolsey.
1530 Cuthbert Tunstall.

before my readers such historical notices and matters only, as more immediately connect themselves with the body of St. Cuthbert, the shrine in which it was preserved, or the numerous relics which found a resting place by its side; and shall conclude with an accurate account of the discovery which led to the present publication.

Aldhune was succeeded by Eadmund, who owed his exaltation either to his own ventriloquism, or to the voice of some one whom he had suborned to proclaim his name from the tomb of St. Cuthbert, on the day of election.

I now come to a man whose name must be recorded, not merely as the collector of the numerous relics with which he is stated to have enriched the shrine of St. Cuthbert, but as the conscious transmitter (if I am not mistaken) of an imposture, older, it must be admitted, than his days, but evidently, in his opinion, necessary for the welfare of the newly built Church, of which he was a member—the incorruptibility of its patron Saint. The facilities which he possessed for this latter purpose, may be easily inferred from the following account of the liberties which he was in the habit of taking with the body (I mean the bones) of the long-deceased Prelate, as recorded by Reginald, in the preamble to a miracle mentioned below, not much more than a century from the period of his operations.*

* This extract is so important to my future pages, that I feel myself called upon to give it in its original Latin:—

“Temporibus antiquis quidam Elfredus Westoue exstitit qui admirandâ dilectionis gratiâ apud beatum Cuthbertum speciali prerogativâ effulsit. Nam seram ipsius sepulcri aperire ei licenter et impunè licuit, quociens ei libuit, circa eum quæ voluit componere, et quæ desiderabat ab eo citius impetrare prævaluit. Unde traditur eum tantæ dulcedinis gratiâ apud ipsum ex familiaritatis noticiâ succrevisse quod nonnunquam ipsius venerandi capitis comam supereffluentem soleret tondendo præcidere, capillos pectine Eburneo dividendo et deliniendo emollire, digitorum ungues pulcritudine rotundatâ excidere. Hinc nimirum exstitit quod nonnullis amicorum de ipsis capillorum *precisionibus* (this word is interlined, and it is also in the margin) superfluis quandoque solebat ostendere, et experiendi gratiâ, accensis in turribulo prunis, cum forcife (*ita*) argenteo quem in hujus ministerii opus effecerat in ignis incendio videntibus cunctis exponere. At capilli mox, auri more, in mediis ignibus rutilabant nec lesionem sive diminutionem aliquam contrahebant. Horæ deinde aliquantulo prolapso tempore, retractâ cum forcifibus capillaturæ porcione, cepit minutè auri nitorem passim exuere, et demum, stupentibus cunctis, ad status proprii figuram convertendo redire. Unde sicut creditur, forcipes ipsi cum pectine grandi Eburneo, in medii centri regione perforato, in sepulcro beati pontificis pristinæ novitatis gratiam adhuc retinentes inveniuntur, et cum honoris reverentiâ secus corpus ipsius super tabulam reponuntur.”—Reg. cap. 26.

All this valuable information comes out in the preamble to a marvellous tale of a weasel, which had availed itself of a slight opening into the coffin of St. Cuthbert, caused by the carelessness of Elfred in not closing the lid during one of his visits, and had brought forth its young near the feet of the body. Elfred was absent at some distance from Durham when this sad event took place; but his deputy was soon warned by Cuthbert to call home his master, and free him from the nuisance.

"In times of old," says Reginald, "there flourished one Elfred Westoue, who, for the love which he bore to St. Cuthbert, was distinguished by peculiar privileges conceded to no one but himself—for, as often as it pleased him, he might freely and with impunity open the coffin of the Saint, *might wrap him in such robes as he thought fit*—and he could obtain from him, without delay, whatever he requested: whence it is recorded that he, from long familiarity, attained to such a degree of cordiality with the Saint, that it was his custom to cut the overgrowing hair of his venerable head, to adjust it by dividing it and smoothing it *with an ivory comb*, and to cut the nails of his fingers, tastefully reducing them to roundness. Hence, doubtless, it came to pass, that he was occasionally in the habit of shewing to divers of his friends portions of the cuttings of his hair, and by way of experiment, after he had filled a censer with burning coals, he would, by the aid of a pair of silver scissors, *which he had fabricated* for this express purpose, expose those portions to the flames in the sight of all.* But the hair would immediately, *after the fashion of gold*, glisten in the midst of the fire, and undergo neither injury nor diminution; and after the lapse of an hour, when removed by the scissors, it would, to the great astonishment of all, lay aside the brightness of gold, and assume its former character. Whence, as it is believed, those scissors, along with *the large ivory comb, perforated in its centre*, are found in the coffin of the blessed Bishop, still retaining their original freshness and beauty, and with the reverence of honour are placed upon a tablet by the side of his body."

If any trick was ever played with the bones of St. Cuthbert, my reader will, I think, agree with me that Elfred was the man.

That the fragment of gold wire—for I verily believe it to have been nothing else which Elfred imposed upon the credulous as a portion of the hair of St. Cuthbert—was turned to a good account, may be inferred from the proceedings in which he next engaged. According to Symeon,† who carefully and exulting-

* In strictness of speech, the *forfex* were the shears of a tailor, the *forpex* scissors for cutting hair, and the *forceps* a pair of tongs in general. (Du Fresne). Reginald, when speaking of one and the same instrument, twice uses a word different from any of these; once he uses the plural of forceps, but, at length (v. appendix, p. 5, lin. penult., where for forcipes read forpices), he gives to the implement its right name. It was a pair of scissors which served the pretended purpose of cutting the Saint's hair, and the real purpose of exhibiting over burning embers that which Elfred wished to pass off as hair in reality—a fragment of the thin gold wire with which, as will be hereafter stated, the skull of the Saint was bound.

† Cap. xlii.

ly records the narrative of the fact, this same Ælfred, in consequence of a command conveyed to him in a vision, repaired to those Monasteries and Churches within the province of Northumberland, in which slept the Saints of olden times, and having raised their mouldering bones from the grave, placed them above ground in their respective Churches, as objects of veneration. But my reader must not imagine that this was a task which was gratuitously performed. The visionary took care in each case to appropriate to himself a portion of the relics which he had discovered, and in consequence he brought home with him to Durham, a few of the bones of Balthar* and Bilfrid† the Hermits, of Acca and Alchmund, Bishops of Hexham, of King Oswin, and of the Abbesses, Ebba and Æthelgith. These treasures were deposited with the body of St. Cuthbert. The next expedition of the relic-hunter, undertaken in consequence of a similar revelation, was to Melrose, where he found the bones of St. Boisil,‡ the Pedagogue of St. Cuthbert, which also he forthwith removed to Durham, and placed in a coffer by the side of the Saint. He next bethought him of the bones of Bede; but here stratagem was necessary, as the Clergy of Jarrow were only to be cheated out of the treasure which they so naturally prized. Ælfred, therefore, proceeded with caution, and for many years visited Jarrow, for the purpose of devotion on the day of Bede's death, (May 29th,) when, in all probability, the decaying bones of this venerable man were exhibited to his Church; but he regularly returned empty, until at length an opportunity having presented itself, he secured the object which he had long had in view, and no one knowing what had been done—started for Durham at the very break of day, a period in which he had never before commenced his journey. But secrecy was his object; and as a proof that he had carried his purpose into effect, he was never known to re-visit Jarrow, although he lived many years afterwards. When his fellows would familiarly ask where the bones of Bede were to be found, he would say "no one knows better than me—let the same coffin which holds the most sacred body of our Father Cuthbert, hold also the bones of Bede, the venerable Doctor and Monk. Let no one seek a portion of his relics elsewhere than in that hospitable chest." And he would proceed to enjoin secrecy, lest the strangers who frequented the

* Balthar, the hermit of Tiningham, who died in the year 757.

† Bilfrid, the ornament of St. Cuthbert's Book of the Gospels, see p. 34, note †

‡ See pages 17 and 19.

Church, and whose main object was to deprive it of its relics, but especially of those of Bede, should be successful in their attempts. Symeon, after having stated thus much, refers to a curious fragment of *English* (Saxon) poetry,* relative to the situation of Durham and the relics preserved there, in which especial mention is made of the bones of Bede, and proceeds to state that those very bones were afterwards (in 1104), found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, wrapped in a linen cloth. But of their discovery at that period, and their subsequent disposal, I shall have somewhat to say in a proper place.

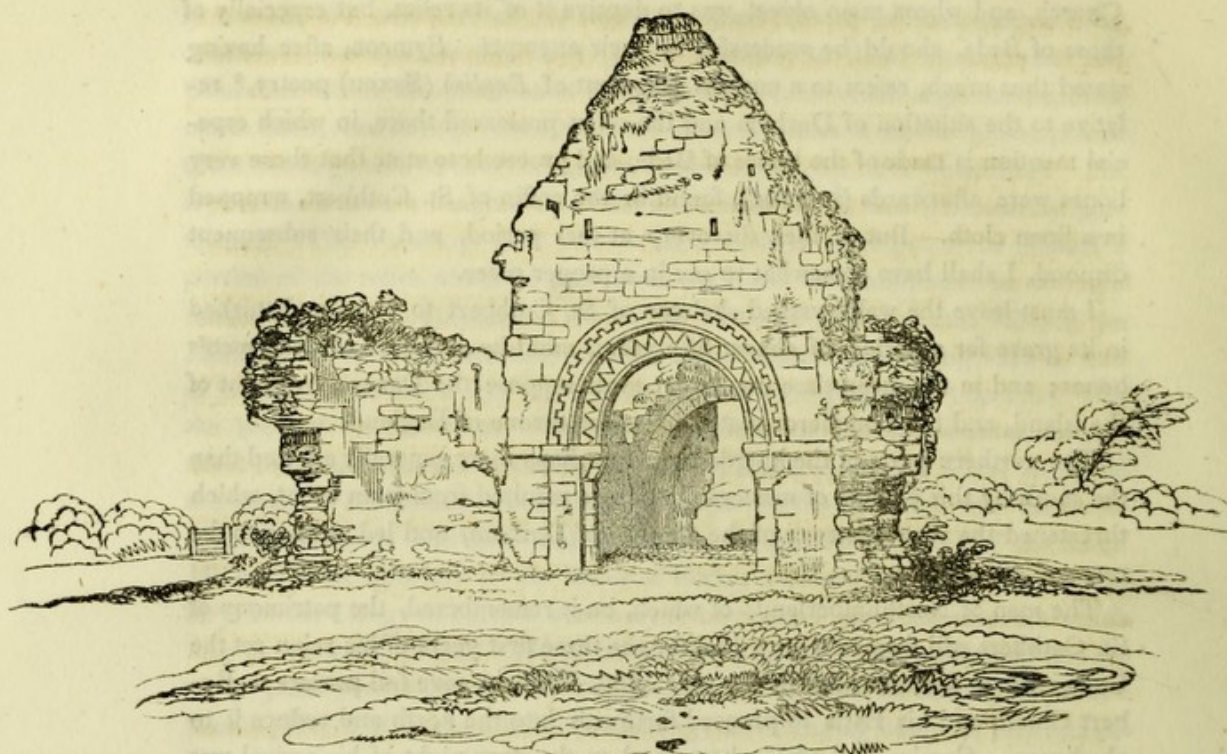
I must leave the well-swathed skeleton of St. Cuthbert to sleep undisturbed in its grave for a period of almost fifty years, amid its garniture of dead men's bones; and in the mean-time my reader must suppose the Danes driven out of the island, and the Conqueror seated upon the throne of England.

The northern parts of the kingdom were perhaps more generally affected than the south by this change of masters; but there resulted from it an event, which threatened the very existence of the Church of Durham, and led at once to the removal of its Saint.

The men of Northumberland, of which, be it remembered, the patrimony of St. Cuthbert still formed a part, had for the three first years of his reign set the Conqueror at defiance; but in the year 1069, William gave full powers to Robert Cumin and his Earls to proceed forthwith into the north and reduce it to obedience. Cumin reached Durham, and on the very night of his arrival was burnt alive. Another General was charged with the duty, but scarcely had he reached Northallerton, when, *by the interference of St. Cuthbert*, a thick mist overshadowed the earth, and further progress was in vain. At last, the King himself undertook the expedition, and arrived at York on his journey, threat-

* I subjoin a plain translation, partly from the original, and partly from a Latin version by Hickes, referred to below:—

“That is a city distinguished—on the farther side of the kingdom of the Britons—in situation steep—with rocks begirt—with wonders abounding.—The Were flows around—a river in streams strong—and therein are—of fishes various kinds—among the waves living—and there waxe—of woods a great forest.—(Its) low grounds possess—wild animals many.—In (its) deep vallies—of wild animals a herd innumerable.—There is in this city also—to men well known—the venerable Saint Cuthbercht.—There is also of the chaste King the head—Oswald of English the lion—and Aidan the Bishop—Ædbercht and Ædfrid—a noble pair.—There is also there with these—Æthelwold the Bishop—and the famous writer Bede—and Boisil the Abbat—(who) the chaste Cuthberchte—(when) a youth taught willingly—and he his learning well took in.—There are placed with these Saints—in the inner minster—innumerable relics—which work many wonders—which writers shall tell of—whilst they are waiting for the just judgement of the Lord.”—Hickes' *Gram. Sax. Moes. Goth.* p. 178. Ed. 1705.



ening to lay waste the land with fire and sword. The news was no sooner told in Durham, than the Bishop, apparently no longer relying upon his Saint, convened a Chapter of his clergy, and the result of their deliberation was, the removal of the body of St. Cuthbert to Lindisfarne. In a case which might appear to require expedition, it seems, at first sight, strange, that the progress of the fugitives was so slow; but it should be stated that their flight took place in the middle of December. Their first day's journey ended at Jarrow: the next night they sojourned at Bedlington: another night brought them to Tughall;*

* The Chapel of Tughall, of the ruins of which I have given a representation above, was doubtless afterwards built upon the spot where the Saint rested for the night. When it stood in repair, it constituted a chapel of ease to Bamborough. It was last presented to in 1630; but the Younghusbands, of Tuggall Hall and Budle, made it their burying place within the memory of persons still alive. Those of my readers who are versed in ecclesiastical architecture, will at once discover that it has pretensions to very high antiquity.

The following extracts from the Visitation Books in the Registry of Durham, are highly characteristic of the period and place:—

31 May, 1578. TUGGALL. They lacke a pulpytt, a communion cuppe of sylver, a byble, &c.

and it was only on the fourth evening that they reached the strand opposite the island. Here, as it happened to be full tide, they found the passage across hid

17 Mar. 1599. Thomas Forster presented, for strickinge the minister of Tughill upon the heade with his dagger.

16 Oct. 1601. Thomas Hopper presented, for that he shott a pistall when all the congregation were cominge out of the church at Tuggill in the midst of them.

Eod. temp. John Forster of Tuggill presented, for rideinge into the church on horsebacke in service time.

11 Aug. 1609. They want a bible of the largest volume, a convenient seat for ye minister, ye table of ye 10 commandments, a decent pulpitt cloth and cushion, a cover for ye communion cupp, their church porch is uncovered, th'one of their bells is loose.

I cannot refrain from throwing together a few more extracts from the documents before me, however little they may be connected with St. Cuthbert and his wanderings. They tend much to illustrate the manners and proceedings of the period, and in this I rest my apology:—

ALNWICKE. Mary Forster, a notorious usurer, for lone of xii^d she taketh 1^d wekely.

ROCK, 13 Oct. 1593. Jenet Farowe pr., supposed to be a witch, and hath spoken bad speches tending to witchcraft.

FELTON, 15 Ap. 1604. William Lisle, &c. pr., that they were traicinge of foxes and hairens on Sondaie.

ILDERTON, 15 Oct. 1601. George Hunter pr., to be a mediciner of Stephen Cramer's cowe, by goinge to the house of Elizabeth Browne and there cutt a pece of the turf of the house, and asked the milk for God's sake, and so it was gott againe.

HALLISTONE, 24 Jul. 1604. Bartram Pott and Thomas Gibson, churchwardens, presented—that they do stand excommunicate, and so have done these two yeares last past, and saie that when they (*the Ecclesiastical authorities*) of Durham doe send them horse and monye, they will then come to be absolved.

LESBURIE, 15 Oct. 1601. George Carre of Lesburie, pr.—that he being a churchwarden assaulted Elizabeth Foster in the churchyard and drew blode of her.

LONGHOUGHTON, 15 Ap. 1604. Elizabeth Fawcus pr., for calling the minister's wife *Priest's Gibbe*.

WARKWORTH, 4 Nov., 1600. George James hath a stypend to reparaire the Church heges and lets them decay, and buryed one so shallowe in the grave that he was almost pulled out of the grounde by dogges.

BALMBRO', 21 Feb., 1595. The Curate kepeth aile in his house.

BERWICK, 1620. Rowland Braidforth pr. He said that Mr Parkinson, late Maier of Berwicke, was in hell, and Mr Fareley porter there, and that they had sent manie letters, and willed Mr Saltonstall to come, and marvelled he stayed so long.

NORHAM, 11 Jul., 1578. Nicholas Palmer pr., detected. He ministred in a wilke boule.—(Qu., what is meant?)

WOOLLER, 21 Dec., 1610. Rowland Scot pr., for quarrellinge and drawing his dagger on Jo. Jackson, and for appointing combat in the Church at the communion table. (This is worse than the story of the men, who, in the recollection of persons still alive, or not long since dead, retired from an alehouse in the village, and finished their game of whist upon this self-same table.)

BYWELL, Feb., 1595. Henry Nicholson pr. He reporteth that they are better which are out of the Church then within it.

MORPETH, 14 Oct., 1601. Robert Todd pr., suspected to be a mediciner of cattle or a charmer of thinges hurt.

STANNINGTON, 13 Dec., 1590. The wife of Thomas Graie pr. for turninge of the riddle for thinges loste and stolne. (The riddle is well known as a shallow circular sieve, used in the process of winnowing before the introduction of machinery, when the farmer took his stand upon a hillock, with his newly thrashed corn upon his winnowing sheet, and with his weight, riddle, and sieve, snuffed in the winds like the heifer in the Georgics, and took his place and position

under the waves, and, in addition to this sad mishap, the night was dark and stormy, and no shelter was at hand. Those who were advanced in years began to tremble at the prospect before them, and more than one mouth was opened to complain, when on a sudden the sea opened its breast, and laid bare the track upon which they were anxious to tread.* In the above narrative my reader

accordingly. The process of divination by the riddle was an easy one. The point of a pair of shears, such as are used in sheep-shearing, was stuck into the outer circumference of the wooden girth of the riddle, and the whole was suspended by a cord running through the handle of the shears, and held by the diviner, who had only to say, inserting the names of the parties and specifying the thing stolen—

"By Saint Peter and by Saint Paul,
If A. B. has stown C. D.'s cow,
Turn about riddle and shears and all."

Of course, the slightest motion in the article suspended decided the guilt of the accused. If therefore, the *trier* had spent the preceding night over his cups, the defendant's character for honesty was necessarily gone for ever.)

ST. ANDREW'S, NEWCASTLE, 6 Feb., 1603. John Dalton and Stephen Reasley pr. That upon Easter daie last, presently they had received the holie Com'on, they two went into the vestrie and there dronke a whole pottle of wyne, and being therefore reproved by the Curate, the said John Dalton called him *skirvie knave*.

But let me return to the original subject of my note. The proprietors of Tughall, soon after the conquest, doubtless from a recollection of the honour which had been conferred upon the estate by the temporary residence of the Saint, bestowed upon the Monks from Durham, who sojourned at Farne Island, an annual present of five quarters of wheat, to be received at Tughall.—V. North Durham. Farne.

* Symeon, Cap. l.—The fugitives are recorded to have taken away with them from Durham, every thing of value which was portable. But there was an image of the crucifixion splendidly decorated with silver and gold and gems (the gift of Earl Tosti and his wife for a transgression of their maid—v. Sym. Dunelm, cap. xlvi.), which, on account of its weight, they were compelled to leave behind them. This, on their return, they found thrown down to the ground, and totally bereft of its costly adornments. The King, when informed of the outrage, at once sent the men who had done the deed to the Bishop and his Priests, and left them to the mercy of the Church; but the Church permitted them to depart unpunished. A year or two afterwards the Conqueror himself sent to Durham gold, silver, and precious stones in abundance, for the re-embellishment of the cross and its accompaniments; but Walcher the Bishop, from a pretence of poverty, converted a portion of the gift to his own use. The remainder was appropriated to the cross, according to the intention of the donor, and the image so ornamented was remaining in the days of Symeon, (Cap. L.)

There is a highly poetical fiction connected with the above flight, which I cannot refrain from throwing into a note for the amusement of those who take pleasure in the marvellous:—

On their road to Lindisfarne, the fugitives were much annoyed in various ways by a personage called Gillo Michael, (the son of Michael, but as Symeon suggests, he would have been more properly called *the son of Michael's antagonist, the devil*), a man apparently high in authority under Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland. The travellers bore his insults with patience; but it would have been well for him if the matter had ended here. After their arrival at Lindisfarne, one of their body, Earnan by name, was deputed to return to Durham, for the purpose of ascertaining how matters went with their Church. He had not proceeded far when he was overtaken by the night, and by sleep its companion. During his repose, there burst upon his eyes a vision, the particulars of which he took pleasure in relating to Symeon, who remembered him. "I fancied myself," said he, "at Durham and in the Church. Two men of the highest authority appeared to me to be standing by the altar with their faces turned towards the east. The one was a man of middle age, solemnly clad in episcopal robes, and by his venerable habit and his honourable and reverence-inspiring looks, proved himself to be a Bishop. The other,

will easily separate fact from fiction. I have only to state, that the storm blew over, and that in the beginning of the following Lent (1070) the Bishop and his Clergy returned to Durham in peace, with the body of St. Cuthbert.

From the next event, connected with the body of St. Cuthbert, which presents itself to notice, an important inference may, I think, be drawn, with reference to its pretended incorruptibility.

who stood at his right hand, was clad in a blood-red garment, his face was somewhat long, his beard, from his youth, was scarcely discernible, in stature he was tall, and altogether he appeared to be a most beautiful young man. After a while the two turned their eyes from the altar into the body of the Church, and he who was the Bishop, grieved apparently at its emptiness, cried aloud "Wo to thee Cospatrick! wo to thee Cospatrick! thou hast emptied my Church of its goods, and hast turned it into a desert." Be it remembered (continues the visionary), that this self-same Cospatrick had advised that the fugitives should abandon their Church, and then had possessed himself of the greatest part of the ornaments. In the mean-while feeling a strong wish to approach, and yet not daring to move from my place, the youth beckoned to me with his finger, and in a whisper, calling me by my name, asked me if I knew who that episcopal personage was. "Indeed, I know not," was my answer, and this brought from him the declaration, "that is thy Lord—the holy Bishop Cuthbert." Straightway fell I down at his feet, praying him to aid his Church in its distress. After a while, having reverently turned their heads towards the altar, they quitted it with slow and composed gait, and when they had reached the door the young man took the precedence, leaving behind him the Bishop, who turning himself back, and calling to me, who was following at a distance, said to me, "Tell me, Earnan, knowest thou who is that youth?" "Not I, my Lord," was my reply. Then said he, "this is St. Oswald." Together they proceeded to the southern part of the city, whither I followed by command of the Bishop; and upon being enjoined to look beneath me, I beheld a valley of infinite depth, full of the souls of mankind. Among the rest there was Gill Michael, tormented with atrocious punishments, thrown flat upon his back in the most dismal of places, and undergoing intolerable stabbings from a sharp-pointed hay-sythe, which all the while kept penetrating his body from side to side. The miserable man roared aloud, and there was no end to his dreadful and woeful howlings—never had he the respite of even a single hour from his pains. All the other souls which I saw were in the same state of torment. Upon being asked by Saint Cuthbert, whether I recognized any one of the unhappy beings before me—"Yes, replied I, that one is Gillo." "Truly, said he, that is the man, for he is dead, and consigned to these miseries and pains." My answer was—"He is not dead, my Lord, for lately he was banquetting in his hall in the most excellent health, and even now he is expected to a feast." The answer was brief—"I tell thee of a truth that he is now dead; he and the others whom thou sawest with him, because they have broken my peace, and by injuring my church have injured me, are compelled to undergo those punishments and torments." Having heard all this, I awoke, and mounting my horse, exhorted my attendants to speed them on their journey. When they were wondering at the sudden expedition which I enjoined, I at once told them of the death which had been revealed to me, and stated my authority for the fact. Still they disbelieved and laughed at my credulity. We rode all night on our journey, and in the morning we turned aside to the nearest church to be present at mass. The people, according to custom, flocked round me to hear the news—my only news was the death of the man mentioned above. They knew that he was alive and well the day before, and told me to my face that I was the bearer of a falsehood. But soon came up some of his servants, and confirmed me in my report that their master was dead. Upon inquiring into the time of his death, I found that his spirit had departed at the precise moment of time in which, under the guidance of St. Cuthbert, I saw him writhing in torments."

Those of my readers who wish to know more of the story, will find it in the 51st chapter of Symeon, which I have so far translated. There is something tremendously awful in the idea of the broad and deep space, extending from the southern verge of the Cathedral to the opposite side of the river, brim-full of the foes of St. Cuthbert, all writhing in woe.

William the Conqueror, as it appears, after a successful campaign in Scotland, thought fit, in the year 1072, to sojourn for a while at Durham on his way home, and lay the foundation of its castle. The length of his stay is no where specified; but during its continuance he made diligent enquiry with reference to the body of St. Cuthbert, whether it really rested at Durham or not. His question was answered in the affirmative, not by one, but by all the members of the Church, and their affirmation was conveyed, not in words alone, but in oaths. Still he was slow in belief, and having with him Bishops and Abbots to obey his command, he at length determined to be satisfied with regard to the truth or falsehood of the assertion; and more than this, he openly avowed his intention of putting to the sword the dignitaries and elders of the church if the body should not be found. Fear fell upon them all,* and in their distress they prayed the Almighty, by the merits of St. Cuthbert, to shew them his mercy. The festival of All Saints, the day appointed for the inspection, had arrived, and the Bishop had begun the Mass, when the King was seized with a violent fever, of so withering a nature, that he hastily rushed out of the church without having effected his purpose, and turning his back upon a splendid banquet which was awaiting him, mounted his horse,† and never once drew his bridle until he had crossed the Tees, and had left behind him the territory of the Saint.

Now, if there be any truth in the above tale—and, be it remembered, it is recorded by Roger Hoveden, by Bromton, and by the Chronicler of Mailros‡—

* My chief authority for this story is Symeon (cap. liv.), whose account I am translating. The copy of that author which I have before me, is the one which belonged to Mr. Randall, the laborious Antiquary, whose numerous and valuable collections constituted the very ground-work of Hutchinson's History of Durham, and are now, by purchase from Mr. Allan, safely deposited in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. Randall has left behind him few remarks of his own, whatever he might have contemplated; but in the margin of the chapter before me, there is *one* opposite to the words, *Omnibus itaque parentibus*, which I am glad to give as the opinion of a thoughtful man upon a point which must have frequently engaged his attention. His grammatical slip will be easily forgiven. "Nec mirum (says he upon the above words) cum jam impostura hominum patefaceretur." No wonder they were afraid when their imposture was upon the point of being discovered.

† Now do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
And win the key-stane of the brig;
There at them thou thy tail may toss,
A running stream they dare na cross.

‡ The accounts of Hoveden and Bromton vary in one or two points from that of Symeon. From their statement it appears, that the doubt as to St. Cuthbert's body first entered the head of some of William's Norman followers, and that the King commanded two of his chaplains to satisfy their scruples by making the investigation. The two inquisitors, if they may be so called, were preparing to obey the command, when the King, attacked by a fever, and horror-struck at the

it proves, that even at that period the appearance of that which was preserved and occasionally shewn as the uncorrupted body of St. Cuthbert, was so far from being such in reality, as to make its keepers fearful for the result of its exhibition in the present instance. It was the firm belief of the north of England—a belief which even then had done much to enrich the Church of Durham, by which the report was carefully spread abroad—that that Church possessed the *body* of St. Cuthbert, and the King wished to be convinced of the fact. No such exposure, however, was made. On the contrary, men, capable of judging and reporting as to the truth or untruth of the assertion, were upon the very point of investigating the matter, when their proceedings were arrested by the command of him, under whose injunction they were beginning to act; and they were so prevented by a prohibition, resulting from an effect produced either by supernatural means or the contrary—the sudden illness of the King. No words shall be wasted as to any divine interference, and the conclusion must be come to at once, that, supposing, as I have already said, the story to be true, the clergy of Durham did not venture to pass off the well-swathed bones of their long deceased Bishop, of which they were unquestionably in possession, as “an entire body, with joints flexible and flesh succulent;”^{*} but they had recourse to a dark and dangerous plan for striking terror into the King and his attendants.† Under this impression, my reader may perhaps exclaim with Hubert in “King John,”—

“The King, I fear, is poisoned by a Monk.”

proceeding which he had sanctioned, *sent* to his two clerks, commanding them to desist. I think it may be inferred from this, that it was not the King's intention to be himself present at the investigation. The Chron. of Mailros makes mention of the King's chaplains as the men by whom the examination was to be conducted.

^{*} Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert.

† The following extract from Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert proves that I am not the first in entertaining this opinion:—“The Conqueror, returning out of Scotland, desired to see the body of their Saint, which the Monkes soe long delayed, (least they should hazard their credit to finde bones instead of flesh), that they stricke the King with such an heate of choller, that in a rage he tooke horse, and never stayed his course 'till he was out of the precincts of the Bishoprick, where, with pardon for his boldnesse to the Saint, he recovered his former temper, restoring divers villages to St. Cuthbert, which had been taken away. Thus St. Cuthbert had the victory over the Conqueror, and brought him under his religion, who had subdued the land under his sword. *For after this the King had a reverend opinion of St. Cuthbert.*”

Any one who will take the trouble of looking at the 45th page of the Monasticon, (vol. I.) will see that Hegge was not making an assertion incapable of proof, when he stated that the Church of Durham was considerably benefited by the Conqueror. In fact, the original charters are in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter; but I must admit that they make no allusion to the narrow escape which the King is stated to have had.

Perhaps another proof that there was something suspicious in this transaction, may be gather-

But he recovered from his disorder, and the incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert was not questioned for a period of two and thirty years afterwards, when it was established by means, of which my reader must hereafter judge. But before we come to the last and most memorable *translation* of the Saint, I must, adhering as I do to the chronological order which I have proposed, detail somewhat of fact and somewhat of fiction, connected with St. Cuthbert and his Church.

My matters of fact are the expulsion of the secular Clergy from the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Bishop William Carileph, in the year 1083, and his introduction of a Prior and Monks of the Benedictine order, from the neighbouring Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. If the limits and object of the present undertaking at all allowed of any lengthened disquisition with respect to the Monastic Institute and its advantages or disadvantages, this would be the proper place for introducing the subject to my reader; but my purpose is of a more limited, and perhaps, of a more amusing nature.

The extensive privileges which the Bishop conferred upon his newly-established Priory,* are more properly subjects for the History of the Cathedral at large, and thither I must refer my reader for an account of the churches, acres, and immunities, with which he gifted it; but they one and all received the confirmation of Thomas, Archbishop of York, almost immediately afterwards, under circumstances (I now come to fiction) which immediately connect themselves with St. Cuthbert and his miraculous powers. But the Archbishop shall speak for himself, from his own original charter, preserved under his seal in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and printed at full length below,

ed from the silence of Reginald, as to the miracle before us. That author never once alludes to it. It may be said of him, that he professes to record those miracles only which had been performed in the period in which he lived, (circ. 1165), or within the memory of his aged brethren in the cloister; but in reply to this it must be stated, that as we have seen (p. 46 note ‡ and p. 59) he took pains to hand down to memory the *wonders* of a time which far preceded not only his own, but that of the Conqueror, *the patient* in the present case; and more than this, at the time of his writing there was before him upon his desk, as may be easily proved, the very chapter of Symeon which is exclusively devoted to the tale of the Conqueror, his fever, and his flight. It may again be alleged, that as the miracle was already upon record in the pages of Symeon, it therefore demanded not Reginald's notice: but here again an examination of the pages above referred to will prove, that Reginald observed no such rule, even in miracles of less importance than the one before us. What inference then ought we to draw from his silence in the present case? No other, I think, than that by his time the trick played to the Conqueror had become notorious.

* Any one who would see the preliminary steps taken by Carileph, will find them accurately detailed in his own charter, printed in the *Monasticon*, in *Hutchinson*, and elsewhere. The original is in the Treasury, and it is almost the only document in that extensive repository which has at all suffered from time.

for one reason among others, because it completely details the various privileges bestowed upon the Monks of Durham by their Bishop, and, moreover, gives the extent of the diocese at that early period.*

* Carta Thomæ (senioris) Ebor. Archiepiscopi, or as it stands in the *Repertorium Magnum*—Carta Thomæ (Archiepiscopi Ebor.) de omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus ab eodem Priori et Conventui Dunelm. concessis in ecclesiis eis appropriatis seu appropriandis in Diocesi Ebor. *propter sanilitatem per beatum Cuthbertum contra opiniones Medicorum restitutam.* Orig. i. 1. Archiep'al. A. 1., and transcript Cartuar. iii. f. 1.

Thomas Dei gratiâ Eboraci Archiepiscopus. Omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et Abbatibus per Angliam tam constitutis quam imposterum successuris et omnibus sibi in Eboraco Archiepiscopis successuris in perpetuum—Salutem. Cum nostrum sit officium omnibus præstare pietatis obsequium, his tamen maximè Sanctorum Dei debemus obsequium nostræ devotionis impendere a quibus constat nos peculiare muneris beneficium percepisse. Nos quidem Dei flagello castigati et febrium languoribus per biennium modo incredibili exusti, cum omnes medici solius mortis exitum nobis prominare promitterent, nihil unquam fuit in quo continuæ noxam egritudinis temperarent, per visum ego commonitus ad tumbam Sancti Cuthberti gemens et fremens pernoctavi: qui morbo simul et mole fatigatus dum somnum surripui in visu mihi beatus Cuthbertus astitit qui manu suâ singula mea membra explorando de infirmitate meâ percurrrens mox evigilantem ab omni infirmitate sanum reddidit et me sibi in omnibus devotum fore, et quæcunque in meâ Diocesi ipse vel sui possessuri essent ab omni fatigatione secunda et libera esse præcepit. Quibus beati Confessoris adjutus beneficiis, eo ei et suis devotior extiti quo majora persolvere debui. Willielmo interim Dunelmensi Episcopo de sede Apostolicâ literas G. Papæ VII. ad Guillielmi concilium apud Westmonasterium deferente canonicos de Ecclesiâ suâ amovere et monachos substituere omnium consensu impetravit. Quibus plurimum gavisus ex precepto prefati Papæ, et ex imperio Domini Regis Guillielmi, et beati Cuthberti amore debito, subscriptas libertates Sancto Cuthberto et ejus Episcopo et omnibus monachis ei servituris consensu et permissione Capituli Eboracensis et totius synodi confirmatione dedi concessi, et presenti cartâ confirmavi et post manu propriâ super altare Sancto Cuthberto obtuli. Sciant igitur tam presentes quam futuri quod ego Thomas Ebor. Archiepiscopus ex precepto Papæ G. VII. et confirmatione Domini Regis Guillielmi, sub testimonio universalis Anglorum concilii, et consensu Ebor. capituli do et concedo Deo et Sancto Cuthberto et omnibus ejus Episcopis successuris, et omnibus monachis in posterum ibid. servituris ut omnes ecclesias quasunque in presenti in Diocesiana Parrochia mea possident vel in posterum canonicè acquirere poterint concessione Regum largitione fidelium vel edificaverint in proprio fundo terrarum, liberas et quietas omnino in perpetuum a me et omnibus successoribus meis, ab omnibus quæ ad me vel ad successores meos pertinent. Quare volo et precipio ut omnes ecclesias suas in manu suâ teneant, et quiete eas possideant, et vicarios suos in eis liberè ponant, qui mihi et meis successoribus de curâ tantum intendant animarum, ipsis vero de omnibus ceteris beneficiis elemosinarum. Concedo insuper, confirmo et præcipio, ut tam ipsi quam ipsorum vicarii liberi et quieti in perpetuum sint ab omni redditu sinodali, et ab omnibus auxiliis gravaminibus vel redditibus exactionibus vel hospiciis tam a me quam ab Decanis, Archidiaconis vel omnium nostrorum vicariis et ministris, sub anathemate etiam ne aliquis ulterius ipsos vel eorum clericos aliquâ sub occasione fatiget vel ad sinoda vel capitula ire, nisi velint sponte, compellat. Quod si quis contra eos vel suos aliquam querelam habuerit, ad curiam Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmum veniat, ut ibi qualem rectitudinem debuerit percipiat. Omnes enim libertates et dignitates quas ego et mei sequaces in ecclesiis propriis vel terris nostris possederimus, ipsi et Sancto Cuthberto in omnibus ecclesiis et terris suis libere in perpetuum concedimus, et absque omni tergiversatione sive calumpnia a me meisque successoribus liberas et quietas confirmamus. Testificamur auctoritati et donationi patris nostri G. Papæ VII. et confirmationi Regis Guillielmi de libertatibus quas præfatæ ecclesiæ Sancti Cuthberti in pleno concilio apud Westmonasterium concesserunt, et quas Prioribus et Monachis ipsius Ecclesiæ contulerunt. Nam per privilegium Guillielmi fratris nostri Dunelmensis Episcopi tam ego quam Lanfrancus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus literis nostris subscripsimus et sigillis propriis concessimus et confirmavimus. Videlicet ut sedes Episcopalis una cum Beati Confessoris corpore cum omni integritate

"Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbishop of York, To all Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, throughout England, as well at present appointed, as hereafter to succeed, and to all his successors the Archbishops of York for ever, greeting. Notwithstanding it be our duty to afford to all the ready assistance resulting from piety, yet most of all are we bound to give proof of our devotion to those Saints of God from whom we have evidently received the peculiar benefit of assistance ourselves. We for our part having been for two years chas-

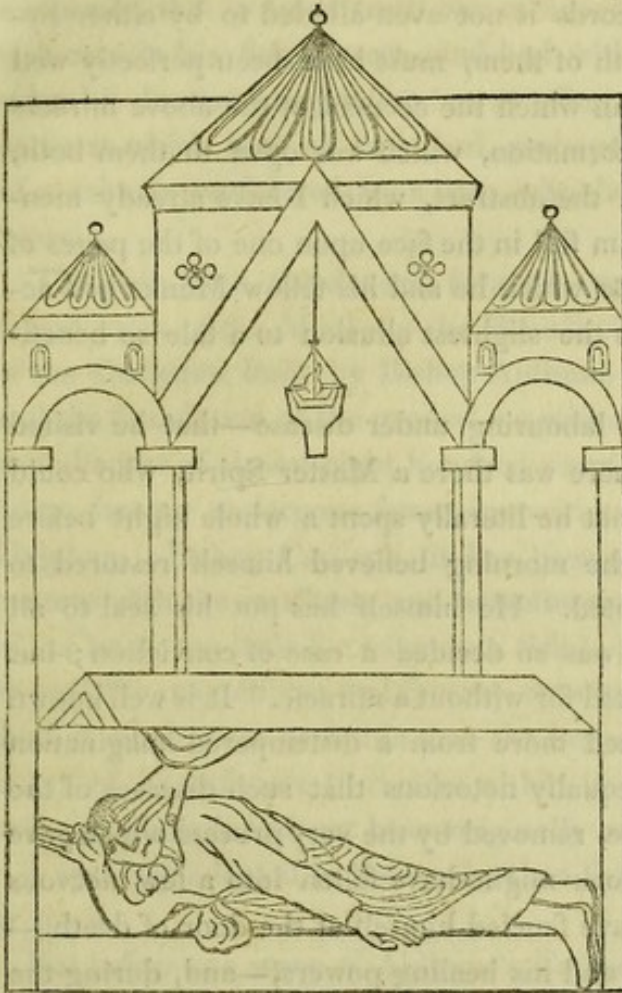
ipsius Episcopatus inviolabiliter permaneat. Cujus diocesis ita prætenditur et definitur. Tota terra quæ est inter Tese et Tine, Northumberland, Thevietedale, Tindale, Carleolum, Weredale, cum Ecclesiâ de Hesteldesham et omni Parrochia pertinenti, et Ecclesiâ Lindisfarnensi ubi antiquitus Episcopatus extiterat. In omni etiam terrâ Sancti Cuthberti quam Episcopi vel Monachi justè acquirere poterint vel in presenti possident, rectitudines omnes, consuetudines et libertates quæ ad Regis coronam pertinent, tam Papa præfatus quam Rex Willielmus eis concesserunt liberas et quietas omnino et ubique in regno Anglorum ab omni servicio perpetuis temporibus confirmaverunt. Guilielmus vero Dunelmensis Episcopus in eodem concilio auctoritate predicti Papæ et Regis confirmatione de terris Episcopatus sui monachis tribuit, et futuris Prioribus in Ecclesiâ ipsâ sedile in sinistro choro concessit, et omnes vices et dignitates Abbatis eis contulit. Quicquid etiam Decanus Ebor. sub Archiepiscopo obtinuerit, Prior Dunelmensis sub Episcopo liberè possidebit, et sinoda et capitula absente Episcopo tenebit et collateralis Episcopi dextræ in omnibus erit; et ipsius Ecclesiæ Archidiaconus præerit et præsidebit, et primum locum et vocem in Episcopi electione et ceteris omnibus liberè et quietè possidebit. Prior vero communi fratrum consilio eligatur, et nisi rationabili causâ exigente, ipsum meritis suis exigentibus refutante, minimè deponetur: et tam interius quam exterius omnis causa cum ipsius et fratrum consilio liberè disponatur, et nullum omnino auxilium de ecclesiis eorum vel terris ab aliquo Episcopo- rum exigatur. Hæc omnia presenti cartâ confirmavimus, et testificando roboravimus, et perpetuis temporibus inviolabiliter fore rata præcipimus. Si quis igitur in posterum hanc nostræ auctoritatis cartam in aliquo diminuere vel temerare præsumpserit, auctoritate Beati Petri Apostoli et præfati Papæ G. et meâ Thomæ Archiepiscopi nisi dignè correxerit a Dei regno separatur, et perpetuo anathemate condemnatur AMEN. Valet. Teste Aldredo Decano. Durando Archidiacono. Willielmo filio Durandi. Willielmo de Dunintune. Radulfo Tesorario. Fulco. Serlone. Tusti. Magistro Siuro. Magistro Scholarum Laurentio. Hugone de Soteueun. Lamberto flandrensi. Gilberto cantore. Ketel filio Godman. et Giroldo canonico.

Fragments of Seal.

I subjoin the following abstract of the Archbishop's charter, entered upon a blank leaf of the Manuscript A. n. 16., belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, which MS. I have already noticed at p. 35 above. The entry is preceded by a transcript of an important charter connected with Coldingham, dated in the year 1127. The abstract, it will be observed, in general, adopts the words of the Archbishop's charter, but there are two or three curious deviations. The same M.S. contains, upon another blank leaf, a full copy of Pope Gregory the Seventh's Bull, for the establishing of Monks in Durham Cathedral, directed to his beloved and venerable son William (Carileph) Bishop of Durham:—

"Thomas Eboracensis Archiepiscopus per biennium modo incredibili febribus exustus, cum omnes medici solius mortis exitum illi imminere prædicerent, quia nil omnino fuit in quo continuæ egritudinis noxam temperare potuissent, per visum commonitus ad Sancti Cuthberti tum- bam gemens et fremens pernoctavit ubi morbo et mole fatigatus obdormivit. Cui in visu beatus Cuthbertus astitit et manu latâ singula membra percurrendo tangens, devotum se ei fore et suis præcepit. Evigilans vero se sanum omnimodis reperit, et postea, ob hujus miraculi monimentum omnes ecclesias quascunque Sanctus Cuthbertus per episcopatum de Euerwicschire haberet liberas et quietas ab omni auxilio et hospicio, exactione vel gravamine, et clericos earum a sinodo vel capitulo liberos imperpetuum fore constituit, atque coram multis testibus confirmavit."

tised by the scourge of God, and dried up by fever and faintness after an incredible manner, when all our physicians held out to us nothing but death, when all



the while there was nothing which they could devise to soothe our pains, being warned by a vision, I spent a whole night before the tomb of Saint Cuthbert, groaning and wailing, and having, from excess of disease and fatigue, fallen into a hasty sleep, there stood before me, in a vision, Saint Cuthbert himself, who touching with his hand (his *broad hand*, in the *abstract*) my limbs, one after another, and rapidly passing over the diseased parts of my body,* straightway roused me from sleep, and restored me to health, charging me to be his devoted servant in every respect, and to suffer all the possessions which he or his should acquire in my diocese to be secure from annoyance, and free. Aided by these benefits of the blessed Confessor, I have

been the more devoted to him and his in proportion to the great debt of gratitude which I owe."†

I have no inclination to follow the Archbishop to the end of his charter. I will only add, that he himself placed it upon the altar of St. Cuthbert with his own hands, and that, as I have already said, it is still in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, as perfect and legible as the day it was written. The seal appended to it has suffered somewhat from time; but there is enough

* The original is here rather ambiguous.

† The wood cut in the margin is taken from the MS. Life of St. Cuthbert by Bede, which has already furnished me with so many characteristic embellishments. It is illustrative of a similar miracle recorded by that author (cap. xlv.), and has no other connection with the marvel before us.

in the charter, and in what remains of the seal, to prove that it is a real original document, and not one forged by the Monks.

But then, the miracle which it records is not even alluded to by either Symeon or Reginald, and yet they, both of them, must have been perfectly well aware of the existence of the charter in which the account of the above miracle is contained. In addition to this information, which was open to them both, the latter must have frequently seen the abstract, which I have already mentioned in a preceding note, staring him full in the face upon one of the pages of almost the only copy of the Vulgate to which he and his fellow Monks had access, and yet neither historian makes the slightest allusion to a tale so beneficial to his church.

That the Archbishop of York was labouring under disease—that he visited Durham under an impression that there was there a Master Spirit, who could put life and health into his limbs—that he literally spent a whole night before the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and in the morning believed himself restored to health,—may not, I think, be doubted. He himself has put his seal to all these facts, and perhaps there never was so decided a case of conviction; but still I think the whole may be accounted for without a miracle. It is well known that there are disorders which proceed more from a distempered imagination than from any real cause; and it is equally notorious that such diseases of the mind may be, and very frequently are, removed by the very process which gave rise to them. The Archbishop of York might have fallen into a low nervous state, of itself a disease, and might have fancied himself at the door of death,—he might have heard of St. Cuthbert and his healing powers,—and, during the process of the experiment which he had imposed upon himself, he might, by strong and vigorous mental exertion, roused to its highest pitch by his firm belief in the sanctity of the place and the power of the Saint, have thrown off his supposed disease. That all this should be followed by gratitude to him from whom, in his belief, he had received so signal a benefit, is only natural; but then why do Symeon and Reginald pass over in silence an event so beneficial in its result to the Church? I know of no better mode of answering this question than by asking another. Had they both of them heard the secret history of one part of the transaction, that Saint Cuthbert, by way of condition, enjoined the Archbishop to promote the interests of his Church, and were they in consequence afraid to record a miracle, over which such a *consideration* would at once throw the veil of suspicion? Or, to take another ground, the

Archbishop confesses that he was in a slumber when he was visited by the friendly hand of the Saint. Had these two Historians heard from their seniors a whisper, that in sober truth one of their body had taken his stand before the sick man in his fitful dream, and had with the hand of reality so far worked upon his drowsy imagination, as to effect a cure assigned by the patient to a cause at which both of them had, perhaps, often smiled—the unreal mockery of a miracle performed by a man who had been dead almost four hundred years.

The year 1093, the eleventh from the expulsion of the secular Clergy and the introduction of the Monks of the Benedictine Order, witnessed the demolition of the Cathedral built by Bishop Aldhune in the year 999, (see above p. 57), and the foundation of the present magnificent Church, which, after the changes and chances of almost eight hundred years, is still standing in all its massy solidity, having undergone fewer innovations than any other Cathedral in the kingdom. Bishop Carileph, it has been said, (Sanderson, p. 66) “not being content with the smallness and homeliness of the edifice which Aldwinus erected, as being too little for so great a Saint, pulled it down, and instead thereof, erected the magnificent and famous structure still remaining.”* But I should think it much more probable that the former Cathedral was demolished on account of its unfitness to receive within its walls a body of men professing an order to which it had not been originally accommodated, and requiring buildings specially adapted to their rule, than from any defect either in magnificence or size.†

But before one stone of Aldhune’s Cathedral was disturbed, Bishop Carileph “prepared a fine and beautiful tomb of stone in the Cloyster Garth, a yard above the ground, where St. Cuthbert was deposited in expectation of a shrine in the new Church, over which was laid a large and beautiful broad marble.”‡

* The Bishop, Turgot the Prior, and Malcolm the King of Scotland, laid the three first stones of the foundation on the 30th of July, or August 11, 1093. According to Symeon, who is silent as to the presence of the King of Scotland, the foundations were begun to be dug on the 29th of July, and the first stones were laid on the 11th of August.

† The only remnant of Aldhune’s Cathedral I have ever seen is a carving in stone of an eagle or some such *pugnacious* bird, found a few years ago among the loose soil by the river-side, below the Galilee, and now preserved in the wall of a stable near the mill. Such ornaments abound as illuminations in the manuscripts of the period.

‡ We shall hereafter see that the body of St. Cuthbert remained in this temporary place of residence until the year 1104, The precise spot of ground which it occupied was in the cloister

The period for the removal of the body of St. Cuthbert from its temporary abode in the Cloister had now arrived, or, in other words, the new Cathedral was so far finished, as to be fit for the reception of such a guest. There had assembled at Durham, upon the occasion, Ralph, the Abbot of Seez, in Normandy, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Richard, Abbot of St. Alban's; Stephen, Abbot of St. Mary's, at York; Hugh, Abbot of St. German, in Ollesley (a mistake for Selby); and Alexander, brother of Edgar, King of Scotland. Besides these, there were upon the spot, Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, and his chaplain, William de Corbelio, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.*

I have before me two historical accounts of events incidental to this memorable translation, and of these it is my intention to lay before my readers a faithful translation. The first, which is anonymous, is printed in the *Acta Sancto-*

quadrangle, immediately opposite to the present entrance into the Chapter House, as appears from the following extract from Sanderson, p. 67, descriptive of a commemorative cenotaph afterwards erected upon the spot:—

"But when his body was translated to the Feretory where it was inshrined, in honour of him was made a large and curious marble image, representing St. Cuthbert, finely pictured with beautiful gilding and painting, in the form he was wont to say Mass, with his mitre on his head, and a crosier staff in his hand, and his vestments curiously engraven, which was placed upon the tombstone as soon as his body was inshrined in the new Church, and round the same were set up wooden stanchels, so close that a man could not put his hand between them, so could only look through it to view that exquisite picture lying within. It was covered above with lead, not unlike a chapel. This elegant monument stood opposite to the parlour door through which the Monks were carried into the Centry-Garth to be buried, now turn'd into a store-house, having rooms above where the Register Office is kept. Soon after the suppression of the Abbey, Dean Horne demolished this fine monument, venerable for its antiquity, converting the lead, wood, and stone, to his own use; but the image of St. Cuthbert he left perfect, laying it on one side against the Cloyster wall, before the said parlour door. But when Dean Whittingham began to govern (1563) he caused this image, as he did many other ancient monuments, to be defaced and broken in pieces, being unwilling that any monument erected in memory of the holy St. Cuthbert, a person sent hither by the will of Almighty God to be the occasion of building this monastical Church and House, (or of others, formerly famous in this Church, or benefactors to it, as the Priors, his predecessors, had been, and from whom he and his successors derived the conveniences and comforts of life), should remain undefaced."

I have only to add, that similar commemorative monuments of St. Cuthbert were preserved at Farne, Holy Island, and Chester-le-Street. The effigy which represented him at the latter place, was a few years ago standing much defaced in the Church-yard. There is a similar effigy in one of the vaults of Durham Castle, standing by the side of a large iron-bound chest, called the coffin of St. Cuthbert, and engraved as such in Hutchinson's *Durham*, ii. p. 248. There are two or three similar chests in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter, any one of which might with equal propriety be called the coffin of St. Cuthbert. The fact is, they are chests for money, records, and other valuables of the Church. One of those in the Treasury was in the year 1813 found to be full of title deeds, referring to estates in Durham and Northumberland, belonging to the old Lords of Dilston and the Menvills, Radcliffes, and Claxtons.—See *Surtees*, vol. i. p. 34.

* *Boll. Trans.*, A_o. 1104.

rum, and is invaluable.† It begins, if I may so say, at the beginning, and details the surmises of the faithless as to the incorruption of the body of St. Cuthbert, the anxiety of the Monks upon the point, and the steps which they took *in private* before the day of translation. It then proceeds to detail the particulars of the day itself, the handling of the body, the preaching of the Bishop, and the miracles which were performed. My second authority is Reginald, who devotes four chapters to a minute account of the coffin, the relics which it contained, the various robes in which St. Cuthbert was clad, the state of his body, and the fabric and ornaments of the innermost chest in which he had been originally placed at Lindisfarne. These chapters have not hitherto been printed. They will be found in the Appendix, p. 1—6, No. 1.

I begin with my anonymous author.

“ Under the head of miracles, all do not entertain one and the same opinion, either with respect to the presence of the sacred body of St. Cuthbert, or its state of incorruption. Some, founding their opinion on various conjectures, dream that before this our time his body has been removed to some other place, but that his grave, although it can no longer boast of its occupant, is not deprived of the glory of his virtues; but, in proof of its old possessor, gives frequent miraculous manifestations even at the present time. Others admit that the sacred remains are still here, but, that the frame of a human body should remain undissolved during the revolutions of so many ages, is more than the laws of nature allow of; and that notwithstanding the Divine Power may command all created things to undergo its pleasure, yet that in the case of this body, and its state of incorruption, they have before them the testimony of no one who had explored it either with his hand or eye, and that therefore it was a difficult matter to believe with respect to this man, however much a saint—a thing not in his case proved, and which they were well aware had been conceded to a very few only of holy men. In this manner the one party conjecturing that the holy body had been carried away elsewhere, and the other not allowing its incorruption, the brethren who affirmed that it was there, and in a perfect state, were disbelieved, and they became in consequence anxious for their reputation. On this account they betook themselves to God in prayer, and entreated that He, who is wonderful in his saints, would prove himself wonderful in the manifestation of so great virtue, and would, to the glory of his name, exclude all doubt by indubitable signs.† In the mean while, the Church

* Boll. Trans., A^o. 1104.—A copy of this narrative is appended to the early transcript of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, in the possession of Sir Henry Lawson, Bart., in the same early hand.

† The words of the prayer are,—“ Orabant, ut qui est mirabilis in Sanctis suis, sic sese osten-

which had been founded by William, the late Bishop of Durham, was almost finished, and the time was at hand for transferring into it the venerable body of Father Cuthbert, to occupy the place prepared for it by the ingenious hands of workmen, and receive the meed of worthy veneration.*

"The 29th of August (1104), the day appointed for the solemn removal, being at hand, the brethren entered into a resolution, that as no one was alive who could give them accurate information, they themselves, as far as they should be allowed by the permission of God, should examine into the manner in which each individual thing was placed and arranged about the holy body, for this purpose, that they might make it ready for removal on the day approaching, and without loss of time furnish it with things fit and becoming, lest when the hour of festive procession had arrived, any difficulty, proceeding from want of foresight, should cause delay, and from that delay any unpleasant feeling should arise in the minds of the numerous assemblage which had come together to witness such a solemnity. The brethren, therefore, appointed for the purpose, nine in number, with Turgot their Prior, having qualified themselves for the task by fasting and prayer, on the 24th of August, as soon as it was dark, prostrated themselves before the venerable coffin, and amid tears and prayers they tried to open it with fearful and trembling hands. Aided by instruments of iron, they soon succeeded in their attempt, when, to their astonishment, they found a chest covered on all sides with hides, carefully fixed to it by iron nails. From the weight and size of this chest, and other facts which presented themselves, they were induced to believe that there was another coffin within it, but fear for a long time prevented them from making the experiment. At last, the Prior having twice or thrice commanded them to proceed, they renewed their task, and having succeeded in opening the iron bands, they lifted up the lid.

"Here they saw within, *a coffin of wood, which had been covered all over by coarse linen cloth of a threefold texture, of the length of a man, and covered with a lid of the same description.* Again they hesitated, for a doubt arose, whether this was the dwelling-place of the holy body, or that there was still another coffin within. In this stage of

sione tantæ virtutis mirabilem ostenderet et dubium indubiis indiciis, nomini suo dans gloriam, excluderet." A question may be asked here which can only admit of one answer—if the Monks of Durham entertained no doubt whatever of the real presence, if I may so say, of the body of St. Cuthbert, why did they pray in such words as these—words which positively exclude all confidence on their part upon the point in question, and call upon the Almighty, in no ambiguous terms to work a miracle for the credit of them and their Saint? "Dubitatio cogitationem significat injuriæ," are the words of Cicero in a memorable chapter in his OFFICES, and they are, I fear, too applicable to the present case.

* "Dignæ venerationis gratiâ." These are the very words by Bede, (see above, p. 37) when he speaks of the object of the Monks of Lindisfarne, in raising Cuthbert from his grave, after he had been buried eleven years.

their operations, they called to mind the words of Bede, which record that the body of St. Cuthbert had been found by the brethren of Lindisfarne in a state of incorruption, eleven years after its burial, and had been placed above ground for the purpose of worthy veneration. With this information before them, they discovered that *this was the very same coffin*, which had for so many years preserved the deposit of so heavenly a treasure. Under this conviction they fell upon their knees, and prayed St. Cuthbert to intercede with the Almighty for pardon for their presumption. They rejoiced, and at the same time they were afraid. Their fear resulted from an apprehension of the consequences of their boldness, and yet, the certainty that they had before them so great a treasure inspiring them with delight, their joy burst forth into tears, and with thankful hearts they conceived that their desires had been amply satisfied. To make a further examination appeared to be a rashness, which would unquestionably bring down upon them the Divine vengeance; and, therefore, laying aside their intention of more minutely investigating the sacred body, they entered into deliberation as to the manner in which it should be removed on the day of translation which was approaching.

“ But amongst the brethren who were present, there was one, a man of great constancy in Christ, who, by the effect of grace, had become that in fact which his name implied. His name was Leofwin, which means, in English, *a dear friend*. He was *dear* to God, and God was *a friend* to him. God proved himself to be his Father by the chastisements which he compelled him to undergo, and he evinced himself to be a son of God by patiently and thankfully submitting to the rod which corrected him. All who knew his life and conversation, had no doubt that his breast was the temple of the Holy Spirit. He, when he saw the brethren afraid of opening the coffin which they had discovered, and viewing the proof of celestial grace and matter of new exultation which it might contain, stepped forward into the midst of them, and speaking in a more fervent spirit than was his custom, exclaimed, ‘ What do ye, my brethren! what do ye fear? That deed will never fail of being attended by a happy result, which begins from the inspiration of God. He who gave us the will to make the investigation, gives us the hope of discovering what we seek. The progress which we have already made without difficulty, is a proof of the good which we may hope to arise from what remains to be done. Our beginning would never have been so successful, if it had been the Divine will that we should not persevere to the end. God will never set that down to the score of rashness which proceeds from a devout mind. Our object in investigating these sacred relics proceeds from no contempt or diffidence of his holiness, but that the Lord of virtues, the King himself of glory, may be the more glorified by all men in proportion to the mightiness of the miracle manifested in the present day. Let us then examine the inner parts of the hospitable chest, that upon a matter which we have seen with our eyes, and have thoroughly examined, which our hands have handled, our testimony may be credited, and no argument may be left to

the doubtful for disbelieving our assertions.' The devout brethren regained their confidence by this admonition, and moved the venerable body from behind the altar, where it had hitherto reposed, into the middle of the choir—a place more spacious and better adapted to the investigation.

" Their first step was to remove the linen cloth which enveloped the coffin, yet still they feared to open the coffin itself; and under a hope that its contents might be ascertained through a chink, or by other means, they carefully examined its exterior by candle-light, but without success. They then, but not without fear, removed the lid, and no sooner had they done this than they found another lid, placed somewhat lower, resting upon three transverse bars, and occupying the whole breadth and length of the coffin, so as completely to conceal the contents beneath. Upon the upper part of it, near the head, there lay a book of the Gospels.* *This second lid was raisable by means of two iron rings, one at the head, and the other at the feet.* A doubt no longer remained. They knew that the object of their search was before them, but still they hesitated to handle it with their hands. They had an eager desire to see and touch that which had been the object of their affections; but fear, resulting from a consciousness of their sins, repelled them from the attempt, and between the two they were kept in such suspense as almost to be ignorant which in reality they preferred.

" Whilst they were in this state of doubt, being encouraged by the command of the Prior, and the exhortation of the brother above mentioned, at last they raised the lid, and having removed the linen cloth which had covered the sacred relics immediately beneath it, they smelt an odour of the sweetest fragranc; and behold, they found the venerable body of the blessed Father, the fruit of their anxious desire, laying on its right side in a perfect state, and, from the flexibility of its joints, representing a person asleep rather than dead.† The moment they saw this, a tremendous fear thrilled

* This book contained only the Gospel of St John. It was not restored to its place in the coffin, but was carefully preserved in the Church till the Reformation, when it fell into private hands, and became the property of the Lee family, one of whom was created Earl of Lichfield by Charles II. The last Earl of Lichfield gave it to the Rev. Thomas Phillips, the author of the *Life of Cardinal Pole*, who bestowed it on the College of the Jesuits at Leige, in the year 1769, and upon the suppression of their order it was brought to England by some of the members. The characters of the manuscript and the mode of writing bear intrinsic evidence of an antiquity as high as the age of St. Cuthbert. These particulars are obtained from a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries by the late Dr. Milner, and printed in the 16th Volume of their Transactions, p. 17, where there is a fac-simile of the writing on the first leaf—the leaf is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. When my account of St. Cuthbert's larger copy of the Gospels, now in the British Museum, was written (p. 34), I was not aware of Dr. Milner's paper, and therefore I stated erroneously that it was that which was found in the coffin in 1104.

† The words are, "Totâ sui integritate artuumque flexibilitate, dormientem magis representabat quam mortuum,"—almost the very terms used by Bede, when speaking of the state in which the body was found eleven years after it had been first buried. "Quasi adhuc viveret integrum, et flexilibus artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similis." I mention this, that I may hereafter call the attention of my reader to one or two important inferences.

through their limbs, and they shrunk back to a distance, not daring to look at the miracle before their eyes. Oft and many a time they fell upon their knees, beating their breasts, and exclaiming, with eyes and hands raised to heaven, 'Lord have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us.' Whilst they were in this state, each related to the one who was nearest to him what he had seen, just as if he had been the only one favoured with the sight. After a short interval, they all fell flat on the ground, and amid a deluge of tears, repeated the seven penitential psalms, and prayed the Lord not to correct them in his anger, nor chasten them in his displeasure. When this was done, approaching the coffin on their hands and knees, rather than on their feet, they found in it such a mass of holy relics, that the moderate size of the coffin could never have contained them had not the holy body of the Father, by reclining upon its right side, as has been already mentioned, allowed them on this side and on that a larger portion of space for reposing along with him. These relics, as is gathered from old books, consisted of the head of the glorious King and Martyr Oswald, the bones of the venerable Confessors of Christ and Priests Aidan, and of (the successors of the venerable Father Cuthbert) Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold. There were, besides, the bones of the venerable Bede, who had well written the Life of St. Cuthbert—these had obtained a resting-place by his side, and along with the rest (*pariter*) were contained in a small linen sack. It has been already stated who removed them (the bones of Bede) hither from Giruun (Jarrow), the place where they were buried. In fact, he who transferred to the Church of Durham the bones of St. Boysil, the same, by revelation, transferred to the same place those of the Doctor Bede, and placed them in different parts of the church. Moreover, they found in the same place very many relics of other Saints.* Their first wish was to remove the holy body from its lateral position, and place it on its back; but they were unable to effect this on account of the multitude of relics which surrounded it. They determined, consequently, to remove it altogether for a while, that they might collect and place the relics by themselves, and then restore it to its own proper abode. But still they dreaded to touch it with their hands, until being encouraged by the prayers of the brother above mentioned, they at length became ready to execute the commands of their seniors.

"The two deputed to remove the venerable body from the coffin, took their stand, the one at its head and the other at its feet; and whilst they were raising it, holding it by those parts, it began to bend in the middle like a living man, and sink down—

* The Durham MS., preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York, contains, Tr. iii., fol. 15, a minute account of the relics preserved at Durham, circ. 1200, and particularly enumerates those found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert. Besides those above specified, there were found bones of Balter and Bilfrid the Hermits (v. p. 60), the bones of Ebbe and Elfrige (v. p. 60), the bones and hair of St. Edelwald the priest, who succeeded St. Cuthbert (at Farne), and the head of King Ceolwulf.

wards, from its natural weight of solid flesh and bones. A third, upon this, ran up by special command, and supporting its middle in his arms, they reverently placed it upon the pavement upon tapestry and other robes. How did their joy then break forth into tears, what were their words of gratulation, what their exultations of praise, when now at length they had before their eyes that treasure of heavenly grace, in comparison of which even gold itself was of little worth! They now conceived that they had all things in their possession, when they saw before them, as if alive, him through whom the Divine bounty would bestow upon them the comforts of this present life and the joys of the next. In the mean-time, the relics of the Saints having been removed, they restored the body of the Father to his coffin, with an intention of arranging it in a more decent and becoming manner the following night. The hour of midnight devotion was at hand, and prevented them from lingering any longer over it at present. They, therefore, chanted the Te Deum in a low voice, and afterwards, singing psalms of exultation, carried the body back again to the place from which they had removed it. When the morning came, the wonderful proceedings of the night were detailed in a full assembly of the brethren, who at first, from the novelty of the event, seemed to be overcome by feelings of stupor: they soon, however, evinced their joy, but it was by tears rather than by words, and on bended knee offered up thanks to Heaven for the favour of being permitted to know that they had such a patron, and for the hope which his merits entitled them to entertain. The Bishop, however, did not easily credit their report, conceiving it altogether incredible that any body, however holy, could, being human, remain free from all taint of corruption for so long a period as four hundred and eighteen years; and an oath would scarcely satisfy him, although taken by men who would have conceived it a crime not to tell the truth even when not under that obligation.

“The following night the same brethren who had been present upon the former occasion, in the spirit of humility and with contrite hearts, again brought forth the body into the middle of the choir, and placed it upon robes and tapestry spread upon the pavement. The outer covering was a robe of a costly kind, next below this it was wrapped in a purple Dalmatic, and then in linen, and all these swathements retained their original freshness without any stain of corruption. The chasuble, which he had worn for eleven years in his grave, had been removed by the brethren of that period, and is now preserved elsewhere in the church as a proof of incorruption. When, therefore, by examining it with their eyes, by handling it with their hands, by raising it and lowering it, they had clearly discovered that it was a body in a state of incorruption, with solid nerves, and had ascertained that it had been tended with solemn care, *in addition to the robes which it already wore, they clothed it with the most costly pall which they could find in the church, and over this they placed a covering of the finest linen.* Having wrapped it in these, they restored it to its peaceful abode with the fervent devo-

tion of prayers and tears. *The other things which they had found along with him, they also replaced in his coffin, namely, an ivory comb and a pair of scissors, still retaining their freshness, and, as became a Priest, a silver altar, a linen cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a paten, a chalice, small in size, but from its materials and workmanship, precious, its lower part representing a lion of the purest gold, which bore on its back an onyx stone, made hollow by the most beautiful workmanship, and by the ingenuity of the artist, so attached to the back of the lion, that it might be easily turned round with the hand, although it might not be separated from it. Moreover, of all the relics which had been found there, the only one which they restored to its place, by the side of the glorious Bishop, was the head of the blessed King Oswald. The other relics, as has been already said, which had been removed from thence and decently arranged, are preserved in a frequented part of the church. As soon as the body of the blessed Father was shut up in the coffin, they covered the coffin itself with linen cloth of a coarse texture, dipped in wax, and restored it to the place behind the altar where it had formerly rested, blessing the Lord of virtues in his deeds, who alone doeth wonderful things, whose mighty works are sought out of all who take pleasure therein.*

“In the mean while, the day of the approaching translation being made known far and wide, there was a great flocking to Durham from every side. Men of all ranks, ages, and professions, the secular and the spiritual, all hastened to be present. They had heard of the miracle, that the body, although dead for so many years, was still free from decay, and they gloried in the fact that such a wonder was made manifest in their time. But among the Abbots who had assembled, there was one,* who hearing what had taken place, openly complained of the injury which had been done him, and charged the brethren of the church with improvident rashness, in undertaking by themselves a work so important and so unusual, without consulting him, or making him a sharer in their proceedings. ‘It was only fit,’ he said, ‘that he, seeing he was their neighbour, should have been called in as one who might afterwards state that he had been present at the investigation, and might, by his asseveration, stamp it with the impress of truth. It was probable enough,’ he said, ‘that the brethren, as they had not permitted a member of any other church to witness their secret proceedings, were dealing in fiction rather than in fact. Reason,’ he added, ‘seems to require that the truth of such a marvellous thing should be investigated *by others*, that the people who

* We shall afterwards find that this doubting personage was *the Abbot of a neighbouring Monastery*. This description may apply either to the Abbot of St. Mary at York, or the Abbot of St. German at Selby; but I am inclined to believe that it was the latter, a younger son of the splendid house of Lacey, and appointed to his dignity in the preceding year, who openly questioned the veracity of the Monks of Durham. The Prior of Durham, in after days, as the head of his order, in routine, not unfrequently visited the Church of Selby; and to this circumstance it is owing that so many beautiful seals of that Monastery are preserved in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

have assembled in such numbers may be satisfied by the testimony of us, who, by ocular demonstration, have ascertained the fact.' These remarks he took care to make frequently in the hearing of those who had assembled, and there were some who began to think as he did upon the subject. The appointed day was already at hand, and the brethren having heard the calumnious remarks of the Abbot, were grievously scandalized that they themselves should be branded with the infamy of falsehood, and that a further exposure of the sacred body should be aimed at—a thing which they dared neither to permit to others, nor repeat themselves. There was, therefore, much vehemency on both sides. The Abbot insisted that the attestation of the brethren of the church ought not to be admitted with respect to their own deed; and the brethren, in confusion at the suspicion under which they laboured, exclaimed, that that man could only meditate either the ruin of their Monastery, or their own expulsion from it, who, repelling their testimony, even when given upon oath, as false, held them up as sacrilegious and worthy of detestation. 'Let it never be the case,' said they, 'that that man should have an opportunity of seeing the sacred remains, through whose agency we have fallen under the suspicion of a grievous falsehood. Even some of those very men who yesterday sang along with us 'Glory to God in the highest,' in glad strains of exultation, to-day, at the instigation of this Abbot, hold us suspected of a lie.' The contention was at its highest pitch, and no end seemed likely to be put to it, when Ralph, then Abbot of Seez, but afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of venerable memory, of much mildness, and deeply read in the Holy Scriptures, stepped forward as a mediator between the parties. 'That is a true saying of Scripture,' said he, "'in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established," but how much more strongly ought it to be established in the mouth of a numerous body of men, and those so worthy of credit, that reason should permit no one to question their testimony. We believe that a work of Divine power has been revealed in the body of St. Cuthbert; we believe, and for this my mouth speaks the praise of the Lord, and my soul blesses his name. But seeing the evidence of this miracle is so strong, perhaps I shall seem to be acting rashly, if I should require the incorruption of the holy body *manifested to you, to be manifested to us* also, and yet I ought to be considered neither rash nor doing that which is unnecessary: but because perfect charity casteth out fear, I presume, from my great affection, to make a request, which I beg may be apologized for by charity. It is no small furtherance to my prayer, that there is a doubt in the mind of our brother Abbot, which, if it be not removed by the testimony of others, as well as of you, will appear to have given rise to just complaints against you, and will make many entertain the same notion; for, in my opinion, this his slowness of belief proceeds from Divine Providence, that from that which you anticipate as the cause of grave offence, there should arise, by the dispensation of God, a still greater glory to this your church. For as soon as you have favourably attended to our re-

quest, and we ourselves have found that to be true, of which we had before only heard, the calumny of gainsayers will the sooner cease, in proportion as an experiment shall have corroborated your testimony and ours, and so much the more extensively will the glory of God in St. Cuthbert be made known, as we, who have proved it with our eyes, as we return home in different directions, shall have set ourselves to divulge it to all the world.'

"The Bishop would at once have given his assent to the prayer of the venerable Abbot, had not the brethren conceived that his request ought not to be hastily complied with—fearing, as they did, some tremendous judgment from above, if they unadvisedly again exposed the holy body to view. At length, influenced by the persuasion of their prudent friends, they very reluctantly agreed to this, that, putting aside the Abbot who had been of opinion that they were unworthy of belief, their humble and religious suitor, along with such others as might seem fit persons, should be admitted to a new inspection of the miracle. But, by the persuasion of their advisers, they at last admitted even the doubter himself—the man who, having been slow of belief himself, had shaken the belief of others; and they admitted him for this reason, that having seen the miracle with his own eyes, he might believe what he had refused to receive upon their authority. The dispute having been thus arranged, the Prior led the way into the church, followed by the aforesaid Abbot of Seez; Richard, Abbot of St. Alban's; Stephen, Abbot of St. Mary at York; and Hugh, Abbot of St. German at Olesby (a mistake for Selby), all clad in their albs; next came Alexander, brother of the King of Scotland, himself afterwards King, and William, then Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury: then followed forty men, some of them monks, and the others secular clergy, but all of them devoted to a religious life; and these were succeeded by more brethren of the church—some were absent, but their services were required by the Bishop, who was at that very point of time dedicating an altar in the church. After a prayer, devoutly uttered by all who were present, the sacred body was brought into the choir, and as soon as the coffin was opened by the brethren who had so lately closed it, the Prior raised his hand, and by a tremendous charge forbade any one, except the Abbot of Seez, from touching either the body or any thing connected with it. The rest he commanded to stand hard by, and make themselves acquainted with the truth by means of their eyes rather than their hands. Moreover, he charged the brethren of the Monastery to pay unceasing attention to what was going on, and to watch with a vigilant eye, lest any one should by any means carry off even a particle of thread from the vestments in which the body was wrapped. His commands were obeyed.

"The Abbot aforesaid, assisted by a brother of the church, having unfolded the vestments around the venerable head, raised it a little in both his hands, in the sight

of all, and bending it backwards in different directions, found it perfect in all the joints of its neck, and firmly attached to the rest of the body. He next applied his hand to the ear, which he drew backwards and forwards in no gentle manner; and having proceeded to examine the other parts of the body with his inquisitive hand, found it consisting of solid nerves and bones, and clothed with the softness of flesh. Nay, holding it by the head, and shaking it as he held it, he so far raised it up that it seemed almost to assume a sitting posture in its quiet abode; and lest any thing should be overlooked in the diligent inquiry, he took care to ascertain the perfect state of its feet and legs. There were some who could no longer look upon such a scene as this with a fearless gaze, and covering their eyes with their hands, exclaimed, that he, the investigator, insisted upon a greater proof of the truth than circumstances called for, that he had before him the fact in all its certainty. After a while, when the inquisitor had over and above satisfied himself of the truth of the miracle, he raised his voice in the midst of the assembled multitude, and cried aloud, ‘My brethren, the body which we have before us is unquestionably dead, but it is just as sound and entire as when it was forsaken by its holy soul on its way to the skies.’ After this, *all things being arranged about the holy body as they had been before*, those who were present pronounced the brethren of the Monastery veracious and worthy to be trusted, and he who had a while before judged them unworthy of credit, affirmed, whether he would or not, in conjunction with the rest, that what he had before denied deserved to be believed.

“ They all straightway chanted the Te Deum in solemn exultation, and every thing which was necessary being decently arranged, the holy body of the Father was placed upon the shoulders of a fit number of bearers; and in honour of the Omnipotent God a band of singers scattered their celestial peals on the gale. The various caskets of relics, the remains of the other saints, went before—the venerable body of the blessed Cuthbert the Bishop followed after, and no sooner was it out of the door and in the open air, than the immense crowd which was waiting for it, from very joy, burst into tears, and fell flat on the ground, rendering it almost impossible for the procession to advance—all the while the voices of the singers were drowned by the strong cries of the praying, the exulting, and the weeping for joy. Having gone round the outside of the new church, the procession halted at its eastern end, where the Bishop began a sermon, and there stood by his side men to inform the assembled multitudes of the fact that they had seen and handled this miracle of incorruption, which had lasted for four hundred and eighteen years. It was a matter of new exultation to them, that their devotion had been thought worthy to be rewarded with such a manifestation of celestial grace.

“ The day had far advanced, and the Bishop kept preaching on, touching many points not at all appropriate to the solemnity, and fairly wearing out the patience of many of his hearers by the prolixity of his discourse. The brightness of the day had been

such that there was no sign of bad weather whatever in the sky, when on a sudden such torrents of rain began to fall, that the brethren, interrupting the sermon, snatched up the coffin in which the holy body was contained, and hastily conveyed it into the church. No sooner had they done this than the rain straightway ceased; and the inference from this is plain, that it was not pleasing to God that the sacred body of his servant should be any longer detained in unholy ground. There is also another fact worthy to be recorded—that, notwithstanding the immense fall of rain, neither the ornaments of the church, which were all of them exposed to it, nor the robes of those who were dressed more splendidly than usual, received any injury whatever. At length, the body having been decently restored to its place, a solemn mass was performed, whilst all the while the church was echoing with peals of praise, and the mysteries for the safety of the faithful being duly gone through, all returned home with joy, glorifying and praising God for what they had seen and heard.”*

I might here pause, and make my remarks upon the degree of credit due to the many marvellous parts of the above tale; but I shall hereafter have a better opportunity of calling the attention of my reader to the subject. The historian, of whose labours I have been availing myself, concludes his narrative with an account of a miraculous cure performed by St. Cuthbert upon Richard, Abbot of St. Alban's, who had been present at the investigation; and from this I gather, that when the procession was over, the coffin of St. Cuthbert was placed behind the altar, upon an elevated stone slab, supported by nine pilasters.

I now come to Reginald's account of this same translation, recorded by him upon the testimony of his seniors in the church. The four chapters which he devotes to the subject are, as I have already stated, printed at full length in the Appendix for the first time. It will be observed, that he gives no explanation whatever of the motives which prompted his predecessors to make an inspection of the body, but enters at once upon his subject, after a preamble of two short sentences, which I need not translate.

“For the benefit of those who wish to know of the blessedness of St. Cuthbert, we will explain in a few words what we have been able to learn from the elders of the church. These, without doubt, had seen and heard the men who had touched with their hands the incorruptible body of Saint Cuthbert, had explored it with their sted-

* I have printed certain portions of the preceding narrative in italics, and I shall observe the same rule in my translation of Reginald hereafter. My reason for doing so will be seen in a future page.

fast eyes, had lifted it up and sustained it with their clasping arms, and they had learnt every secret concerning him. These were the men :—Turgot the Prior, Alduin the Subprior, Leofwin, Wiking, Godwin and Osbern the Sacrists, Henry, and William, surnamed Havegrun, both of them Archdeacons, Algar afterwards Prior, and Symeon. Osbern, in the direction of the head of St. Cuthbert, taking hold of the holy body, raised it aloft from the place of its repose; Alduin, standing at the other extremity, elevated the sacred feet; and Algar, when the body was bending to the ground in its middle, after the manner of a living man, seized it and supported it in his arms. He also assisted the Abbot of Seez in unfolding the vestments which enveloped the venerable head of the Saint. As soon as the holy body was laid upon tapestry and other robes, Symeon, who held the torch, ceased not to kiss the sacred feet of the body, and moisten them with his tears. These men related to their hearers the mighty deeds of God, and made them better acquainted with certain matters which before were secret, and yet they were unwilling to commit the whole to writing. We, however, have thought proper to record those things, being delighted to know more perfectly the things which we have not seen, and to make known to posterity the things which, as we are aware, will to some be matter of doubt.

“ When once the sacred body was elevated from the place of its repose, the coffin, in which it had hitherto rested reclining upon its right side like one asleep, emitted a fragrant smell of sweetness which filled the air. *Even the coffin itself, in which that most sacred body reposed, appeared as fresh as if newly made, and was thoroughly dry.* The pillow, made of cloth of costly silk, which had been placed under the body, as far as it had been occupied by it, shone with all the brightness of recent texture. But that part of the pillow or cloth of silk which had been occupied by the relics of the other Saints placed by its side, was the whole of it devoured by moths and reduced to dust and ashes. And yet not one of the dried bones of any other Saint, however closely and compactly it was found adhering to the side of his incorrupt body, had, from its dust or decay, imparted any injury, ashes, or moisture, to his more sacred robes. But where those relics of Saints had rested, that part of the coffin consigned to them had become black beneath a coagulated mass of decaying dust, and from its long contact with the ashes, had suffered injury, although it still remained entire. Moreover, the ashes, which naturally caused a still further decay, produced the filth of an earthy dust, and so when the moth of corruption had dissolved those bones by a natural decay, the dusty particles themselves, possessing a portion of heat, had caused somewhat of moisture below. Whence it arose, that that part of the chest in which any portion of those holy relics had rested, was filthy, earthy, and somewhat damp. Wherefore they freed the coffin of St. Cuthbert from these defilements, by collecting together the dust and ashes; and, gathering together the sacred remains themselves, they placed them in certain wooden receptacles, hewn out for the purpose. *These are*

honourably preserved elsewhere in the church, in a larger repository expressly made for them, and along with them are preserved some of the wrappers in which these relics had been enveloped, still only half decayed. But because they were not able entirely to scrape off from the part affected, nor eradicate the discolouring caused by the ashes, and the stain proceeding from the moisture, which had sunk deeply down, they had recourse to an artifice for remedying the defect. Their first wish was, if possible, to make the distained part resemble the other perfect parts of the coffin; but this could only be effected by time, and consequently they feared to commence the operation. They, therefore, by a device of their own, made a tablet of wood, of such a size as exactly to correspond with the bottom of the coffin internally in length and breadth: this they dried before the fire from the morning till the evening, and they afterwards besmeared, and, as far as they could, saturated it with melted wax. Their next step was to affix to it, on its lower side four feet, one at each corner, of such a length as, when the thickness of the plank and the length of the feet were taken together, constituted the depth of three fingers only, and by placing this false bottom within the coffin, every part of the real bottom which had been injured by the ashes of the holy relics, was concealed from view. In fact, it had so closely attached itself to the lower bottom of the coffin, that to those who saw it, it appeared to be a new real bottom, lately made smooth by the plane. Its wooden feet beneath supported it upon the old bottom, and effectually concealed all its defects. Upon the upper part of the tablet they placed the incorruptible body of the glorious Bishop in the place of his repose, and the other relics were gathered together and put elsewhere by themselves. Whence it comes to pass, that that most holy body lays not more than half down in its coffin, because it rests not upon the real bottom of the chest, but upon this tablet."

"In what robes that most holy body was enveloped, or what was the handling arrangement of the limbs.—C. 41.

"And forasmuch as he who knows only in part, becomes the more anxious to know the rest, let us proceed to those matters which are still undescribed, and begin with the holy body itself.

"*That body, very admirable for its meritorious virtues, seems to be of a tall and manly stature, and yet this tallness is confined within proper bounds. All his limbs, however, are solid, flexible, and whole, and as become a perfect man, folding with nerves, moveable with veins full of blood, sweet in the softness of flesh, such as give the appearance of one living in the flesh, rather than dead in the body. His body is every where enveloped with a very thinly woven sheet of linen, and between this and the body there is no other interior wrapment. This is the winding sheet which the Abbess Verca gave him during his life-time, and which he always preserved for this very purpose. Next to this*

he is clothed in a priestly alb, and there appears to be an amice on his neck or shoulders. His cheeks and face, and all the surface or superficies of the whole of his venerable head, are closely covered by a cloth, which is attached to all the parts beneath it with such a degree of anxious care, that it is, as it were, glued to his hair, skin, temples, and beard. Which cloth could in no one part, by the art of any one, be ever so little elevated, torn asunder, or raised from beneath, either from his skin or flesh. Not even by the very sharpest extremity of the nails, was it in any place able to be drawn or pinched up, or in any perceptible degree to be pulled asunder. Through this his nostrils and eyelids were sufficiently clear and visible; but yet the skin below, or the more tender flesh beneath, was not able to be seen distinctly. So also, as far as the joints of his neck, all the functionary parts of the head, and the organs of the senses of man, were in the same manner covered, nor was there, after every attempt, any apparent means by which they could be distinctly viewed. His nose, at its junction with his forehead, seemed to be somewhat turning rapidly outwards; and his chin appeared, to those who saw it, as if the lower bone was furrowed by a two-fold division. In which furrow, so distinct on each side, the quantity of almost a transverse finger might be laid in, because its highest tip was so indented. Above all these there is a purple face-cloth, which conceals and covers beneath it the whole of the mitre upon his head. It does not easily appear of what kind of thread this face-cloth is woven, inasmuch as there is at the present time no such manufacture. Upon the forehead of the holy Bishop there is a fillet of gold, not of woven work, and of gold only externally, which sparkles with most precious stones of different kinds, scattered all over its surface. Persons devout, rather than curious, who had beheld the sacred interior of his coffin, wishing to view his naked flesh, raised aloft the face-cloth which I have mentioned, and thus between the joints of his neck and the confines of his shoulders saw the softness of his flesh, and handled it with their hands. They saw it, they patted it with their fingers and hands, and found that it was equally consistent over the whole of his body. Above the alb he was decorated with a stole and fanon, the extremities of which are for a short space visible near his feet, but yet no one can ascertain the precise nature of their texture: for their inner parts are covered by the tunic and dalmatic which are above them, but the extremities of their borders appear to be of most costly workmanship."

"Concerning his Episcopal Robes, and of what value, colour, grace, elegance, or of how great beauty and wonderful texture they are.—CAP. 42.

"After the manner of Christian Bishops, next to these he was clothed with a tunic and dalmatic, both of which are of great elegance, and well worthy of admiration, consisting of the costly colour of purple, ornamented in the loom. For instance, the dalmatic, which is the more visible on account of its being the upper robe of the two, appears

to those who have more than ordinary experience in these matters, to be of purple, tinged with red—a colour at this period unknown. This robe still retains the grace of its original freshness and beauty, and, as it were, crackles in the fingers of those who handle it, on account of the solidity of the work and the stiffness of the thread. In it there are interwoven figures, as well of birds as of small animals, extremely minute in their workmanship and subdivision. To add to its beauty, the robe is variegated by frequent dashes of another colour, which is proved to be of citron. This variety has a very beautiful effect upon the purple ground, and by its spots causes new formations of diversity. This tint of citron colour appears to have been sprinkled over it, as it were, in drops, and its effect is such as to compel the reddish appearance of the purple to shine with greater force and brilliancy. The extreme termination of this dalmatic is every where surrounded by a border of thread of gold, like embroidery, which, on account of the quantity of gold interwoven in its texture, is not easily bent, and even then with a crackling noise. It may be rolled or folded up; but yet, on account of its close texture, unless it be held in either of those positions, it soon of itself assumes its extended state. This border is of the breadth of a hand, and its workmanship was ascertained to have been extremely ingenious. There is the same border upon the extremity of each sleeve around the wrists or arms of the glorious Bishop: but around his neck there is a border broader than the former, and of more incomparable workmanship and worth, which covers the greater part of both his shoulders, as well behind as in front, on account of its being more than a hand and a half in breadth in either direction. His hands reclining upon his breast, appear to be extending their stretched-out fingers to heaven, and to be incessantly demanding the mercy of God in behalf of a people devoted to him. For he who, at the hour of his death, raised those hands aloft in prayer in behalf of himself, now, *since his death, hath ever kept them raised for the expiation of our crimes.* And yet those who handle them may move them in any direction, may turn them inwards or outwards with as much ease as if they belonged to a living man. In like manner his arms may be raised and lowered, and all his other limbs may be extended or bent inwards at the will of him who handles them. *The chasuble, which was removed from his body eleven years after his burial, was never restored to him afterwards.** Upon his feet he wears the episcopal shoes, generally denomina-

* Let me here, as in the most suitable place, mention a few of the *miracles* performed by this most sacred chasuble:—

In these later days (says Reginald, cap. 35), the Bishop of Durham, from an anxiety to extend the boundaries of the Church of St. Cuthbert, sent out into every corner of his Diocese, certain preachers to collect the alms of the faithful, furnishing them for the purpose with a very choice portion of holy relics. Once it happened, upon a solemn occasion, when the city was crowded with visitors, that the keeper of these relics, along with his associates, repaired to the mother (Cathedral) church in Durham, and having placed the ivory casket, in which the relics were contained, upon an outer altar in the northern part of the church, they went to their homes to dine,

ted sandals, which in front are perforated with numerous holes, of an exceedingly small size, purposely made. But as to any softer inner garment, or any Monk's cowl which he may wear, or may not wear, no one can give any information, because no one ever presumed to touch or explore the robes which are immediately contiguous to his flesh. Moreover, with respect to his other robes of linen, or haply of woollen, all men are in state of doubt, because no one had permission to make the necessary investigation. Next to the dalmatic, his holy body is clothed with other costly robes of silk, the nature and description of which are not clearly ascertained: above which there had been put around him a sheet, almost nine cubits in length, and three and a half in breadth, in which the whole mass of holy relics had been very decently swathed. This sheet had a fringe of linen thread of a finger's length on one of its sides, and it was unquestionably a linen sheet. Upon the sides and ends of this sheet there was woven, by the ingenuity of its maker, a border of the breadth of an inch, bearing upon it a very minute and projecting workmanship, fabricated of the thread itself, and containing upon its extremity the figures of birds and beasts, so arranged, that invariably between every two pairs of birds and beasts there is interwoven the representation of a branching tree, which distinguishes and divides the figures. This representation of the tree, so tastefully depicted, appears to be putting forth its leaves, although small, on both sides;

seeing that the assembled multitudes had retired for the same purpose. There was in the casket aforesaid, the chasuble of St. Cuthbert, which had for eleven years sojourned with his uncorrupted body in its grave: it was still untainted by time, brilliant in colour, and worthy to be admired. There were, besides, other relics of the glorious Bishop. A few guardians of inferior note and office were left behind, and, most especially, there lingered by the relics a preaching priest, the best known man of his colleagues. At the very time when things were in this state, there came up one, who, from feelings of devotion, offered a penny before the sacred relics and retired, when straightway he, the lingerer, approached the sanctuary, rashly put forth his hand, and shamelessly hesitated not to be guilty of robbery: but as often as he stretched forth his hand to lay hold of the shining coin, the coin shrunk backwards, and refused to stick to his thievish fingers. He more than once made a dash at it with his right hand, and caught it by surprise; but although he often had it within his grasp, his fingers refused to clinch and secure their prey. He allured it to him, he snatched at it, and occasionally he held it fast; but although his fingers fairly covered it, turned it this way and that, held it when it would escape, and kept hold of it when it turned from side to side, yet he was never able to raise it from its place. He attempted to carry it off, but it appeared to cling fast to the *silken robe* upon which the relics reposed. The matter ended in the deep contrition of the secular priest, in his abjuring his profession, and taking upon him the order of a Monk!

The next miracle which stands upon record, in the pages of Reginald, as proceeding from the chasuble of St. Cuthbert, cap. 47, may be thus briefly abridged; and, be it remembered, it was performed in the time of the historian by whom it is handed down to memory:—

Bishop Hugh Pudsey found it necessary to put the Castle of Norham into a state of repair, and even to fortify it with additional buildings. His clerk of the works carried with him, in a silken bag, a portion of the far-famed chasuble, and although its resting-place was generally in his bosom, yet it was one day unfortunately lost, and was soon afterwards found by a clerk of French extraction, who, seeing the splendid bag, expected to find a prize within. His disappointment was so great when he discovered that it contained nothing but an old rag, that he threw the bag and its contents into the fire, but the fire had no power over the sacred relic.—But of such stories enough.

under which, upon the adjacent compartment, the interwoven figures of animals again appear, and this ornamental border of trees and animals is equally visible upon the extreme parts of the sheet. This sheet was removed from his holy body at the time of his translation, and, on account of the gifts which are daily given by the faithful, was long preserved entire in the church. Above this sheet there was still another cloth of a thicker substance, and in fact of a threefold texture, which covered the whole surface of the sheet last mentioned, and all the relics beneath it; and above this there was still a third envelope, saturated with wax, which had covered the inner coffin of the holy body externally, and all the holy relics. This cloth was proved not to have belonged to the sacred remains within, but was conjectured to have been superadded for the purpose of excluding the troublesome nuisance of dust. *Now these three cloths were taken away from the body of the holy Bishop,* and instead of them were put upon it others much more elegant and costly, of which the first, which is placed immediately above his former robes, is of silk, thin, and of most delicate texture. The second is costly, of incomparable purple cloth; and the third, which is the outer and last of all the envelopes of his most sacred body, is of the finest linen.*

“Moreover, he has with him, *in his coffin, an altar of silver, a cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a golden chalice with a paten, and a pair of scissors retaining their original freshness, with which his hair was once cut, according to report. These are placed in his coffin, upon a tablet standing in a transverse direction at his head, where,*

* Even these robes were gifted with the power of working miracles. Portions of them were, half a century afterwards, consigned by Bishop Pudsey to a band of Missionary Priests, sent out by him from his Cathedral, and their happy effects are exultingly recorded by Reginald. I give a mere abstract of each tale:—

The wanderers had penetrated into Scotland as far as Perth. There they met with a merchant, Rodbert by name, who was labouring under a disorder in his head, of so vehement a nature, that he occasionally lost all recollection, and became decidedly insane. But no sooner had Alan, the bearer of the relics, wrapped a portion of the cloth around the head of the sufferer, than his disorder quitted him, and a yearly gift of six-pence to St. Cuthbert was the consequence.—REG. cap. 98.

The bearers of the relics next proceeded to Dunfermlin. The day of their arrival was the birth-day of Margaret, the sainted Queen of Scotland, who had been long in her grave in the Monastery of the town, and divers were the festivities in honour of her memory which the wanderers had an opportunity of witnessing. The church of Durham had been singularly benefited by her kindness: for, in addition to divers splendid ornaments not specified, she had bestowed upon it a copy of the Evangelists in letters of silver, a precious robe of fine linen, and even the very cross which she had held in her hands in her last moments, decorated with pearls and precious stones, had been transmitted to St. Cuthbert after her death, by her express command. And now for the miracle:—There was at Dunfermlin, a man, to all intents and purposes insane, and the Monks from Durham undertook to cure him. For this purpose they dipped their relics in water, and of this water so medicated they poured a portion down the throat of the poor lunatic, and restored him to sanity.—REG. cap. 99.

These may suffice. They are followed by two others, still more ridiculous, in which a Countess Ada is the patient.

along with his *ivory comb*, they are hitherto preserved. *The comb is perforated in the middle, so that almost three fingers may be slightly inserted into the hole. As to its size, its length appears to bear a becoming proportion to its breadth. For the length is almost equal to the breadth, except that for ornament there is a slight difference between the one and the other. From length of time, it has acquired a reddish tinge, and the character of white bone which belongs to it by nature, is, from its antiquity, exchanged for a ruddy tint.* Thus with these robes the coffin of the holy Bishop Cuthbert is protected; and of the other holy relics, the head of Oswald, the glorious King and Martyr of Christ, is the only one honourably deposited within it."

"Of his innermost coffin, with what variety of wonderful workmanship it is fabricated and engraved.—CAP. 43.

"We have hitherto treated of the manner in which Cuthbert, the glorious Bishop of Christ, was placed in his coffin, we will now give a description of that inner coffin itself. *In this inner coffin he was first placed in the Island of Lindisfarne, when he was raised from his grave, and in this his incorruptible body has been hitherto always preserved. It is quadrangular like a chest, and its lid is not elevated in the middle, but flat, so that its summit, whether of lid or sides, is all along level and even. The lid is like the lid of a box, broad and flat. The lid itself is a tablet of wood, serving for an opening, and the whole of it is made to be lifted up by means of two circles or rings, which are fixed in its midway breadth, the one in the direction of his feet, and the other in that of his head. By these rings the lid is elevated and let down, and there is no lock or fastening whatever to attach it to the coffin. The coffin is made entirely of black oak, and it may be doubted whether it has contracted that colour of blackness from old age, from some device, or from nature. The whole of it is externally carved with very admirable engraving, of such minute and most delicate work, that the beholder, instead of admiring the skill or powers of the carver, is lost in amazement. The compartments are very circumscribed and small, and they are occupied by divers beasts, flowers, and images, which seem to be inserted, engraved, or furrowed out in the wood.* This coffin is enclosed in another outer one, which is entirely covered by hides, and is surrounded and firmly bound by iron nails and bandages. The third coffin, which is the outermost of all, is decorated with gold and precious stones, which, by means of indented flutings projecting from the second coffin, for which, in due order, similar projections are fabricated in this, is closely attached and fastened to it by long iron nails. This coffin cannot possibly be separated from the rest, because those nails can by no device be drawn out without fracture."

The event, which has already occupied my reader for so long a space of time,

is mentioned by the Chronicle of Mailros, by William of Malmesbury, and by Roger of Hoveden. I subjoin translations of their respective accounts:—

“In the year 1104, the body of St. Cuthbert was exhibited to view, and was found to be uncorrupted and flexible. It was translated at Durham into the new church, four hundred and eighteen years after its deposition.”*

William of Malmesbury is more diffuse, and closes his account of the event with a strong burst of feeling, worthy of a more exalted subject.

“But in his new buildings for the Monks, and in the translation of the most blessed Cuthbert, he (he is speaking of Bishop Flambard) gained somewhat of glory to his name. By elevating the sacred body, by raising it from its coffin, and exhibiting it to all those who wished to see it, he greatly extended his fame. Ralph, at that time Abbot of Seez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, handled the body boldly, but with a happy result, and produced it openly without taint of corruption; and he did this, because some doubted whether the miracle long ago made known, with respect to the perfectness of the body, was still in force. The robes of the Saint all shone with the splendour of newness; upon his breast there was a chalice, the upper part of which was of gold, and the lower an onyx stone.† A face-cloth enveloped his features so closely, that the Abbot strove in vain to separate it from the parts to which it was attached. The head of Saint Oswald, the King and Martyr, rested between his arms; the bones of the Saints Bede and Celuulf,‡ the latter of whom became a Monk and a Saint at Lindisfarne, were found in linen bags by themselves. The sight was a splendid one—the church-yard was the scene; the sky was clear, no black cloud deadened the beams of the sun, the Monks were all arrayed in the robes of their order, and there were long lines of men going and returning, treading, in fact, upon each other's heels, from their intense anxiety to view again and again the sight which they had seen. But the Saint was disgusted, as is conceived, at such an exhibition, and there came at once a mighty and unlooked-for shower, which drove the whole assembly into the church. Here was a miracle, that notwithstanding the pelting rain, the robes of the Monks were not only not injured, but they were literally free even from the slightest dampness resulting from the rain. Go on and increase in thy glory, most holy Bishop! a miracle of wondrous renown, well suiting thy sanctity: and yet thou exhibitedst another not many days before. All things were ready in the new church

* Chron. Mailros. Rer. Angl. Script. i. p. 163.

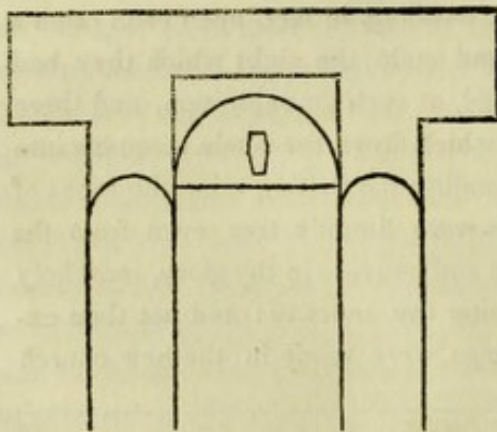
† There is evidently a mistake here. It was the *lower* part which was of gold, shaped like a lion, upon the back of which stood the onyx stone, hollowed out, so as to hold a small portion of wine.

‡ See p. 39.

for the translation of thy body—a choir of Monks, an altar, and a sepulchre ; the only obstacle was the frame of timber upon which had been turned the newly fabricated arch of the choir, and which it was intended to remove by degrees ; but, oh most holy one, thou sufferedst not the longing desires of thy servants to be further delayed, but didst thyself, at midnight, lay it flat with the ground. For who else could have done so mighty a deed ? The Prior heard the noise, and ran to the spot, caring little for the timber, but sadly afraid for the altar and pavement. But thou hadst preserved the pavement and altar, and even the various pieces of timber were as entire as when they were first used. Deservedly art thou feared by thy Monks, and that too to such an extent, that not one of them, conscious of disobedience towards his Prior, or of sin in himself, can dare to sleep without having confessed his fault. Wherefore I, thy suppliant, pray thee to remember me for good,—I, oh holy and worthily beloved father, who have been unwilling to let slip this opportunity of rendering thee the slender meed of my praise.”*

Roger Hoveden’s account is more concise. It is contained in the former part of his annals :—

“ The body of St. Cuthbert the Bishop, on account of the incredulity of certain Abbots, was exhibited during the Episcopate of Ranulf ; and by Ralf, Abbot of Seez, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, and lastly Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the brethren of the Church of Durham, was found unquestionably in a state of incorruption, along with the head of St. Oswald the King and Martyr, and the relics of Bede and many Saints ; in the presence of Earl Alexander, brother of Eadgar, King of Scotland, and afterwards King.”



The original form of the eastern end of the Cathedral, begun by Carileph, and completed by Flambard, and the precise spot in it assigned to the remains of St. Cuthbert, may be ascertained from an inspection of the *black-lined part* of the sketch† in the margin, founded upon present appearances in the church, and the intimation of Reginald, that the coffin of the Saint was placed *behind* the altar. The nave and its two side

aisles ended originally in semi-circular terminations, and the portion of space

* Will. Malmesb. de gestis Pontificum. Lib. iii.

† The dotted parts of the sketch shall be afterwards explained.

cut off at the end of the former by the altar screen, which ran diametrically across in the direction of the straight black line in the sketch, constituted the Feretory of St. Cuthbert. As to the bier upon which the coffin and all its treasures rested, no description, as far as I am aware, has been left by the writers of the period. Reginald briefly intimates that it was of stone, and that it was supported by nine pillars of the same material.

Around the body, in its elevated state, lamps were perpetually kept burning, maintained by sources of income specifically attached to the purpose;* and around the shrine, or upon the sides of the feretory, were suspended the various presents made to the Saint, some of them of the highest value, and others so trifling and absurd, as scarcely to deserve a better name† than that of playthings for children. All the while the church was extending her acres and her tithes, and, by way of recompence to her benefactors, she not unfrequently gave them food and clothing within her walls, when they had literally divested themselves of their possessions for her sake;‡ but she invariably entered their names in a book, which she designated the *Book of Life* (LIBER VITÆ), and which rested on the high altar near the shrine.§

* The churches of Rounton and Dinsdale were given to the Monks of Durham by one of the old Lords of Dinsdale, to maintain lamps burning around the *body* of St. Cuthbert. Wimarck Papedi gave the rent of two houses in Norham; Eustace de Fenwick (in North Durham) gave a yearly pound of wax; and Robert Fitz Roger, Baron of Warkworth, gave 20s. per annum from his mills, for the same purpose.—*Charters, among many others, in the Treasury.* Gaufrid de Forset gave every Easter five pounds of wax, to be placed in candlesticks of brass near the shrine. Thomas of Forset gave two pounds of wax at the same time, for the use of the Cellarar. Gilbert de Forset, the grandson of the Dean, gave one pound at Easter.—*Liber Vitæ*, hereafter noticed.

† See the list of relics hereafter.

‡ In proof of this assertion, I might quote many charters in the Treasury, in which the donor fairly states that he gives such and such possessions with his body (*cum corpore suo*); others insert in their documents of gift, a clause, providing for themselves in meat and drink, in the event of their determining to quit the world and enter into the Convent: but I come at once to Earl Gospatrick, who exchanged his coronet for the cowl, and after having slept for centuries in his grave in the Cemetery Garth, was disturbed in 1821, upon making the necessary arrangements for heating the south side of the choir with warm air. Along the lid of his coffin runs in Latin, GOSPATRICK THE EARL; but it is known, from the obituary of the Church of Durham, that he died a Monk. His anniversary was celebrated on the 15th of December. The obituary of the Priory of Durham, now that I have mentioned it, is contained in the margin of an old copy of Bede's Martyrology, bound up along with many other matters relative to Durham, in the MS. B. IV. 24, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter; and be it noted, almost every entry proves my assertion, that men even of exalted rank were in the habit of bidding farewell to the world, and submitting to the austerities of the cloister. Let me subjoin a few high-sounding names, who died in the odour of sanctity:—Rodbart, the Knight and Monk; Girald, Knight and Monk; Guerin, Knight and Monk; Hamelin, Knight and Monk; Pagan, the Knight; Reiner, the Knight; Gospatrick, the Earl and Monk, &c.

§ This book is still in existence. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN, A. 7. The original

There succeeded to the Priorate of Durham, in 1149, Laurence, a man naturally of good abilities, and self-cultivated to a very considerable degree.* His compositions are numerous, both in prose and poetry, and many of them are not without merit: of course, the glories of his Patron Saint furnished him with many a theme. There is a poem of fifty-two lines, in which is contained a brief outline of the history and miracles of Cuthbert, and there immediately follows the blasphemous prayer† printed below, of which the following is a literal translation.

part begins at fol. 12, with the names of **KINGS** and **DUKES**. At fol. 13, begin those of **QUEENS** and **ABBESSES**. Fol. 13, **ANCHORITES**. Fol. 15, b, **ABBOTS** of the order of **PRIESTS**. Fol. 16, b, **ABBOTS** of the order of **DEACONS**. F. 17, **ABBOTS**. F. 18, b, **PRIESTS**. F. 23, **DEACONS**. F. 24, **CLERKS**. F. 34, **MONKS**. So far the book is written in letters of gold and silver, and there is abundance of proof that, so far, it is not later than the time of Alfred or his grandson, Athelstan. A memorandum on the first folio states the purpose for which it was kept. It may be thus translated:—"The order or method of this book is no other than the annual commemoration, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, of the departed souls of all those who have benefited, or deserved well of, the Monastical Church of the most blessed Father Cuthbert, as well Seculars as Regulars, as well Emperors as Priests, as well Abbots as Monks, as their respective names written hereafter in this book more plainly and fully declare." A Latin distich, in Saxon characters, proves that, in addition to the splendour bestowed upon it within, its binding also could boast of gold and silver.

After the period of Athelstan, the same care was not taken in entering the names of benefactors in such splendid characters; but still they were entered, and this was enough. Among the benefactors of this and a later period, stand the high names of Gospatric (Earl of Northumberland); Dolfin (of Raby); Ulfkil, son of Suhain, and Sungive, his wife; Baliols in abundance; John Thyrwall; Richard D'Umframvill; Leonard, son of Alan, Steward of the King of Scotland, who gave one bezant yearly to the Convent; the Lord Robert de Umframville, Earl of Angus; the Lord Thomas, his brother; Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon; and William and Robert, his brother and grandson. Then follows afterwards, among a host of interesting entries, of which I have no extract, "Richard Pickering, Rector of Hemyngburgh, the man who had furnished glass for the round window (at the east end of the Cathedral) at the cost of £14;" and among the concluding memoranda of the book, under the year 1531, there is recorded the death of "John Duckett, of Softley, called the 'old man,' for his age was 127 years, with the exception of the space between the Purification of St. Mary and the Feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle." In addition to these contents, there may be found in the book many notices of fraternity and other contracts entered into by the Convent of Durham. See also Sanderson, p. 20.

* V. Bale and Angl. Sacr. i. 787.

† *Oratio ad Sanctum Cuthbertum.*

Sancte Pater Patriæ, Cuthberte Vir inclyte salve.
 Salve, dans miseris sæpe salutis opem.
 Salve dulce decus, salve spes magna tuorum.
 Virtus nostra vale! Vir pietatis age!
 Sit tibi laus. Tibi dignus honor, tibi gratia detur.
 Qui, licet indigno, das bona sæpe mihi.
 Tu mihi magna salus, mihi gloria sæpe fuisti,
 Tu me dulcissimo semper amore foves.
 Oh quot sæpe malis, quibus hostibus atque periculis
 Me, Pater, ereptum prosperitate foves.
 Et tibi quid dignum reddam, Pater, o Pie Presul!
 O Pater! O clemens Pastor! adesto mihi.
 Ut placet et nosti, Pater, auxiliare petenti,
 Quæso memento mei, dulcis Amice Dei!

Laus. Poemata MSS. Hunter, No. 2, Dean & Chapter, Durham.

By those who have been permitted to learn from the New Testament, that there is but one Mediator between God and man, perhaps I may be blamed for perpetuating such impious trash;

" A PRAYER TO ST. CUTHBERT.

" Hail, father of thy country ! hail, man of renown ! hail, thou who often bestowest upon the miserable the comforts of health ! hail, lovely glory ! hail, great hope of thy servants ! Farewell merit of our own ! do thou act, thou man of piety ! To thee be praise ! to thee let worthy honour, to thee let thanks be given ! who frequently bestowest blessings upon me, undeserving though I be. Thou art my mighty help ; often hast thou been my glory. Always dost thou cherish me with thy sweetly-flowing love. Oh from how many evils, from what enemies and dangers, my father, hast thou rescued me, and still nourishest thou me in prosperity ! What worthy return can I make to thee, my father ? Oh thou pious Bishop ! Oh father ! Oh merciful Pastor ! give me thy aid. As it pleases thee, O father, and as thou knowest my wants, give help to thy petitioner. I pray thee to remember me, thou sweet friend of God."

It has been already stated, upon the authority of Reginald, that, with the exception of the head of King Oswald, which was replaced in the coffin of the Saint,* the other relics were moved from their resting-place, and arranged, according to the York MS., in small cabinets of ivory, or in cases of crystal, around the feretory. Even Bede, with all his extraordinary merits, was excluded along with the rest, and was suffered for a while to sit in a lower seat. But before much more than half a century had elapsed, there came Bishop

but surely I may be forgiven from publishing the fact, that when the Church of Rome was in all her splendour, one who ranked next to the Bishop of Durham, in plain terms called upon St. Cuthbert, not to intercede with God in his behalf—this would have been bad enough—but positively to aid him himself. If such was the creed of the Hierarchy, what must have been the notions and practice of their flocks, positively prevented, as they were, from thinking for themselves ? See in the next note, an instance of still more awful blasphemy, in the prayer of even a Bishop, upon the circumscription of his Episcopal seal. I suspect Laurence to have been the author of the ode to St. Cuthbert, printed at the end of Hegge's Legend of the Saint.

* At a later period the figure of St. Cuthbert, arrayed in pontifical robes, and holding in his bosom the head of Oswald, occurs upon the seal of almost every Bishop of Durham in succession till the reformation. Bishop Walter Kirkham (1249-1260) was, I believe, the first who began the custom ; but the Saint is only at half length, and that, too, on the reverse of the seal ; and beneath him there is the Bishop, in a praying posture, with the following most unscriptural and blasphemous prayer proceeding from his lips, in the Monkish verse, which surrounds the seal :—

" PRESUL CUTHBERTE REGNEM SUPER ETHERA PER TE."
Bishop Cuthbert, may I reign above the skies by thee.

We have already seen what notions a Prior of Durham entertained with respect to the heavenly powers of a man, who had been for centuries in his grave. What shall be said of the Bishop who used such a prayer, so awfully derogatory to the merits of the real and only Mediator between God and man. Bishop Robert de Insula also (1274-1282) exhibits the figure of St. Cuthbert on the reverse of his seal, but the circumscription is harmless, and rather amusing,—

SIGNUM CUTHBERTI SIGNAT SECRETA ROBERTI.

The seals of the Bishops of Durham, from the conquest to the reformation, either have been, or will be, engraved by Mr Surtees, in his History of the County ; and whenever there occurs upon them an Episcopal figure holding a crowned head, it is that of St. Cuthbert.

Pudsey, who enshrined the remains of this venerable man in a casket of gold and silver, and placed it and them in his newly-built Galilee, upon "a beautiful monument of blue marble, a yard high, supported by five pillars, one at every corner, and the fifth under the middle. It used to be taken down every festival day, when there was any solemn procession, and carried by four monks in time of procession and divine service." "The uppermost stone of this shrine had three holes in each corner, for irons to be fastened in, to guide the covering when it was drawn up or let down, whereon St. Bede's shrine stood."* The Galilee, be it remembered, was but a second thought of the Bishop. He had meditated building a chapel at the east end of the Cathedral, adjoining the feretory of St. Cuthbert, and had procured columns and pedestals of marble from beyond the sea for the purpose; but from the frequent interruptions which his work experienced, in consequence of the cracking and shrinking of its walls, after many fruitless attempts to succeed, he commenced his operations at the west end of the church, under an impression that the project was displeasing to St. Cuthbert, and finished the splendid chapel which has always, but why I know not, been called the Galilee.† A Monk preached in it once a week from an iron pulpit, which stood under the western window of its middle aisle, to a congregation of females, who, as we have already seen (p. 36), were not allowed to enter the church itself.

I have already alluded to the failure of Bishop Pudsey's attempt to build a chapel for females in the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The time has gone past for believing that the walls were shaken by the throes of the Saint, caused by his intense feelings of pain at being so nearly approached by a sex, for which he had such an abhorrence. I am rather inclined to believe, that the Bishop's proceedings were put a stop to from a defect in the foundation of his wished-for building; and if I am not mistaken, a similar defect, caused by a similarity of ground, soon afterwards began to shew itself in

* Gaufr. de Coldingham, ap. x. Script. p. 723, and Sanderson, p. 47, 48, 49. The identical stone upon which the relics of Bede rested, with the three holes at each of its corners, forms, at the present day, part of the pavement of the church between the third and fourth pillars from the west, on the south side of the Nave. It measures four feet and a half in length, and about three in breadth.

† A plain altar tomb of blue marble covers the spot upon which rested the remains of Bede. Probably they are buried beneath it. The Galilee was used as the Consistory Court of the Diocese from a period long antecedent to the Reformation until the year 1796. No Divine service appears to have been performed in it from the dissolution till this present year, 1828, when it was fitted up with free sittings, and opened on Easter-day, for Sunday evening prayers and a sermon during the summer months.

the eastern termination of the church itself; for about the year 1235, nearly 180 years after it was finished, that part of the building began to assume a dangerous appearance, and to totter to the ground. Thomas Melsonby* was then Prior, the most public-spirited man who ever held that high office, and his Bishop was Richard Poor, who had been translated from Salisbury to Durham, leaving behind him a Cathedral, to which he had done more than any of his predecessors, and which, at the present day, has reason to boast of his munificence. The Church of Durham could not have required reparation at a more fortunate period. But it may be said that all this has nothing to do with St. Cuthbert. Indeed it has. Such was the religious belief of the period—such the confidence of all men in the merits of the Saint, that he was the foundation stone upon which the two destined their intended structure to rest; and we shall soon see how far his name and his promised aid operated in taking down the decaying parts of the east end of the church, and in erecting the magnificent eastern transept, which has been denominated the NINE ALTARS, from the day when it was first projected unto the present time.

The following *Indulgence*, from the Bishop of Ely, will shew the use which the Bishop and Prior of Durham made of their Patron, in the promotion of their meditated work:—

Endorsement. “H. ELYENS. TO THOSE CONTRIBUTING TO THE FABRIC OF THE IX. ALTARS, FORTY DAYS FOR SEVEN YEARS. IN THE YEAR 1235.

“To all who shall see or hear of this writing, H. by the grace of God, Bishop of Ely, greeting in the Lord. Among the famous Confessors of Christ, whose bodily presence protects the Church of England, the blessed Cuthbert is well known to possess the renown of no ordinary sanctity; and not unworthily is he extolled by the praises of mankind, seeing that by his merits the sick obtain the blessing of health. His flesh free from corruption† and persevering perfectly entire, seems to give the impression of one sleeping rather than dead. For that the limbs of this blessed man remain in a

* I have already alluded to Prior Melsonby, (p. 56, note). Henry III. in the first and second of his charges against him, above referred to, insinuates that he was an illegitimate son of the Rector of Melsonby, in Richmondshire, by his maid-servant. But from records in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, there is strong circumstantial proof to the contrary. He was, at all events, a native of Melsonby, and belonged to an opulent family there, one of whom founded a chantry in his parish church, and many of them were closely connected with the Priory of Durham.

† It is not easy here to keep up the alliteration of the original, (*cujus caro carie carens*). That the words were considered a bright thought, appears from the fact, that they occur in almost all the Indulgences hereafter noticed.

state of incorruption, is testified not only in the writings of the venerable Bede, but it was also proved at the translation of his most holy body in these latter days. This treasure, therefore, more precious than gold and precious stones, reposes in the church of Durham, where, above his sacred sepulchre, devout men of old erected a vaulted roof of stone, which at the present day is so full of fissures and cracks, that its fall seems to be approaching. In fact, the event threatens to be so near at hand, that whoever looks up at the mass of masonry hanging in so suspicious a manner, may truly say how terrible and tremendous is this place. Seeing, therefore, our venerable brother, R. Lord Bishop of Durham, wishing to obviate so manifest a danger, is disposed by the aid of God to erect a new building at the eastern end of the Church aforesaid, in which the body of that said sainted Confessor may be more safely and honorably placed, we admonish and exhort one and all of you in the Lord, that in order to the finishing of the aforesaid building as soon as may be, ye be willing, out of the goods conferred upon you by God, tender-heartedly to give the assistance of your charity, that by it and your other good deeds ye may be able *to deserve* an eternal reward. We, for our part, fully confiding in the mercy of God, and in the merits of the glorious Virgin, of St Cuthbert, and of all the Saints, release thirty days of enjoined penance to all those who shall bestow towards the fabric aforesaid the pious bounty of their alms, or shall, during the seven years next ensuing, visit the place aforesaid for the purpose of prayer, provided their Diocesans shall consider this our indulgence valid, and they themselves be truly contrite and confessed of their sins. Given at London, in the year of Grace 1235, July 9th."

This document, upon which I make no comment, is dated in 1235; and a year or two before this, Thomas Melsonby, the Prior, had issued a sweeping Manifesto, containing a long list of Indulgences and other spiritual advantages, which had been bestowed by divers Bishops and Convents upon those who promoted the work which he had so much at heart. But, strange as it may appear, the name of St. Cuthbert occurs not even once in this mighty concentration of benefits to be claimed by the promoters of the NEW WORK. I have already said that Melsonby was an extraordinary man, and the statement is, I think, confirmed by his open departure from the absurd preamble of those very indulgences which must have been before him when he compiled his declaration. His Manifesto, as I have already called it, may be found in the Appendix, p. 7, No. III., and its preliminary clauses, until he comes to his *numerositas dierum*, appear to be drawn up in the true spirit of Christian solicitation, for a pious purpose. *St. Cuthbert*, as I have already said, is never once mentioned; and it is only to be regretted, that the man who had sense enough to discard one

absurdity should have had recourse to another. The Indulgences, &c., which he enumerates, had some of them been obtained for the purpose in question before his time, but still he is to be considered as the great promoter of the work.

Those parts of Melsonby's notification which require to be specified, prove that any one who contributed to the fabric might claim a remission of penance for four hundred and thirty days.* That is, if I understand the matter rightly, when abstinence, mortification, and punishment, were enjoined him by the church for a stated period on account of his sins, he had his four hundred and thirty days as a regular set-off, until they were exhausted, and until they were so exhausted he could claim an exemption from the injunction. The donors were the Pope, the Archbishop of York, Hugh Bishop of Durham, Nicholas Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Galway, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Bishop of Glasgow: but the Manifesto of the Prior holds out other inducements to the charitable. In addition to the above days of indulgence, it promises the spiritual participation and benefit of six daily masses in the Church of Durham, and seven thousand three hundred and twenty-two masses and four thousand psalter services,† to be said or sung by the Monasteries of Newminster, Blanchland, Hexham, Brinkburne, Tinmouth, Coldingham, Bolton, Finchale, Holy Island, Bamborough, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Farne, Nesham, Lamesley, Berwick, Halistan, and Newcastle.

The Prior's document is not dated, but it was drawn up in the year 1233 or 1234, as Melsonby was not appointed till the former year, and the indulgence of the Bishop of Ely, already noticed, dated in 1235, is not included in it. The same system of indulgences was persevered in till the work was finished, as appears from the following abstracts of charters in the Treasury:—

1243. Clement, Bishop of Dunblane, an Indulgence of 40 days to all contributing any thing to repair the fabric of the Church of Durham, which threatens a horrible fall.
1258. William, Bishop of Glasgow, 20 days. Dated at Alnecrumb, cal. Octob.

* My reader can scarcely conceive the great and various uses of Indulgences. It is a fact, that about the year 1538, "forty days of pardon" were granted by the Bishop of Norwich to any one who would "caste a sticke" into the fire which burned "a Suffolk man named N. Peke," for denying the real presence; and it is also a fact, that, upon hearing this, "Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, Knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seates, and with their swords did cut downe boughes, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people."—Fox ii. 457.

† The word is *psalterium*. Du Fresne conceives it to mean the seven penitential psalms.

1277. Walter, Bishop of Rochester, 40 days, to those contributing any part of their goods towards *more quickly* finishing the new fabric of the Church of Durham.

These presents to be in force till the completion of the work. Dated at Durham, 12 cal. Septemb.

1278. William, Bishop of Norwich, 40 days. Dated at Durham, non. Mar.

These documents sufficiently prove the date of the Nine Altars, and the mode adopted by the church to pay the masons and carpenters employed in the work. But will it be believed, that all the while there was another bank for merit opened in the Church of Durham, in which men might deposit their superfluous wealth, and draw it out again, not in hard cash, for that had all been expended upon the Nine Altars along with the other sums specifically given for the purpose, but in similar relaxations from penance. I have before me full copies or abstracts of at least twenty-five Episcopal charters preserved in the Treasury, and more might be found, promising indulgences from penance, for a longer or shorter period, to all those who should devoutly visit the *shrine of St. Cuthbert* with their prayers *and gifts*. Some of them, it must be admitted, belong to a period before which the NEW FABRIC must have been finished; but this merely proves that the Monks were loath to dry up a source of revenue, of which they had doubtless found the stream so copious.

The preamble is nearly the same in all these documents, and there is the same boast of the incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert, the same *caro carie carens*, as in the Indulgence of the Bishop of Ely, given at length above; but the concluding part necessarily varies. It may be thus translated:—

“We, therefore, considering the glories of so distinguished a Confessor, confiding in the mercy of the high and undivided Trinity, God the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, of the glorious Virgin Mary mother of God, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of Saint Cuthbert the Confessor, and all the Saints of God, mercifully release forty days of their enjoined penance, to all those of our own Diocese, and to all others whose Diocesans shall hold this our indulgence valid, who, truly contrite, and having confessed their sins, shall come to his shrine for the purpose of devotion and prayer, and shall devoutly present to it somewhat of the goods conferred upon them by God.”*

I subjoin a few brief notices of these Indulgences, with their respective dates:—

1248. Gilbert, Bishop of Candida Casa (Whitherne in Scotland), 40 days. Dated at Durham, 7 cal. Nov. 1248.

* From the Indulgence of the Bishop of Dunblane, dated in 1284, and printed in the Appendix to Smith's Bede, p. 785. See also APPENDIX, p. 9.

1254. Walter, Bishop of Norwich, 40 days. Date, Durham, 6 id. Sept.
 1254. Abel, Bishop of St. Andrew's, 40 days. Date, Durham, 4 non. Jun.
 1254. Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, 40 days. Date, Durham.
 1255. Alan, Bishop of Argyle (Ergadiens'), 40 days. Date, Durham.
 1255. Ysaac, Bishop of Connor, 40 days. Date, Durham.
 1255. William, Bishop of Caithness, 40 days. Date, Durham, 16 cal. Oct.
 1255. Robert, Bishop of Ross, 40 days. Date, Durham, 12 cal. July.
 1258. William, Bishop of Connor, 40 days.
 1259. G. Archbishop of York, 40 days. Date, Durham, 15 cal. Decembr.
 1259. Augustine, Bishop of (Laudocens'), 40 days. Date, Durham, 15 cal. Decembr.
 1259. Henry, Bishop of Whitherne, 40 days. Date, Durham, St. Leonard's Day.
 1273. Peter, Bishop of Orkney (Archadiens'), 40 days. Date, Durham, 7 cal. Jan.
 1277. Walter, Bishop of Rochester, 40 days. Date, Durham, 12 cal. Septembr.
 1280. Robert, Bishop of Bath, 40 days. Date, Durham, 15 cal. Octobr.
 1280. Peter, Bishop of Connor, 40 days. Date, Durham, cal. Mar.
 1284. William, Bishop of Dunblane, 40 days. Date, Durham, 6 cal. Mar.
 1285. William, Bishop of Dunkeld, 40 days. Date, Durham, 15 cal. Jun.
 1302. Thomas, Bishop of Whitherne, 40 days. Date, Durham, non. Sept.
 1310. Anthony, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Durham, 80 days. Date Eltham, 5 June.*
 1311. William, Archbishop of York, 40 days. Date, Durham, 4 non. Mail.
 1319. John, Bishop of Connor, 40 days.
 1334. William, Archbishop of York, 40 days. Date, Durham, non. Jun. 1334.
 1334. Richard, Bishop of Durham, 40 days. Date, Durham, 7 Jun.

But the preamble to the last-mentioned Indulgence deserves to be translated. It proceeds, be it remembered, from Bishop Richard de Bury, Author of the *Philobiblon*, and the most learned man of his day†:—

“To all, &c., Richard, by Divine permission, Bishop of Durham, greeting. Seeing that, in order to deserve eternal joys, the suffrages of the Saints are extremely serviceable—the places of all the Saints are to be venerated with the pious devotion of the faithful, that when we venerate the friends of God, they themselves may render us amicable to God, and by claiming their patronage with God in a certain manner, we may deserve to obtain, by their intercessions, that which our own merits do not obtain. Desiring, therefore, that the Church of Durham, in which is honourably placed the incorrupt body of our venerable Father Cuthbert, may be fre-

* See APPENDIX, p. 9, No. IV., for a full copy of this curious document.

† See Surtees, *Dibdin's Decameron*, &c. &c.

quented with becoming honours and the numerous access of people,—to all truly penitent,"* &c. &c.

1335. John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 50 days. Date, Newcastle upon Tyne, 10 cal. Jan.

To all these Indulgences, and to many others of a similar nature, contained in the Treasury, are appended seals, executed in the elegant styles of their respective periods, and illustrative, beyond any other source of information, of the various changes which took place in ecclesiastical architecture from 1230 for a century afterwards.

There are similar Indulgences to those who visited the Galilee, the various altars scattered around the church, or the other relics of which the Monks of Durham could boast;—but of such documents enough.

It ought, however, to be stated, that the NINE ALTARS was not the only improvement which the above system of Indulgences was intended to promote. During the same period, the whole of the church was vaulted with the roof of stone, which remains to our day; and which is in such good keeping with the much older work of which it forms a part, notwithstanding the various architectural improvements of the time, that there appears to have been a positive design that it should be as it is. When I say that no part of the original church was vaulted above-head, of course I exclude the extreme eastern terminations of the three aisles, which were *coved* over their respective altars. The dilapidated state of this *coving*, noticed in the Bishop of Ely's charter (see p. 99), led to the building of the Nine Altars.

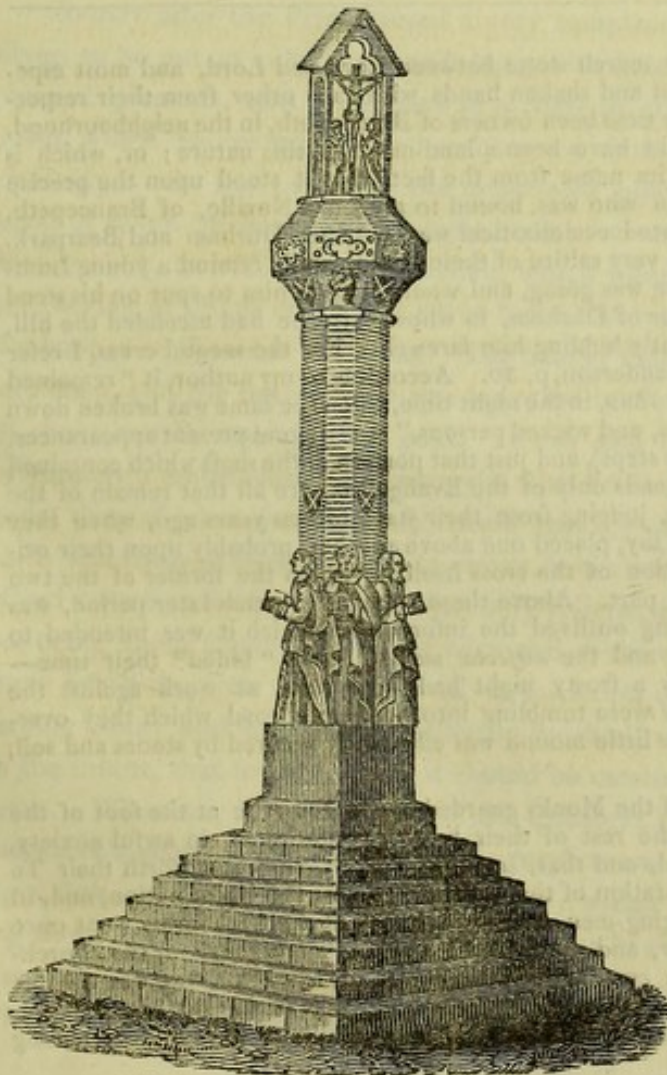
I have only to add here, that the original termination of the eastern end of the Cathedral was totally altered by the new structure. The sketch above given (p. 94), conveys an idea of what it was before the new fabric was begun, and what it was after that new fabric (the Nine Altars) was finished. The black lines denote the ancient, and the dotted lines the modern, termination of the church. It will be seen, from the same dotted lines, that the shrine of St. Cuthbert, from being a semicircle, became a quadrangle; but of this more hereafter.

* Universis &c. Cum ad promerenda sempiterna gaudia sanctorum sint nobis suffragia plurimum opportuna, loca sanctorum omnium pia sunt devotione fidelium veneranda; ut dum Dei veneramur amicos ipsi nos amicales deo reddant, et illorum quodammodo vindicando patrocinium apud Deum quod merita nostra non obtinent eorum mereamur intercessionibus obtinere. Cupientes igitur ut Ecclesia Dunelm. in qua venerabilis patris nostri Cuthberti incorruptum corpus honorificè collocatur congruis honoribus et crebris populorum accessibus frequentetur, omnibus verè penitentibus, &c.

I find in the Bursar's Roll, or great roll of yearly accounts for the year 1344, a curious entry, which may be thus translated :—

“ To divers persons for carrying letters from the Prior to the chief men (proceribus) of the Bishoprick, soliciting them to be present at the feast of St. Cuthbert in March—6d.”

The feast of St. Cuthbert, in March, was the time appointed for the commemoration of his Translation by Bishop Flambard—an event, to which I have devoted so much time and space. My reader shall hereafter see divers accounts of the good cheer of which the Monks of Durham and their guests partook at the feasts of their Saint in March and September. The consumption of fish, flesh, and fowl, was enormous ; but the above extract proves that Hilton, Lumley, Eure, Neville, and a long train of “ meaner” names, were all of them invited to the feast, and that they attended, with their followers, is certain enough.



In the year 1346, there was fought the memorable battle of Neville's Cross, within sight of the walls of Durham. Let me, *in limine*, contradict the generally received account, that on this occasion the English forces were led on by Philippa, their Queen, in the absence of her husband, Edward III. She was at that time in the south of England. The victorious General was the Lord Neville of Raby, and, again, it has been invariably held, that on the field of battle, the Red Hills, there was then, for the first time, erected a commemorative cross of stone, denominated and to this day known by the appellation of NEVILLE'S CROSS. That a cross was erected upon the occasion, is not to be doubted. Sanderson's author has minutely described it—so minutely, in fact, that Hut-

chinson, solely from that description, embellished his History of Durham with an accurate engraving in wood of the memorial, and by the favour of Mr. Walker, the re-editor of Hutchinson, I am enabled to place a similar representation before my readers. That a cross was erected upon the occasion, of this form and shape, is, as I have already said, certain enough; but I have seen documents in the Treasury, of a date long antecedent to the battle in question, which prove that there was *then and there a Neville's Cross*, but whether of wood or stone, I know not.*

But why so much, it may be said, of the Battle of Neville's Cross. My answer is,—that, according to the firm belief of the Church of Durham, the victory was mainly owing to a relic of St. Cuthbert, and to the prayers of the Monks by whom that relic was carried to the field of strife.†

Let the Church of Durham speak for itself upon so *momentous* a point; and

* A cross was the usual boundary or march stone between Lord and Lord, and most especially where three Lords might have met and shaken hands with each other from their respective estates. The Nevilles had for some time been owners of Brancepeth, in the neighbourhood, and in all probability the old cross might have been a land-mark of this nature; or, which is much more likely, it might have taken its name from the fact, that it stood upon the precise spot of road and ground at which a man who was bound to my Lord Neville, of Brancepeth, would quit the great and much frequented ecclesiastical way between Durham and Bearpark. The cross of the Nevilles, I dare say the very saltire of their shield, would remind a young Lumley, or a Hilton, of the place to which he was going, and would prompt him to spur on his steed till he had reached the side of the Prior of Durham, in whose suite he had ascended the hill, and wish him solace at Beaurepaire, gently bidding him farewell. For the second cross, I refer my reader to the margin above, and to Sanderson, p. 30. According to my author, it "remained conspicuous to all passengers till the year 1589, in the night time, when the same was broken down and defaced by some lewd, contemptuous, and wicked persons," &c. From present appearances, the pedestal of the cross (exclusive of the steps), and just that portion of the shaft which contained upon it (rudely enough engraved) the heads only of the Evangelists, are all that remain of the memorial at the present day; and these, judging from their state fifteen years ago, when they were in their second decay, were, I dare say, placed one above another, probably upon their original mound, not long after the destruction of the cross itself, of which the former of the two especially constituted so fundamental a part. Above these, and at a much later period, was superadded a mile-stone, which has long outlived the information which it was intended to convey. But the engrafted mile-stone, and the *disjectæ membra*, had "bided" their time—many a sun-burning summer and many a frosty night had kept hard at work against the hillock upon which they stood, and they were tumbling into the public road which they overlooked, when, six or seven years ago, the little mound was effectually secured by stones and soil, and so it remains.

† The story goes, that whilst a few of the Monks guarded the sacred relic at the foot of the hill upon which the battle was fought, the rest of their body was stationed, in awful anxiety, upon the middle tower of the Cathedral, and that, seeing the result, they sung forth their *Te Deum* in glad exultation. In commemoration of the event, long after the Reformation, and, in fact, till the year 1811, the organist, singing-men, and singing-boys of the Cathedral, went once a year to the summit of the middle tower, and sung the *Te Deum* to an audience in the churchyard below. For some time before the custom fell into disuse, the 29th of May was the day on which it was observed; but I have good authority for stating, that it was the battle of Neville's Cross which was intended to be commemorated. Twenty shillings were divided among those who took a part in the ceremony.

let it introduce to my reader the far-famed banner of St. Cuthbert, in one respect, the cause, and, in another, the result of the victory :—

“ In the night before the battle of Durham (Neville’s Cross) was begun, the 17th day of October, 1346, there appeared to John Fosse, then Prior of the Abbey of Durham, a vision, commanding him to take the holy Corporax cloth, which was within the Corporax, wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the chalice when he used to say mass, and to put the same holy relique upon a spear point, and next morning to repair to a place on the west of the city of Durham, called the Red Hills, and there to remain till the end of the battle.”

My readers know that the victory was gained by the English, and my author asserts that it was owing to the prayers of the Monks and the presence of so holy a relick. But to proceed :—

“ Shortly after the Prior caused a very sumptuous banner to be made with pipes of silver, to be put on a staff five yards long, with a device to take off and put on the said pipes at pleasure, and to be kept in a chest in the Feretory when they were taken down, which banner was shewed and carried about in the Abbey on Festival and principal days. On the height of the uppermost pipe was a pretty cross of silver, and a wand of silver, having a fine wrought knob of silver at either end, that went over the banner cloth, to which it was fastened, which wand was the thickness of a man’s finger, having at either end a fine silver bell : the wand was fastened by the middle to the banner staff, under the cross. The banner cloth was a yard broad and five quarters deep, and the bottom of it was indented in five parts and fringed, and made fast all about it with red silk and gold. It was also made of red velvet on both sides, sumptuously embroidered and wrought with flowers of green silk and gold ; and in the midst thereof were the *said holy relique and corporax cloth* inclosed ; which corporax cloth was covered over with white velvet, half a yard square every way, having a cross of red velvet on both sides over that holy relique, most artificially compiled and framed, being finely fringed about the edge and skirts with fringe of red silk and gold, and three fine little silver bells fastened to the skirts of the said banner cloth, like unto sacring bells ; and being so sumptuously finished, was dedicated to holy St. Cuthbert, to the intent, that for the future it should be carried to any battle, as occasion should serve. Whenever it (the banner of St. Cuthbert,) was carried in procession, it was the Clerk’s office to attend it, with his surplice on, with a fine red painted staff, having a fork or cleft at the upper end thereof ; which cleft was lined with soft silk, having down under the silk, to prevent bursting or bruising the pipes of the banner, which were of silver, or taking down and raising up again, by reason of its great weight. There were always four men to go along with it, besides the Clerk and the man who

carried it. There was also a strong girdle of white leather, that he who bore St. Cuthbert's banner did wear, whenever it was carried abroad. The banner was made fast to it with two pieces of white leather; and at each end of the two pieces a socket of horn was fastened, to put the end of the banner staff into,* which banner cloth, after the dissolution of the Abbey, fell into the possession of Dean Whittingham, whose wife, called Katherine, being a French woman, (as is credibly reported by eye-witnesses) did most despitely burn the same in her fire, to the open contempt and disgrace of all ancient reliques.†"

It should be stated, that the banner of St. Cuthbert brought home with it, from the field of Neville's Cross, the standard of King David, and a still more precious relic, **the Black Rood of Scotland**;‡ and these, along with

* Sanderson, p. 26.

† The manner in which St. Cuthbert's banner was attended in the processions of the Monks, may be gathered from the following account of their proceedings on Holy Thursday, Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday.—Ibid. p. 84.

"The next morning being Holy Thursday, they had a general procession, with two crosses borne before them; one, both cross and staff all of gold, the other of silver parcel-gilt, with that holy relique, St. Cuthbert's banner, being carried first in the procession, with all the rich copes belonging to the Church, every Monk one. The Prior had an exceedingly rich one of cloth of gold, which was so massy that he could not go upright with it, unless his gentlemen, who at other times bore up his train, supported it on every side when he had it on. He had his crosier staff in his hand, which was of double gilt, and a rich mitre on his head: also that holy relique, St. Bede's shrine, was carried in the procession by four Monks upon their shoulders. And other Monks carried about with them, in the said procession, several holy reliques, as the picture of St. Oswald, of silver gilt, and St. Margaret's Cross, of silver double gilt. The procession came out of the north door of the Abbey Church, and through the Church-yard, and down Sidgate, by Bow Church end, and up the South Bailey, and in at the Abbey gates."

See a large and very admirable lithographic print, by Mr Nash, of the inside of Durham Cathedral, with one of the above processions in its northern aisle. Mr Nash's chief authority was the above account, and with the aid of two or three copes preserved in the Church, and, in fact, used during the Communion Service by the Prebendary and Minor Canons upon duty, until the days of Warburton (v. Quarterly Review, c. xxxii. p. 273), he has succeeded inimitably well in his attempt. There is the long-drawn aisle literally *ad vivum*, and there is as much of life and accuracy in the procession, as the pencil can give. By Mr Nash's permission, I place before my readers an outline of what the BANNER OF ST. CUTHBERT must have been, from the above description, (pl. iii. No. 2,) and I am obliged to Mr Bouet for the Monk who supports it, and for many other favours of a similar nature. I have only to remind my readers, that the staff of the banner was much longer than could easily be represented, and that, as is above stated, it was supported by means of a socket, fixed in a leathern belt around the waist of the bearer.

‡ "In which battle a holy cross, taken out of Holy Rood House, in Scotland, by King David Bruce, was taken from the said King—which cross is recorded, by most ancient and credible writers, to have come to the King most miraculously. Being hunting the wild hart in a forest near Edinburgh, upon Holy Rood Day, commonly called the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the King separated from his Nobles, &c., and suddenly there appeared unto him, as it seemed, a most beautiful Hart running towards him with full speed, which so affrighted his horse, that he violently ran away; but the Hart so fiercely and swiftly followed, that he forcibly threw the King and his horse to the ground, who being much dismayed, cast back his hands betwixt the tines of the Hart's horns to stay himself, when the said cross slipped into his hands most won-

the standard of the Lord Neville and "divers other Noblemen's antients" continued to wave over the shrine till the Dissolution.

The Bursar's Roll for the year 1355-6, contains the following curious items connected with St. Cuthbert. I translate them from the original Latin :—

"To two players (istrionibus) of our Lord the Bishop, and to two players of the Earl of Northampton,* at the feast of St. Cuthbert in March—6s. 8d.

"To the players at the feast of St. Cuthbert in September—6s. 8d.

"The expences of Sir William de Masham, the Terrarer towards Scotland with the banner of St. Cuthbert, in the suite of our Lord the King, with a pipe of wine, and a tent bought for the same—£15. 16s. 8d.

"The expences of William de Cheker at Newcastle with the banner of St. Cuthbert, to be carried to our Lord the King"†

Thus, before ten years had elapsed from the period of its fabrication, the Banner of St. Cuthbert was unfurled in the presence of Royalty, and witnessed the recovery of Berwick and the subsequent invasion of Scotland.

"1364-5.‡ The expences of a Chaplain for two days at Ketton,§ about the fishing against the feast of St. Cuthbert in March—4s. 3d.

"To a boy of the Lord Percy bringing a present to the Prior on the vigil of St. Cuthbert—2s.||

"To two players of the Lord Duke at the said feast—6s. 8d."

derfully ; at the sight of which the Hart immediately vanished away, and was never after seen—no man knowing certainly what metal or wood the said cross was made of."—Sanderson, p. 27. My author goes on to state, that this *same David Bruce* soon afterwards founded the Abbey of Holy Rood, in commemoration of the event. The truth is, that Monastery was founded above two centuries before his time. The Black Rood of Scotland is elsewhere (p. 28) described as made of silver, "being, as it were, smoaked all over," and ornamented with representations of the Virgin and St. John.

* William de Bohun, fourth son of Humphrey de Bohun, the eighth Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England. He was created Earl of Northampton in 1337. I can only account for the fact that his players were at Durham in the above year, by supposing that he himself was in attendance upon the King, and they were following in his train.

† Edward the Third's expedition to the borders, in the beginning of the year 1356, to recover Berwick, which had been seized by the Scots during his absence in France, is matter of public history.

‡ Bursar's Roll.

§ Near Darlington. The Skerne frequently supplied the Church of Durham with fish, perhaps eels, which, from the nature of its course, are found in it in abundance.

|| There was not always a friendly feeling between the Percies of Northumberland and the Church of Durham. In the year 1458, the tithe gatherer of the latter had collected his tithe lambs in the parish of Norham, in number 260, valued at 6d. each, and was driving them home,

In the year 1372, John, Lord Neville of Raby, expended £200. upon a work of marble and alabaster *beneath* the shrine of St. Cuthbert. By this is meant a new tomb for the coffin to rest upon. The work was executed in London, and conveyed to Newcastle by sea at the cost of the donor, and from thence it was removed to Durham at the expence of the church. After the completion of the work, at the instigation of the Prior, the same Nobleman contributed 600 marks towards procuring for the church the splendid altar screen, which still remains in all its beauty—not the less beautiful, perhaps, for its having been deprived of the various images which darkened its niches. The work cost in all 800 marks, but the Church of Durham and her Cells supplied the deficiency. This work also was carved in London, and conveyed to Newcastle by sea at the expence of Lord Neville, and thence to Durham by the Church. Robert Berrington de Walworth, the Prior, employed seven masons for a whole year in setting it up, and during all the time maintained them at his own charge.* The work was finished in 1380, in which year the High Altar was solemnly dedicated, by the Bishop's Suffragan, in honour of St. Mary the Virgin, St. Oswald the Martyr, and St. Cuthbert.†

After this period, the Feretory of St. Cuthbert remained much in the same state till the Dissolution; and, therefore, I conceive this to be the properest place for laying before my readers the following minute description of it, drawn

when the whole of them were *stolen* by Sir Ralph Percy. The following curious letter proves that the feud did not descend:—

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO HIS PARK KEEPER.

"Welbeloved, I grete you well, and woll and charge you that yo^r self kill three Bukks of seasoⁿe in somer and three doos in wynter, for my right entierly beloved frende in God, the Priour of Duresme, to be taken of my yeste within my thre parks within my lordship of Alnewike, wherof ye have the keping, yerely during my pleasor, and send the said dere unto hym by this berer or any other in his name, that it be not failed. And this my writing for the delivere thereof to fore myn auditours at yo^r accomptes shalbe unto you anence me in this behalve sufficient warrant and discharge. Yeven under my signet at the Abbey of Duresme the xth daye of Auguste, in the xvijth yere of the reigne of oure Soverain Lorde King Henry the viith.

"HARRY NORTHUMBERLAND.

"To my wellbelovid the Maisterforster and Keper for the tyme being of my three parks within my Lordship of Alnewike, or to their deputes in there absence."—Regr. iv. parv. f. 172. b.

* *Lavadose*, *Lardose*, and *Rerdos*, the names given to the altar screen in Sanderson, are corruptions of its French name, *le dos derrière*, from its position with reference to the High Altar.

† *Chambre Angl. Sacr.* i. 769. Old John Fosser was Prior at the commencement of the work; but he died before it was completed, at the great age of 90, and was buried at the north end of the middle transept, not in a coffin, but in the hide of an ox. In 1729 his grave was accidentally opened, and the hide, according to Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 90, "was tolerably fresh," but the body was in a state of complete decay. I, not many months ago, observed, in the *Bursar's Roll* for the year of his death, a charge of 5s. for the hide, and 2s. 6d. to the sempstress (*sutrici*) who stitched him up.

up before that event took place. It will be observed, that although the terms *Shrine* and *Feretory* are occasionally confounded, yet, in general, the Monks apply the former to the coffin of St. Cuthbert and its splendid adornments, and the latter to the whole quadrangular space in which it stood; and I have deemed it best to follow their example.

In the first place, the shrine was thirty-seven feet long and twenty-three broad,* “adjoining to the Quire, having the High Altar on the west, and reaching towards the Nine Altars on the east, and towards the north and south, containing the breadth of the Quire in quadrant form: in the midst whereof, his sacred shrine was exalted with most curious workmanship, of fine and costly green marble, all lined and gilt with gold,† having four seats or places, convenient underneath the shrine, for the Pilgrims or lame men, sitting on their knees, to lean and rest on in the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God and holy St. Cuthbert, for his *miraculous relief and succour*, which being never wanting, made the shrine to be so richly invested, that it was esteemed to be one of the most sumptuous monuments in all England, so great were the Offerings and Jewels bestowed upon it, even in these latter days, as is more apparent in the History of the Church at large.

“At the west end of the shrine of St. Cuthbert, was a little Altar, adjoining to it, for mass to be said on, only upon the great and holy Feast of St. Cuthbert’s day in Lent; at which solemnity the Prior and the whole convent did keep open household in the Frater-house, and did dine together on that day, and on no day else in the year. And at this feast, and certain other festival days, in time of divine service, they were accustomed to draw up the cover of St. Cuthbert’s shrine, being of wainscot, whereunto was fastened unto every corner of the said cover, to a loop of iron, a very strong cord, which cords were all fastened together at the end, over the midst of the cover, and a strong rope was fastened unto the hoops or binding of the said cords, which rope did run up and down in a pulley, under the vault, over St. Cuthbert’s Feretory, for the drawing up of the cover of St. Cuthbert’s shrine; and the said rope was fastened into a loop of iron to the north pillar of the Feretory, having six very fine-sounding silver bells fastened to the said rope; which, at the drawing up of the cover, made such a goodly sound, that it stirred all the people’s hearts that were within the Church, to repair unto it, and to make their prayer to God and that holy man St. Cuthbert; and that the beholders might see the glory and ornaments thereof. Also, the said cover had at every corner two hoops of iron, made fast at every corner of the said cover, which did run up and down on four round staves of iron when it

* Actual admeasurement.

† The gift of the Lord Neville, v. p. 110.

was drawing, which were made fast in every corner of the marble stone that St. Cuthbert's body did lie upon; which said cover, on the outside, was very finely and artificially gilded: and also on either side of the said cover were painted four lively images, curiously wrought, and miraculous to all beholders thereof. And on the east end was painted the picture of our Saviour sitting upon the rainbow to give judgement, very artificially and lively to behold; and on the west end of the said cover was the picture of our Lady, and the picture of Christ upon her knee; and on the height of the said cover, from end to end, was a most fine brattishing of carved work, cut throughout with dragons, fowls, and beasts, most artificially wrought and set forth to the beholders thereof; and the inside of the said cover was all varnished and coloured with a most fine sanguine colour, that the beholders might see all the glory and ornaments thereof; and at every corner of the said cover, there was a lock to lock it down, from opening and drawing it up.

"Also, within the said Feretory, both on the north side and the south, there were *almeries of wainscot*, varnished and finely painted, and gilt over with fine little images, very seemly and beautiful to behold, for the reliques belonging to St. Cuthbert to lie in; and within the said almeries did lie all the holy reliques that were offered to that holy man St. Cuthbert; and when his shrine was drawn, the said almeries were opened, that every man that came thither at that time might see the holy reliques therein; so that the costly reliques and jewels that were in the said almeries, and all the other reliques that hung about within the said Feretory, upon the irons, were accounted the most sumptuous and richest jewels in all this land, with the beautifulness of the fine little images that stood in the French Pierre,* within the said Feretory; for great were the gifts and godly devotion of Kings, Queens, and other estates at that time, towards God and holy St. Cuthbert in this Church.

"Within this Feretory of St. Cuthbert were many fine little pictures of several Saints, of imagery work, all being of alabaster, set in the French Pierre in their several places, the pictures being curiously engraved and gilt; and the Neville's Cross and Bull's Head,† set upon the height: and on either side of the two doors in the French Pierre, and also in divers other places of the French Pierre besides: which Feretory and French Pierre were made at the charges of John, Lord Neville, as may appear more at large in the History of the Church.

"At the east end of St. Cuthbert's Feretory were wrought upon the height of the irons, towards the Nine Altars, very fine candlesticks of iron, like unto sockets, which had lights set in them before day, that every Monk might have the more light to see to read on their books at the said Nine Altars, when they said mass."‡

* The altar screen mentioned above; the boundary of the Feretory to the west.

† The arms and crest of the family.

‡ Sanderson, p. 6.

Again. "In this new Church was erected a fine and sumptuous shrine, called the Feretory, about three yards from the ground, behind the High Altar at the east end of the Quire, where his body was solemnly placed in an iron chest, within the said shrine, where it lay quietly, without molestation, till the suppression of the Church*.

From these notices, after they are divested of the marvellous, and from other *data*, contained in the detail of the duties of the keeper of the Feretory, hereafter to be stated, it may be gathered that the coffin of St. Cuthbert was enclosed in an iron chest, which stood upon a tomb of marble, in a place appropriated to it at the end of the Choir, and three yards above the level of the eastern transept or Nine Altars—that in the sides of this tomb were four niches or recesses† for prayer,—that there was affixed to its western end or head an altar, at which mass was celebrated once a year, on the 20th of March, the day of the Saint's translation—that the iron chest in which the coffin was enclosed, was itself protected by a richly ornamented covering of wood, secured by a lock at each corner, and capable of being raised by means of a cord, suspended by a pulley from the roof of the Church, to which cord were attached six silver bells, to give notice of its elevation to those assembled in the Choir.

In the year 1378, there commences a series of records relative to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, from which I promise my readers much amusement. These documents extend from the above year to the year 1513, with occasional interruptions, and contain annual accounts of the receipts and expences of the Monk appointed to superintend the Feretory of the Saint, to receive and account for the offerings made upon it by devout men, and to keep it and the various valuables within its precincts in repair. The Latin name of this officer is *Feretarius*, which I translate *Feretrar*, or *Shrine Keeper*, and use sometimes one and sometimes another of the appellations. His duties are thus detailed:—

"The Master of the Feretory's chamber was in the Dormitory. His office was, when any Man of honour or renown was disposed to offer their prayers to God and St. Cuthbert, or to offer any thing at his shrine, if they requested to have it drawn, or to see it, then the Clerk of the Feretory (an inferior officer) gave notice to his

* Sanderson, p. 67.

† I am inclined to believe that these niches had been originally intended for images, and that the seats upon which the lame and weary found a resting place were, in fact, unoccupied pedestals.

Master, the Vice Prior, Keeper of the Feretory, who brought the keys of the shrine, and gave them to the Clerk to open it. His office then was to stand by and see it drawn up. It was always drawn up in Matins time, when *Te Deum* was singing, or High Mass time, or at Evensong time, when *Magnificat* was sung; and when they had made their prayers, and offered any thing at it, if it were gold, silver, or jewels, it was instantly hung on the shrine: and if it were any other thing, as unicorn's horn, elephant's tooth, or such like, it was hung within the Feretory, at the end of the shrine: and when their prayers were ended, the Clerk let down the cover thereof, and locked it at every corner, returning the keys to the Vice Prior."—Sanderson, p. 91.

But the Shrine Keeper was not alone in his office. By way of check upon him in his receipts, there was connected with him one of his fellow Monks, who at first was denominated his *socius*, afterwards his *consocius*, and subsequently, from a blunder, first made in 1440, and perpetuated from year to year, his *consciis*. I subjoin a list of these men in office, obtained from various sources, but chiefly from their yearly rolls:—

SHRINE KEEPERS.					ASSOCIATES.
1022. Elfred Westoue (v. p. 59.)					
1333. Peter de Hilton (Grayst. p. 762)					
1372. John de Cornwall (Chambre, 768.)					
1375. Hugh de Hawick	..	...	...	...	John de Alverton.
1378. John de Alverton	...	...	...	...	Robert de Blackburne.
1381. John de Alverton	...	...	...	...	Thomas Dautre.
1383. Richard de Segbrok					
1385. Thomas de Lyth					
1402. William Poklyngton					
1411. Robert de Crayk					
1412. Robert de Segbrok	...	...	...	...	John Durham.
1418. John Durham	...	...	...	...	John Lethom.
1420. John Durham	...	...	...	...	Roger de Langchestre.
1421. John Durham	...	...	...	...	Thomas Hesilrig.
1423. John Durham	...	..	...	...	Thomas Ayre.
1425. John Durham (solus)					
1427. John Durham	...	...	..	...	Thomas Hexham.
1428. John Durham (sol.)					
1433. John Durham	...	...	...	...	John Gaytesheved.
1434. Richard Barton	..	...	...	...	Thomas Lewyn.

SHRINE KEEPERS.					ASSOCIATES.
1439.	John Burnby	...	..	...	Robert Emylton.
—	Richard Kellow.				
1444.	William Dalton	...	.	...	John Rypon.
1453.	John Pencher	...	..	...	William Kellow.
1457.	John Warner	...	..	...	Thomas Caly.
1458.	John Warner	...	...	...	Richard Bylingham.
1459.	John Warner	...	...	...	John Steyll.
1460.	John Warner and Richard Blacborne }	...	...	...	John Steyll.
1480.	John Lee	...	...	...	Richard Steyll.
1488.	John Manby	...	..	...	John Claxton.
1501.	Robert Werdal (Hutch. ii. 98)				
1513.	John Halywell	...	...	...	John Thrilkeld.
1538.	William Watson*	...	...	...	George Bates.

There were, as we shall see hereafter, various minute sources of income specifically appropriated to the shrine of St. Cuthbert; but there was one, in particular, from which a large sum of money was annually derived. Somewhere within the Feretory, probably upon the little altar at the head of the shrine (v. p. 113), there stood a small box (called *the pix of St. Cuthbert*) of precisely the same nature as those which may occasionally be seen at the entrance of our parish churches inscribed with "PRAY REMEMBER THE POOR." This box was secured by two locks, of which one key was kept by the Shrine Keeper, and the other by his colleague in office; and through its lid there was a narrow perforation, long enough to admit the largest piece of coin which the admirers of the Saint might think proper to bestow. I know not that there was any sentence of solicitation, but

Barissimi mementote Sancti Cuthberti,

might have been an appropriate inscription.

I subjoin, in one view, a statement of the various sums of money received from this productive source, in the different years of which the record is preserved:—

	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
1378—9 Received from the					1379—80	-	-	32 8 0
box of St. Cuthbert	38	4	4		1380—1	-	-	44 17 5½

* Sanderson, p. 91.—Watson was the first Prebendary in the twelfth stall, and died in 1556.

		£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
1381—2	-	29	0	11	1429—30	-	25	5	6
1382—3	-	28	5	1	1430—1	-	24	17	2
1383—4	-	46	0	3	1431—2	-	22	13	4
1385—6	-	63	17	8	1432—3	-	21	5	8
1386—7	-	28	0	8	1433—4	-	16	12	5
1387—8	-	18	10	4	1434—5	-	24	15	9
1388—9	-	37	4	6	1435—6	-	25	13	3
1389—90	-	32	2	3	1436—7	-	36	3	11
1397—8	-	27	12	7½	1437—8	-	19	12	7
1398—9	-	28	11	5	1438—9	-	14	18	11
1399—400	-	30	2	11	1439—40	-	15	10	9
1400—1	-	53	7	3	1440—1	-	22	15	5
1401—2	-	13	0	10½	1444—5	-	17	10	11
1402—3	-	27	4	10	1445—6	-	17	13	0
1403—4	-	28	11	1	1446—7	-	21	5	9
1405—6	-	31	13	11½	1447—8	-	19	6	1
1406—7	-	30	16	7½	1448—9	-	23	1	1
1407—8	-	25	2	10	1449—50	-	25	17	8
1411—2	-	28	12	5½	1450—1	-	20	3	10
1412—3	-	27	15	4	1451—2	-	16	11	11
1413—4	-	28	1	1	1452—3	-	12	4	6
1414—5	-	26	7	9½	1453—4	-	15	3	5
1415—6	-	24	6	6	1454—5	-	14	11	4
1416—7	-	25	19	10½	1455—6	-	18	6	8
1418—9	-	28	13	0½	1456—7	-	18	10	9
1419—20	-	27	19	11	1457—8	-	11	18	5
1420—1	-	23	4	2	1458—9	-	13	3	2
1421—2	-	21	10	4	1459—60	-	15	5	5
1422—3	-	20	3	4	1460—1	-	24	14	6
1423—4	-	22	16	5	1480—1	-	20	12	3
1424—5	-	24	11	0	1488—9	-	4	19	9
1425—6	-	21	1	2	1513—4	-			
1426—7	-	21	8	7					
1427—8	-	22	12	11					
							£1692	4	10½

The average for each year of the 69 of which the accounts have been preserved, is £24. 10s. 6d., or thereabouts, and calculating at the same rate for the 66 years, of which the rolls are wanting, during the above interval, (1378—1513)

we have the total of £3310. 17s. 10½d. Now, in order to ascertain the real worth of this sum at the present time, in consequence of the deterioration which has taken place in the value of money, it should be multiplied by at least 20, as the fair average of decrease during the period before us,—and when this is done, we have the enormous sum of £66,217. 10s. 10d. thrown, in the course of 135 years, into the *thrift box* of St. Cuthbert.

The various ways in which the yearly profits of the box of St. Cuthbert were expended will be seen hereafter. I would only here remark, what will be easily ascertained upon referring to the above list, the gradual diminution which took place in the receipts. I do not say in one year after another, but in the general character of the whole, from its beginning to its end—and, what is more, the last year in the list, which I verily believe to have been the last in point of fact for which an account was kept, is, as far as the box of St. Cuthbert is concerned, left a positive blank. Does not all this prove that St. Cuthbert and his cause were fast falling into disrepute, long before the finishing blow was given to them by King Henry the 8th? There is much room here for reflection; but I pass on with my subject, after having premised that the records are in the shape of small rolls, each of them indented so that the accounts of the shrine keeper and his colleague might correspond, and kept in the mixed Latin and English of the period.

I give a full copy of the first roll which occurs :—

“ The account of brother John de Alverton, Feretrar, from the feast of St. James, in the year of our Lord MCCCLXXVIII. to the same day in the year MCCCLXXIX. Robert de Blacburne, coll.

“ The accountant is responsible for 12s. 4d. remaining in the Burse, over and above the last year's account.

“ RECEIPTS. £38. 4s. 4d. from the box of St. Cuthbert at different times, as appears by indentures made between the Feretrar and his colleague.

	£.	s.	d.
Total Receipt, exclusive of arrears	-	-	38 4 4
———— including arrears	-	-	38 16 8

PAYMENTS. Of which he accounts for payments made to the Brethren for their oblations at five terms, as appears by the heads.* £34. 7s.

* This is the chief yearly head of discharge. The profits of the *box* were, it appears, mostly distributed to the Monks.

		s.	d.
EXPENCES.	For repairing the organs (organorum) - - - - -	3	4
	A pension to the Scholars studying at Oxford* - - - - -	20	0
	To the Feretrar on the Festival of the Translation of St. Cuthbert† - - - - -	5	0
	To his Colleague on the said Festival† - - - - -	3	4
	To Sir John de Biwell,‡ by gift of the Prior - - - - -	8	0
	For wine to the Lord Prior, in the game (<i>Ludus</i>) at the Feast of		
	All Saints§ - - - - -	5	0
	To Henry Gray, by gift of the Prior - - - - -	0	22
	To Sir Thomas Corbrig, by gift of the same - - - - -	3	4
	To the Feretrar at the Feast of the Deposition of St. Cuthbert† - - - - -	5	0
	To his Colleague on the said Festival† - - - - -	3	4
	For the making (qu. binding <i>factura</i>) of one Psalter - - - - -	4	0
	For wine after Easter at the Prior's game - - - - -	3	8
	To Sir Robert Crayk - - - - -	2	0
	To the servants of our Lord the Prior, for their summer cloath-		
	ing (<i>pro tunicis estivalibus</i>) - - - - -	3	4
	To the Clerk of the Shrine for the time of the account - - - - -	20	0
	The expences of the Feretrar - - - - -	6	9
	Sum - - - - -	£4. 17s. 11d.	
	Sum of all expences - - - - -	£28. 4s. 11d.	

And so the receipts exceed the expences in 11s. 9d., which remain in the Burse.

		s.	d.
1379—80.	For repairing of rings at the shrine¶ - - - - -	5	0
	For the singers at the game** - - - - -	3	4
	For painting St. Oswald†† - - - - -	3	4
	For making wax ‡‡ - - - - -	0	10

* Durham College, chiefly supported by the Church of Durham and her dependencies. It was founded by Prior Richard Hoton, in 1290 or thereabouts, as a place of academical study for the Monks of his Church. It now exists under the name of Trinity College.

† These four items contain the salaries of the Shrine Keeper and his colleague.

‡ The *Sir*, it should be remembered, is in general the denomination of a Monk.

§ These games of the Prior took place frequently in the course of the year. They were usually at his manor houses of Pitlington or Bearpark.

|| A Monk, of whom more hereafter.

¶ Connected, perhaps, with the cover or its cordage.

** Here is another instance that the Prior was fond of his amusements. In fact, this is an usual item.

†† The image of St. Oswald within the shrine. The word is *pictura*, which implies gilding and every other mode of ornament.

‡‡ For fashioning into candles and torches the wax given in its unshapen state to the shrine. (See p. 95).

1379-80. The expences exceed the receipts in 37s. 6d., whence the office is in debt to diverse persons whose names are subscribed.* Dom. Richard de Bykington, 13s. 6d. D. John de Billisfeld, 3s. D. Rob. de Syreston, 3s. D. Joh. de Herington, 3s. D. Joh. de Authorne, 2s. 6d. D. Rob. Lancestre, 2s. 6d. D. Will. Killirby, 2s. D. Thom. Yyle, 2s. D. Peter Lampton, 2s. D. Thom. Corbrig, 2s. D. Rog. de Manesford, 2s.

1380—1. Paid to a painter from Newcastle, for painting one of the birds of St. Cuthbert, as a specimen for the altar screen (*le Rerdos*), 12d.†

For repairing the folding door (<i>tabulæ</i>) around the shrine	-	-	3	4
For ornamenting (<i>pictura</i>) the staff‡ of the Prior	-	-	2	6
For knives and wallets (<i>cultell. and locul.</i>) for the Novices§	-	-	2	10
For repairing the beds in the Infirmary	-	-	3	4
Pittances to the sick	-	-	2	6
For repairing the rings of the shrine	-	-	3	1
To Thomas Harpour (the Harper) by gift of the Prior	-	-	6	8

Receipts exceed expences £7. 6s. 8½d.

1381—2. Received from the box of St. Cuthbert £29. 0s. 11d. on the following days :—

On the octaves of St. Oswald 20s. 9d. On the Ordination of St. Gregory 24s. 2d. On the Translation of St. Cuthbert 6ls. 1½d. On the exaltation

* Monks of whom the Shrine Keeper had borrowed the sums attached to their names.

† The bird of St. Cuthbert was the eider duck (see p. 22). The altar screen was finished in this year; but I know not how it could be well ornamented with paintings of this nature. If by *pictura* may be understood carving and gilding, it is possible enough that it might be intended to place figures of this favourite bird in some of its canopies. This item is from the *Bursar's Roll* of the year, and not from that of the Shrine Keeper.

‡ The crozier staff which the Prior had the privilege of using in processions and other solemnities. See Mr Nash's print, and Sanderson, p. 85.

§ "There were always six Novices, who went daily to school within the house for the space of seven years together, and one of the eldest and most learned Monks was constituted their tutor. The said Novices had no wages, but meat, drink, and apparel, for that space. The Master or Tutor's office was to see they wanted nothing, as cowls, 'rocks, stamyne (*a coarse cloth called linsey woolsey*), bedding, boots, socks. They never received wages nor handled money in that time, but went daily to their books in the Cloyster: and if the Master found any of them more apt to learn and diligently prosecuting his studies, then he gave notice thereof to the Prior, and he was soon sent to Oxford, there to learn and study divinity; and the rest of the Novices were left at their books, till they could understand their service and the scriptures. At seven years they sung their first mass, and from thence the house was no longer charged with finding them apparel: for then they entered into wages to find themselves with apparel, which was twenty shillings a year each, and had no more to supply themselves withal. The eldest Monk in the house had no more, except he had an office."—Sanderson, p. 93.

|| This word derives its name from the *picta*, a coin of the Earl of Poitiers, and, in fact, the smallest coin ever struck.

1381—2. of the Holy Cross 20s. 9½d. On the octave of the Nativity of St. Mary 21s. 11½d. On the day of St. Leodegarius 27s. 2d. On the Feast of St. Luke the Evang. 17s. ½d. On the Feast of St. Leonard 15s. 5d. On the Feast of St. Andrew the Ap. 7s. 6d. On the octav. of the Epiphany 14s. 2½d. On the Feast of Purification 8s. 11½d. On the Feast of St. Gregory 15s. 9d. On the Feast of St. Cuthbert £4. 16s. 8d. On the Feast of St. Elphig the Martyr 33s. 6d. On the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross 8s. 10d. On the oct. of the Ascension 13s. 6½d. On the Feast of St. Austin £4. 12s. On the Feast of Corpus Christi 31s. On the Feast of St. John the Baptist 16s. 4½d. On the Feast of St. Benedict 17s. 8d. On the Feast of St. Christiana, Virgin and Martyr, 16s. 6d.*

EXPENCES.	For repairing the shrine different times	-	-	-	-	23	0
	Wine bought for the Prior and his associates, at the four games						
	in the Chamber† (camerâ) and other places	-	-	-	-	25	5
	Rings bought of the Communar‡ for the shrine	-	-	-	-	40	0
	For making the wax before the relics	-	-	-	-	0	8
	To the singers, playing at Beaurepaire	-	-	-	-	3	4
	One ladder for the shrine§	-	-	-	-	2	6

1382—3. For a vestment|| bought for the Altar at the head of St. Cuthbert 20 0
The Office £8. 19s. 7½d. in debt.

In the year 1383, Richard de Segbrok¶ was appointed Shrine Keeper, and to him I am indebted for the following minute list of the relics which were preserved in the Feretory under his care. His original Latin compilation, in some places illegible from damp, is bound up at the end of the MS. B. II. 35, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham; and it is printed, although in

* This enumeration clearly proves who was the Master Spirit in the Church of Durham. Even St. Benedict, the founder of the rule professed there, could only command 17s. 8d. on the day of his festival.

† The Prior's house within the Cloister, and now the Deanery. The word *camera* implies a whole suite of apartments, so long as they are inhabited by one person.

‡ An office belonging to the Church. See his duties detailed, Sanderson, p. 97.

§ This item proves that the coffin of St. Cuthbert was considerably elevated.

|| See above, p. 111.

¶ A local name, like most of those used by the Monks. In fact, it seems to have been a rule with them to drop their real surname, whatever it might be, and assume that of the place where they were born. The Monk above came from the side of some *sedgy brook*, but where, it matters not. He was Master of the Cell of Farne Island in 1373. See his seal, NORTH DURHAM, App. p. 128.

some instances, and especially in its date, inaccurately by Dr. Smith, in the Appendix to his *BEDE*, p. 740. There is in the York MS., to which I have so often referred, a much older list of the relics preserved at Durham. When I say *much older*, I mean that it appears to have been compiled about the year 1180 or 1200.

"In the year of our Lord 1383 ... this book was composed of the relics in the Shrine of Saint by Sir Segbruk, then keeper of the Shrine, in order to declare what and of what nature the relics in what place, or upon what step (or shelf).*

"In primis, upon the first or highest step (or shelf) to the south, an image of the blessed Virgin Mary, of silver gilt. Item, an image of of silver gilt, with a rib of the same, enclosed in the breast of the image. Item, a black cross, called the *Black Rode of Scotland*. Item, a cross of crystal, in the custody of the Sacrist. Item, a cross of gold, set with precious stones, with a pedestal of silver gilt. A cross, called the cross of St. Margaret of Scotland (v. p. 91). A cup of silver gilt, the gift of the Countess of Kent, (kept) along with the Banner of St. Cuthbert. Item, one arm of silver, along with a bone of St. Lucy the Virgin. Item, an image of St. Cuthbert, the gift of William the Bishop. Item, a cross, with a pedestal, the gift of Thomas Langley, Lord Bishop of Durham.†

"Item, upon the shelf under the first, a copy of the Evangelists, ornamented with silver and gold, with a representation of the Trinity upon its cover. Item, a stag, gilt, having inclosed in it a robe of St. John the Baptist. Item, in another place the cross of St. John the Baptist, of crystal, with an image of the Crucifixion. Item, a coffer of a reddish and azure colour, in a small green chest, which stood upon the coffin of St. Cuthbert, within the Feretory, for 200 years and more.

"Item, upon the third and highest (? lowest) shelf, in a small enameled coffer, *the Cope of St. Cuthbert in which he lay in the ground for eleven years*. Item, an ivory casket, containing a vestment of St. John the Baptist. Item, the book of St. Boysil, the schoolmaster of St. Cuthbert, (v. p. 19.) Item, a small coffer of ivory, containing *a robe of St. Cuthbert, ornamented with tassels*.‡ Item, the ivory sceptre of King Os-

* "In an old manuscript of a Monke of Durham I find a catalogue of the reliques of this Abbey, which were soe many, that it seamed a charnell-howse of Saints bones; for from hence at the Resurrection St. Stephen will fetch his tooth, Zachary a leg, Simeon an arme, St. Christopher an elbow, St. Lawrence a finger, St. Ambrose some of his haire, St. Ebbe her foote, with many more: besides an whole wardrop of Saint's apparell, both coats and hoods and stockens of the Apostles, with diverse fractions of the crosse and the sacred sepulcher."—Hegge's Legend.

† This item and a few others have been added at a later period.

‡ Perhaps one of the robes removed from the body at the Translation in 1104. See above, p. 91.

wald. Item, two claws of a griffin.* Item, five napkins for carrying relics. Item, a ornamented with gold and silver, containing bones and divers relics of the Apostles. Item, a pix of crystal, containing the blood of that blessed man, St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury.

"Item, a coffer of silver, with a silver chain and various relics of St. Mary Magdalene. Item, a vial of crystal, containing the veil and hair of St. Mary Magdalene. Item, a vial of crystal, containing a rib of St. Laurence and other bones of the same, with (some of the) coals (which burnt him). Item, a bag of cloth, embroidered with gold, containing a looking glass of crystal and divers fragments of relics not described. Item, a white head of Israelitish stone, with a representation of the crucifixion behind. Item, a tooth of St. Margaret, Queen of Scots, (*una petra aquilæ?*), the hair of St. Mary Magdalene, a part of the rod of Moses, and a pair of beads belonging to St. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster,† in two bags, with a swan in white velvet.

"Item, a vial of crystal, ornamented with silver gilt, containing a vestment of St. John the Baptist, a portion of his dish, a fragment of the head of St. John Chrysostom, and the robe of St. Margaret the Martyr. Item, a silken bag, ornamented with shields of arms, containing a robe of St. Malachias the Bishop, a part of his hair-tunic and nails, some of the ashes of St. Amphibulus the Martyr, and a bone of St. Petronilla the Virgin. Item, a bone of St. Martina the Virgin and Martyr, a piece of the cope

* The Shrine keeper, as we shall hereafter see, enumerates more relics of "a creature which nature never formed." What the claws were I know not, but the eggs afterwards mentioned were, perhaps, those of the ostrich. The Monks possessed one in particular, ingeniously cut in two and ornamented.

† Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, beheaded at Pontefract, 22d March, 1322, for his rebellion to Edward the Second. "Touching the foresaid Earl of Lancaster, great strife rose afterwards amongst the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a saint or no. Some held that he ought to be no less esteemed, for that he did many almsdeeds in his life-time, honoured men of religion, and maintained a true quarell till his liue's end. Also his enemies continued not long after, but came to evill end. Others conceived an other opinion of him, alledging that he favoured not his wife, but lived in spouse-breach, defiling a great number of damosels and gentlewomen. If anie offended him, he slue him shortlie after in his wrathful mood. Apostataes and other evill doers he maintained, and would not suffer them to be punished by due order of law. All his dooings he used to commit unto one of his secretaries, and took no heed himselfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fled shamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death against his will, bicause he could not avoid it: yet by reason of certeine miracles which were said to be doone neere the place both where he suffered, and where he was buried, caused many to think he was a Saint. Howbeit, at length, by the King's commandement, the church doores of the Priorie where he was buried were shut and closed, so that no man might be suffered to come to the toome to bring any offerings, or to do any other kind of devotion to the same. Also the hill where he suffered was kept by certeine Gascoignes, appointed by the Lord Hugh Spenser the sonne, then lying at Pomfret, to end that no people should come and make their praiers there in worship of the said Earle, whome they tooke verelie for a martyr." I have quoted so far from Holinshed, A^o 1322; and I have only to add, that the day of the Earl's execution was far spent before any one could be prevailed upon to strike the blow which sent him into eternity.

of St. Edmund the Confessor, a bone of St. Andrew, portions of the robe of St. Barbara the Virgin, and the hair of St. Bernard the Abbot, in a bag, with shields of various colours as aforesaid. Item, a little casket of silver enamelled, containing a bone from the head of St. Benedict, and a tooth of St. Giles, with a bone of his arm.

"Item, a red bag, with the relics of St. Peter the Apostle. Item, a bone of Separius the Confessor. Item, a bone of St. Giles, in a 'Qwybyne' of silver. Item, some of the robes and ashes of St. Dionysius, and the hair of St. Bartholomew the Hermit of Farne and Monk of Durham (v. p. 56), in a crystal vial. Item, a particle of the cloth which St. Ebba gave to St. Cuthbert, in which he lay for 418 years and 5 months, and a part of the chasuble in which he lay for eleven years, in a corporax case, 'glauce stepato' (? protected with glass).

"Item, three griffin's eggs. Item, a of red velvet, embroidered with the Lamb of God. Item, two coffers, containing the hair and tunic of the Venerable Robert de Stanhope, and the bones of St. Columb the Abbot, with other relics. Item, a red coffer, containing the banner of St. Oswald, some of the bones of St. Patrick, and relics of St. Julian and St. Sebastian the Martyrs, and Eugenia the Virgin, with part of the beard of St. Godric.

"Item, a small gilt cross, set with stones, having inclosed in it a particle of the cross of our Lord. Item, a piece of the manger of the Lord, in a bag of blue silk. Item, a small cross of silver, with four bones of Saints. Item, part of the beard of St. Godric. Item, a wooden "sistulum," (? *situlum*, and if so, a small pitcher) made of the wood with which St. Laurence was beaten, certain small bones of St. Concordius the Martyr, a particle of a rib of St. Bernard the Abbot, some of his hair, and a joint of St. Laurence, partly consumed by fire, in a crystal vial, ornamented with silver. Item, some of the bones of the holy martyrs Nereus and Achilles, a bone of St. Felix the Martyr, a bone of St. German the Bishop, a piece of the chasuble of St. Acca the Bishop, and a bone of St. Balbinus, in a silken bag, ornamented with white castles quarterly.

"Item, a pix of crystal, containing the milk of St. Mary the Virgin. Item, portions of the sepulchre and chemise of St. Mary the Virgin, and of the sepulchre and veil of Anne her mother, in a crystal vial, with a pedestal of silver. Item, a pix, of a black colour, containing a tooth of St. Stephen and portions of his skull and bones. Item, in a bag of red "rone," a stone from the sepulchre of our Lord, a stone from the Church of Bethlehem, a stone from the sepulchre on Mount Sinai, part of the rock upon which St. Mary, the Mother of the Lord *mulgebat lac suum*, and some of the oil of St. Mary of Sarcinay.

"Item, an ivory casket, ornamented with gold and silver, containing the gloves of St. Cuthbert, the gift of Dom. Richard de Birtley, Monk of Durham. Item, a "godet," holding treacle, the gift of John de Kellawe. Item, a vial of crystal, with a foot of

copper gilt, with the bones of St. James, a portion of his robe, and of the robe of St. James the son of Zebedee. Item, a piece of the stone where the Lord was born, a portion of his sepulchre, and some relics of St. Elen, in a white bag.

“ Item, a portion of the robe of St. John the Evangelist, in a crystal vial, with a piece of a rib of Edward the King and Martyr. Item, a piece of the jaw-bone of St. Nicholas, and portions of his tunic, vestment, bones, and tomb, and of the bones of St. Exuperius, in a silken bag of various colours. Item, a crystal vial, inclosing a small cross. Item, a portion of the robe of St. John the Evangelist, in a folding tablet, ornamented with an eagle.

“ Item, an ivory image of the Virgin Mary. Item, a piece of bone of St. Sebastian and St. Fabian, a tooth of St. Cecilia the Virgin, in a white bag, ornamented with red tassels. Item, a crystal vial, ornamented with silver gilt, containing *manna from the grave of St. Mary*, a bone of St. Christopher, a finger joint of St. Stephen, *a portion of the bread which our Lord blessed*, part of the skull of St. Peter, of the bones of St. Elen and St. Laurence, of the tunic of St. Gregory, of the wood of the Lord, and the bones of St. Giles. Item, a small shrine of silver gilt, containing a finger bone of St. Firmin the Martyr.

“ Item, a crystal vial, containing a portion of the robe of St. John the Evangelist, and a piece of a rib of St. Edward the King. Item, the teeth and bones of St. Ciriack the Martyr, in a bag of white ‘samyt’ (satten or velvet, *Cole*). Item, a pix, ornamented with stones of crystal, containing portions of the flesh and fat of St. Thomas the Martyr, and some of the robes in which he was buried.

“ Item, a portion of the coat of mail of St. Oswald the King and of the cross which he erected in (p. 6), in the same casket. Item, ... pix of black crystal, containing the sponge and a piece of the sepulchre of the Lord, and of the stone upon which Jesus sate in the judgement-seat of Herod. Item, *a piece of the tree under which were the three angels with Abraham*. Item, a beryl, white and hollow, of wonderful structure.

“ Item, a silver cross, with a piece of *the cross*. Item, a portion of the cloth of St. Barbara the Virgin, in an ivory pix. Item, *three teeth of St. Aydan the Bishop* (v. p. 9), with other relics, in a red bag of the finest linen. Item, a portion of the jaw-bone of St. Nicholas, of his tunic, vestment, oil, bones, and tomb, in a small silver casket, enamelled.

“ Item, a joint of the finger of St. Maurice the Martyr, a tooth of St. Margaret the Martyr, a rib of St. Remigius the Bishop, upon a silver plate gilt, and having four corners. Item, a rib of St. Maurice the Martyr, a portion of the tunic of St. Bede the Doctor, of the veil of St. Agatha the Virgin, of Blase, and St. Silvester, *and the bones of the Innocents*, in a vial of crystal, with a foot of silver gilt. Item, portions of the bones of St. Bridget the Virgin, and of her girdle, of the bones of St. Columkill the Abbot,

and of the bones of the holy *Innocents*, in a red bag of the finest linen. Item, a cross of silver with the crucifixion, gilt. Item, a vial of crystal, with a vestment of St. Ypolit and St. Katherine. Item, some of the bones of St. Theobald, in a vial of crystal, with a pedestal of silver gilt, and a robe of St. Theobald, with representations of the crucifix inscribed and gilt upon its backs.

"Item, a portion of cloth dipped in the blood of St. Theobald, Archbishop of York. Item, a casket of silver, ornamented and decorated with images. Item, relics of the Sainted Confessors Gregory, Silvester, and Leo, with some of the robes and hair of St. Boysil the Priest, in a little ivory casket.

"Item, a portion of the rock from which Christ ascended into Heaven, of his manger and cradle, of Mount Calvary, of the stone upon which he was born, of the place where he was crucified, of the manger and tunic of our Lord, of the Stones beyond Jordan, of his face-cloth, with other relics of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a pix of crystal, ornamented with copper, and having four feet. Item, the said relics in a small red bag, with a long description. Item, the ivory comb of St. Dunstan, in a silken bag of divers colours.

"Item, portions of the beard and coat of mail of St. Godric, and of the bones of St. Paula and her daughter Eustochia, in a casket of silver gilt. Item, a small cross of silver gilt, with a crystal between the pedestal and cross, with other precious stones of divers colours. Item, portions of the *tree* of the Lord, of his sepulchre, of the stone which lay at his head in the sepulchre, of the tree of Paradise, and of Mount Calvary, in a pix of crystal. Item, a thorn of the crown of our Lord Jesus Christ, the gift of Thomas de Hatfield, Lord Bishop of Durham, in a vial enclosed in a case of leather.

"Item, an ivory pix, with relics not specified. Item, a portion of the flesh of St. Oswin the King and Martyr, in a vial of crystal, with a gilt pedestal. (Here is inserted, in a more modern, but ancient hand—'The writer told a lie, for he remains in a state of incorruption.')"

"Item, two griffin's eggs.

"Item, a silver cross of St. Andrew, with one of his joints.

"Item, the ivory horn of St. Oswald the King. Item, a in which is contained a bone of St. Jerome the Priest, a joint of the same, and

"Item, a cross of silver ... gilt, set with stones.

"Item, an ivory casket, with a robe of St. John the Baptist.

"Item, an ivory casket, with divers relics not described.

"Item, a cross of silver, with *bones of the Innocents*.

"Item, an ivory casket, with the oil of St. Katherine in two glass vials, and with the oil of St. Nicholas in a glass vial of St. Martin.

"Item, an ivory casket, with the oil of St. Katherine, St. Nicholas, and St. Mary of Sardinia.

" Item, an ivory casket, with relics of St. Acca the Bishop (of Hexham), with portions of his face-cloth and chasuble, which were in the ground for three hundred years. Some of the bones of St. Exuperius the Martyr, in an ivory casket ; part of the inner garment and hair of the beard of St. Godric, a piece of his tunic, and some of the oil of St. Mary de Sarzines.

" Item, upon the highest shelf on the south, at its western end, a white image of St. Mary in a tabernacle. Item, a vial of crystal, with a pedestal of silver, containing relics not described.

" Item, some of the bones of St. Patrick the Martyr, a piece of the vestment of St. John the Baptist, some of the dust of his bones. Pieces of the side of St. Margaret, and of the dish of St. John the Baptist, in a vial of crystal. A fragment of the girdle of St. Edwin the Archbishop in an ivory casket, and a piece of his inner robe. Item, in a green and red bag, a portion of the sepulchre of the Lord, of the temple of the Lord, of the sponge of the Lord, *of the desert in which he fasted forty days* (the word is 'querentayn,' v. Du Fresne), of the table of the Lord, of Mount Olivet, of the sepulchre of the Virgin Mary, of the stone upon which was born John the Baptist, and of the stone and vessel in which were washed the feet of the Apostles. Item, a cross of silver gilt, set with precious stones, in which are contained portions of the wood of the Lord's cross, of the table of the Lord, of the relics of Sts. Philip, Stephen, and Laurence the Martyrs, and of Sts. Elen and Barbara the Virgins.

" *Item, the book of St. Cuthbert, with the copy of the Evangelists* (v. p. 34).

" Item, a book of the Evangelists, ornamented with gold, with a gilt crucifix and many evidences and monuments.

" Item, one of the Gospels, together with the Life of St. Cuthbert, ornamented on one of its backs with a representation of the crucifixion silver gilt, and on the other with images of ivory. Item, the cross of St. Aydan, of black jet.

" Item, a small book (*of the Gospels*), with a gilt representation of the crucifixion on one of its backs, and the Majesty (*a representation of the Trinity*) on the other. Item, a griffin's egg, and a vestment of St. John the Evangelist.

" Item, a silver shrine and the cowl of St. Elphege, with other relics. Item, two silver caskets, containing fragments of holy wood. Item, a stone, *said to be bread turned into stone*. Item, a small shrine of copper enamelled, containing relics of St. Christopher, St. Stephen, St. Bartholomew, St. Elen, with a particle of the pillar where Christ was scourged : those relics are the gift of John de Claxton. Item, portions of the tree (cross) of the Lord, the palm of the Lord, and the dust of the flesh of St. Dionysius. Some of the bones of St. Quintin, with others not specified, upon a square plate, having the image of Christ on one side, and that of the Blessed Virgin on the other,

" Item, a book of the Gospels, containing the Life of St. Cuthbert in the same volume, ornamented with gold and silver, having on one of its backs the crucifixion and sepulchre of the Lord, and on the other his ascension. Item, a tooth of St. Gengulphus, good for the falling sickness, in a small ivory pix, having three feet. Item, the girdle of St. Godric. Item, a tooth of St. William of York, in a quadrangular casket, ornamented with silver. Item, a bone of St. John of Bridlington, in a crystal, decorated with silver, having a silver pedestal, and an inscription, the gift of Sir Wm. Apilby, a Monk.

" Item, *the head of St. Aydan*, (v. p. 9) ornamented with copper gilt, and precious stones. Item, two griffin's eggs.

" Item, a portion of the manger of the Lord, *of the circumcision* of the Lord, of St. John the Baptist, of St. James the brother of the Lord, *of the bones of the Innocents*, of St. Sebastian, of the head of St. Blaze, *of the stone with which St. Stephen was stoned*, of St. Nicholas and of his robe, of the thong which bound St. Gervase, of the bones of St. Alkmund, of St. Exuperius the Martyr, OF THE ANNUNCIATION OF ST. MARY, of the bones of St. Acca, of St. Anastasius, of the jaw-bone of St. Nicholas, of the Sainted Martyrs Marius, Martha, Audephax, and Abecuc, in a bag of cloth of gold. Item, *the scull and bones of one of the eleven thousand Virgins*. Item, the scull of St. Ceolwulph the King, and afterwards Monk (v. p. 39), and the scull of St. Boysil the Priest (p. 19) in a shrine, ornamented with silver and gold and divers images.

" Item, the inner tunic of St. Boysil the Priest, in an ivory turret, with images of gold and silver, wonderfully ornamented.

" Item, a Lamb of God in silver. Item, twenty crystal stones, and three berills. Item, a cross, decorated with silver and gold, with the crucifixion in ivory.

" Item, a tabernacle, gilt and ornamented with images. Item, the comb of Malachias the Archbishop. Item, the comb of St. Boysil the Priest, in a black case. Item, an ivory cross. Item, a griffin's egg, ornamented and cut in two. Item, a silver plate, with a robe of the blessed Virgin Mary. Item, divers relics, not described, in a bag of various colours. Item, the relics of St. Radegund, with other relics, in a white case, in two white bags. Item, the Gospel of St. John the Evangelist, in an embroidered bag. Item, two upper altars* of jasper, and two of black jet, ornamented with gold and silver, in two little wooden boxes; which altars were consecrated in honour of St. Blaze the Martyr, and St. John of Beverley, the Bishop, the 10th May, 1401.

" Item, a stole and two maniples, which St. Etheldred gave to St. Alfrid, in a small

* The word is *superaltaria*. The *superaltare* was a thin oblong portable piece of wood or other material, of the size of an octavo or quarto book, and was used for the consecration of the elements, upon altars not dedicated themselves.—v. Du Fresne, who calls them *altars itinerant*. Licenses to persons to have them in their possession, frequently occur in the Registers of the Bishops of Durham. We shall afterwards see that they were as old as the time of St. Cuthbert.

chest with Item, the bones and relics of divers Saints in a chest ... of ivory, which are described below at this mark 

"Item, two griffin's eggs. Item, a pastoral staff of copper, with a head of (cum capite *has'nteo*, qu? *argenteo*). Item, a green coffer, with the relics contained in the schedule appended to it. Item, a cross of silver gilt, containing the bones of St. Ypolit the Martyr.

"Item, a cloth dipped in wax, which had enveloped the body of St. Cuthbert in his grave, and one of his vestments, in a casket, covered with red velvet, the gift of the Lady of Dalden.* Item, two sandals, in a case of black leather.

"Item, in a green chest, a winding sheet of a double texture, which had enveloped the body of St. Cuthbert in his grave. Elfred the Abbess had wrapped him up in it.†

"Item, a piece of the coat of mail of St. Godric Item, fragment of the under robe, tunic, vestment, and bread of the same, in two white bags. Item, relics of Malasius and Hermius (misread by Smith) the Abbots. Item, portions of the hair of very many Saints. Item, the bones of St. Candid the Martyr, a piece of the bone of St. Secundus (misread by Smith) the Martyr, and of the relics of Sts. Gregory, Sylvester, and Leo, and the relics of St. Radegund the Virgin, and of St. Austin the Bishop,‡ of St. George the Martyr, a tooth of St.ilbert, with many others, contained in a white coffer, bound with brass, and in an ivory pix. Item, the head of a pastoral staff.

"Item, three books of Pontifical (*Episcopal*) services.§ Item, a book in French. Item, two sermons on the office of a Bishop. Item, the History of the French, (or Gauls, and if so, perhaps *Cæsar's Commentaries*.) Item, the book called *Poliistor* of Histories of Gaius, Julius, and ...linus, Orators of Rome, covered with a seal skin

* Smith reads *Balden*; but this, upon referring to the original MS. is evidently a mistake. The "*Lady of Dalden*" was Maude, dau. and coh. of Robert de Dalden, and wife of Sir Wm Bowes, Lord of Dalden, in her right. She was born in 1357, and died before 1420.—See *Surtees*, vol. 1. p. 6. It is not to be imagined that she gave the *relics themselves*, but merely the *casket* in which they were kept. The *cloth dipped in wax* and the *vestment* were removed from the body in 1104.—v. p. 91.

† This is the third of the robes removed from his body in 1104.—v. p. 91. The story of Elfred the Abbess is apochryphal. The compiler of the list of relics had heard of *Verca the Abbess* and the *winding sheet* which she gave to St. Cuthbert, and he conceives that this was the sheet in question, but all the while forgetting the name of the donor.

‡ William of Malmsbury states, that Egelnth, Archbishop of Canterbury, (1020—1038) on his return from Rome, gave at Pavia a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, for one of St. Augustine's arms, which was afterwards kept at Coventry. This information I obtain from Hegge, (p. 28) who asks, "what might have been the price of *St. Cuthbert's* whole body, when Elfrid the Monke (v. p. 59) made such account of one of his Haires, which soe sympathized in immortality with the dead body from whence it was pluckt, that it could not bee consumed with fyre."

§ "Liber in quo continentur quæ ad Episcopum spectant."—Du Fresne.

(cum pelle de sely.)* Item, four pieces of ivory, long and crooked. Item, the Passion of Christ depicted upon parchment. Item, two old upper altars (v. p. 127) of black jet. (Two lines and a half have been erased, and their space is occupied with "Item, here are wanting a coronet of leather, covered with sea-green velvet, belonging to Bishop Thomas Hatfield, for parsages at arms, a paxbred,† certain fragments of stones, and a (*meruscalis*, something apparently, from its two last syllables, connected with a ladder), given to the work of the new camera of the Feretory.") All these are in the little chest beneath and nearest the pavement. (This is the termination in red ink of the original compilation, although, as has already been stated, a few additions have been made at a later period, and not unfrequently at the expence of original entries erased for the purpose; and then follows, in the hand-writing which records the loss of the coronet, &c. above-mentioned), and in the custody of the Keeper of the Feretory.

(Here follows an enumeration, in the more modern hand, of the relics, &c. referred to above at the mark )

Item, a piece of the breast of St. Gracian the Virgin and Martyr, sc. *inter mamillas*. Item, a piece of stone from the sepulchre of St. Dionysius the Martyr, stained with his blood. Item, portions of the hair of very many Saints. Item, a bone of St. Secundus, the uncle of St. Maurice, General of the Legion of the Thebeans. Item, a piece

* The Keeper of the Feretory, who, as we shall hereafter see, spent a great portion of his time near the body of his Saint, might occasionally, perhaps, carry along with him, for his amusement or information, some one of the various Manuscripts of which the Library of his Church could boast—(see the Catalogue, lately published, of the MSS. which now belong, and which most of them then belonged, to the Church of Durham; but especially see at p. 210, &c., a long list of books which it then possessed, many of which are now wanting)—but, as it appears, he had a small Library of his own to engage his attention, whilst the halt, the maimed, and the blind, were casting in their mites into the thrift box of St. Cuthbert. There were before him, as the inventory has proved, copies of the Gospel, Lives of St. Cuthbert, Episcopal Rituals, two Sermons on the duties of Bishops, and there was also a book in French, perhaps the MS. C. iv. 27. belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham at the present day, containing the "Brut" of Wace—"L' estoire des Engles" of Geffry Gaimar—and the "Historie de la guerre que suscita le Roi Henri le jeune à son pere Henri II. Roi d'Angleterre, en vers par Jordan Fantome;" or it might be the C. iv. 27. b., "Alexandre le Grant," of which there is an English metrical version published by Weber. Besides these, he had a History of the French (the words are *Gallorum Historia*, a title by which Cæsar's Commentaries might be denominated), and the collections of Johannes de Janua.

† At a certain period during the solemnization of Mass, a tablet, or small square board (occasionally, perhaps, constructed in a folding fashion), was exhibited to the communicants, who, one after another, imprinted upon it the *kiss of peace*, "*hincque dicta la pax*." It was more or less ornamented according to the *status* of the house to which it belonged, or the ingenuity of its Monks. It is called by the various names of *Pax*, *Paxbred*, and *Deosculatorium*. The *Pax* in use at the High Altar in Durham Abbey, was "a marvellous fair book of the Epistles and Gospels. It had on the outside of the covering the picture of our Saviour Christ, all of silver goldsmith's work, all of parcel gilt, very fine to behold, which book did serve for the *Pax* in the Mass."

of the flesh of St. Bartholomew of Farne. Item, relics of St. Candid the Martyr, and St. Maurice, his companion. Item, a piece of the body of St. Cuthbert was stitched in his chasuble.

"Item, a piece of the throne where Jesus sat with his twelve disciples. A piece of the stone upon which the Lord wrote when his disciples questioned him of the law. A piece of Mount Thabor, upon which the Lord was transfigured and talked with Moses. Part of the sepulchre of the Lord. A piece of wood of the prison of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Stephen the first Martyr. Part of James, Zachary, and Symeon. A PIECE OF THE TWELVE THRONES OF THE APOSTLES. All these are in an ... ivory chest."

This long Inventory, upon which no remark is necessary, is succeeded by an alphabetical Index of its various contents, and then follows a memorandum, still on the subject of relics, given hereafter under the year 1446, to which it more immediately belongs.

I proceed with the yearly accounts of the Shrine Keeper :—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
1383—4. Received for a silken girdle* - - - - -	9	0
EXPENCES. For a chain for the Book of St. Cuthbert,† for repairing and binding two Psalters, and for a desk (<i>analogio</i>) for the same -	10	4
For a cord to draw up the cover of the shrine‡ - - -	3	0
For a belt or girdle bought for carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert§ - - - - -	0	6
For repairing (<i>correctione</i>) of a missal for the high altar - -	13	4
For sawing eighteen "estland bordes," and for work done to the wheel of the shrine, to the chair of the Feretrar, and nails	9	5
A necklace of gold, the gift of the Lord Duke (of Lancaster), and for gilding rings and placing them upon the shrine, and for repairing the clasps of the missal - - - - -	0	20
For ornamenting (<i>pictura</i>) of two shrines with relics - -	4	0
For one dozen of parchment bought for Chronicles and Rolls, and other necessities - - - - -	4	0
To aid the writing of the book called <i>Lyra</i> - - - - -	3	4

* Which had doubtless been offered to the shrine, and ordered to be sold.

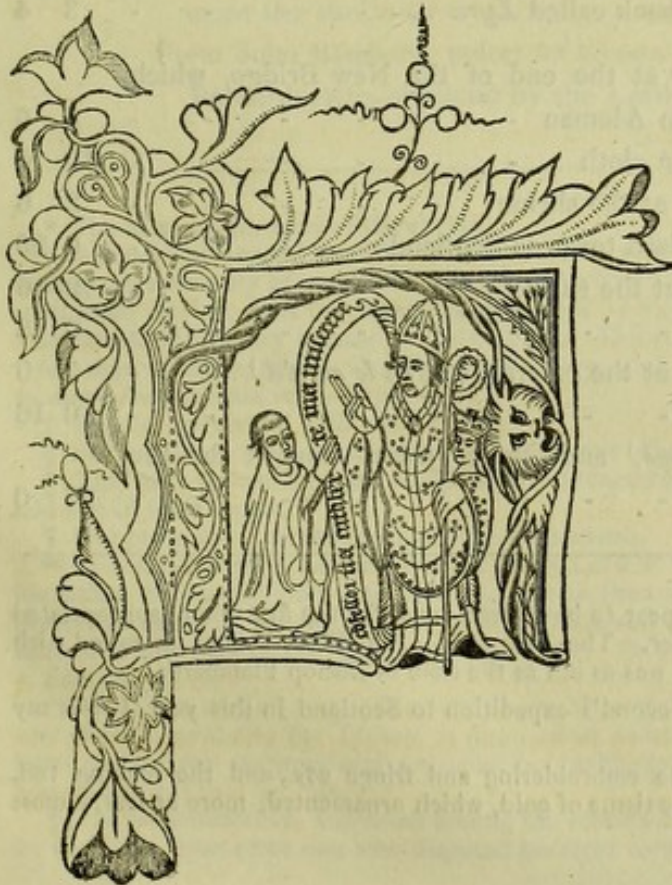
† Probably his book of the Gospels.—v. p. 34.

‡ See p. 113. That this cover was very frequently drawn up, is evident, from the number of cords, as we shall afterwards see, bought for the purpose, and worn out in succession.

§ For the waist of the bearer. To this girdle was affixed a socket, in which the banner staff rested.

|| Timber from Norway. The wheel of the shrine was the pulley by which the cover was elevated. (See p. 111 and 113).

“LYRA, or LYRANUS NICHOLAS DE, so called from the place of his nativity, a small town in Normandy, was a celebrated Franciscan in the 14th century, and died in 1340. He left some Postils, or short Commentaries on the whole Bible, which were formerly in considerable reputation.”—Watts’ *Bibliotheca Brit.* I have only to add, that the very copy of the above Commentator, to the transcribing of which the Shrine Keeper contributed 3s. 4d. in the above and the following year, is preserved among the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter, A. 1. 3., and a glorious book it is in every respect. It contains as much of Lyra’s commentary as refers to the Pentateuch and the other historical books of the Old Testament, from GENESIS to the beginning of JOB; and there is at the end an entry, which decides it to belong to the period before us—“Here end the Postills contained in this volume upon all the books of the Bible, from the beginning of Genesis to the beginning of the book of Job, edited by Master Nicholas de Lyra, Doctor of Holy Theology at Paris, and written by the hand of William de Stiphel, by order of Dom. William Blaklaw, Bachelor of Sacred Theology and Sub-prior of the Monastery of Durham, in the year of our Lord 1386. 16 April. Le Stiphel.” The last two words prove that Stiphel transcribed from a French copy. But, what is more closely connected with our sub-



ject, the initial H of the volume is splendidly illuminated with gold and all the other brilliant colours of which the Monks so well knew the use, and the subject is nothing less than a full-length figure of St. Cuthbert, holding upon his arm his usual accompaniment, the head of King Oswald, with Stiphel the writer kneeling before him, and uttering the following unscriptural prayer—

**Confessor vere, Cuthberte
mei miserere.**

I give a correct outline of the letter; I wish I could convey a just idea of the brilliancy of the original. The back ground is

gold; St. Cuthbert's chasuble is scarlet; his cope is blue, spotted with scarlet, caped and fronted with gold, and lined with green; his mitre, the head of his crosier, and the crown of King Oswald, are also of gold. The Monk is clad in a sable robe, the drapery of which is admirably managed. As to the accompaniments, the bull's head, the entwisted snake, the foliage, &c., nothing can be more delightfully coloured. The whole page, measuring twelve inches in length, and nearly nine in breadth, is surrounded and perpendicularly intersected by a splendid border of fancy work, in which peacocks, griffins, foliage, &c. &c., are so admirably and tastefully intermixed, as to afford decidedly the best specimen of what could be done in Durham in the way of illumination at the period. The remaining part of Lyra's commentary forms a separate volume, A. 1. 4., and was written by a Monk of the name of Borrowby.

1384—5.	For repairing the ladder and other matters belonging to the wheel in the vault (or arch above), and for fastening (<i>conglutinand'</i>) the images and pilasters (<i>columpnell'</i>) around the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	For writing Chronicles, repairing Psalters, and rivetting (<i>conclavand'</i>) the rings to the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	5
	To aid the writing of the book called <i>Lyra</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
1385—6.	Received for a tenement* at the end of the New Bridge, which lately belonged to Simon Aleman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	0
	Paid for eleven ells of linen cloth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	0
	To the goldsmith working at the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
	The expences of the standard towards Scotland†	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	20
	To William Kay working at the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	For keys made anew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	18
	To the goldsmith working at the emerald (<i>circa le em'a'd</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0
	For making a vestment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	16
	For tissue of gold (<i>orfrays</i>) and fringe (<i>frens</i>) bought for the same‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	0

* A tenement, the profits of which appear to have been now for the first time appropriated by the Prior to the office of Shrine Keeper. The *New Bridge* was Elvet Bridge, so called with reference to Framwellgate Bridge, which was as old as the time of Bishop Flambard.

† For the particulars of Richard the Second's expedition to Scotland in this year, I refer my reader to any History of England.

‡ The linen of this robe cost 10s., the embroidering and fringe 27s., and the making 16d. *Orfrays* is a corruption of *aurifrasium*, the tissue of gold, which ornamented, more or less, almost every robe used in church service.

1385—6.	For curtains (<i>riddellis</i>) for the small altar of St. Cuthbert*	-	-	0	18
	For gilding an image, a leg bone (<i>tibia</i>), a ship,† and a foot	-	-	3	4
	Expences incurred in the Church‡	-	£4. 11s. 8d.		
	Expences incurred in Elvet§	-	-	£7. 10s. 4d.	
1386—7.	Received 31s. 7d. for tenements late belonging to Simon Almane, obtained by the Lord Prior.				
	Paid to the Hostillar for the houses of Simon Almane¶	-	-	0	10
	Paid to the Abbot of Blanchland (Albalanda)¶	-	-	15	0
	To the Clerk of the Shrine going to Oxford	-	-	2	0
	To a poor scholar going to Oxford	-	-	0	12
	To Thomas Langton, Esquire, by order of the Lord Prior**	-	-	2	0
	To a carpenter for a week's wages	-	-	2	6
	To the goldsmith working different times at the shrine	-	-	0	18
	For the expences of the Prior at Wystoue and Muggellswick	-	-	5	10
	For a pound of verdigris (<i>vergresse</i>)	-	-	2	0
	For two locks for the doors of the shrine	-	-	3	0
	To Thomas Loremer for two locks	-	-	0	18
1387—8.	Received for a mare bestowed by William Pallefrayman, to ornament the shrine ††	-	-	10	0
	From John Blacborn, tailor, for houses late belonging to Richard de Barnardcastle, obtained by the Lord Prior ‡‡	-	-	12	0

* The altar at the head of the shrine.

† A small ship-shaped censer, which contained the embers into which the incense was cast during the solemnity of mass, and which was forthwith, by the aid of a chain or cord, swung into such rapid motion, that the dying cinders were re-kindled, and the fragrance in consequence was forced into every corner of the Church. There were in use in the Church of Durham, "two ships of silver, parcel gilt, for principal days, and two other of silver, ungilt, for every day, to carry frankincense in."—Sanderson.

‡ Repairs connected with the Feretory.

§ For repairing the house, lately assigned to the office.

|| This item proves that the lately acquired tenements were beginning to pay for the money laid out in their repair.

¶ Out-rents upon the above-mentioned tenements.

** Thomas Langton, Esquire, was the young Lord of Winyard, and scarcely then of age. When his father Simon Langton died in 1380, he was then only 13. I can scarcely conceive how a present of 2s. could be made to a man of his rank and estate. But, perhaps, the term Esquire is limited to him as a special Esquire of the Prior. In 1417, he was a retainer of Lord Percy.—v. Surtees, iii. 79.

†† Here is a curious fact. A man who, as his name implies, was groom of the stable to some one of rank, probably the Bishop, is disposed to assist in ornamenting the shrine of St. Cuthbert; and for this purpose he gives—what?—not the price of a mare, but the mare herself, which was afterwards sold for 10s.

‡‡ In all probability, a division among the officers of the church of arrears of rent recovered by the Prior from some one who disputed his right to the tenements in question.

1387—8. Paid to the Clerk of the shrine going to London	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	s.	d.
For 26 knives given to the Novices and their Masters*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0
Burses and given to the same	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
To a painter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	12

The year 1389 brings with it a Royal decree, terminating a dispute between Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, and Sir William Scrope,† and at first sight tending, in no ordinary manner, to enrich the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The original record, under the great seal of King Richard the Second, is preserved in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, in the second division of the fourth drawer of their Royal Charters, B. 1., and I have printed the important parts of it in my Appendix, No. v. p. 9. It recites as follows:—

The question was between Walter, Bishop of Durham, and Sir William Scrope. The parties had agreed to refer the matter to certain persons of note, and these referees having met and having enquired into the merits of the case, of their common consent ordained, that the said Sir William, for the transgressions and misprisions committed by himself and his partisans within the franchise of the said Bishop, in despite of him, his officers, and servants, should, by way of public penance for himself and his followers, offer in person a *jewel*‡ of value at the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The worth of the jewel was left to the discretion of the King, who, upon being called upon at his manor of Havering by John de Clarvowe§ and Nicholas de Sharnefield to declare his determination, commanded that the jewel should be worth £500. at least. The decree is dated at Westminster, on the 24th Jan., in the thirteenth year of his reign (1389).

This was the year in which Bishop Skirlaw was appointed to the See of Durham; and it would appear that the revenues and privileges of the Palatinate had been much interfered with by the condemned Knight and his accomplices, either previously to that Bishop's election during the vacancy of the See, or immediately after his confirmation.

* See above, p. 119.

† Younger son of Henry Lord Scrope, of Masham. Walsingham says, he was a man of a very malevolent and wicked disposition. He was, by this same King, Richard the Second, created Earl of Wiltshire in 1397, and in the year following, Lord Treasurer of England and Knight of the Garter. He was beheaded at Bristol by Henry the IVth.

‡ The word is *jocale*, to which in my translation I have given its first and simple meaning. It may, however, be necessary to state, that the term is not unfrequently used in a much more extended sense, and applied to any thing ornamental, of whatever material. In an inventory of the goods and chattels of the Priory of Durham in 1446, the plate of the Monastery is catalogued under the head of *Jocolia*.

§ Sir John Clerevaux, of Croft. The family of Clerevaux (*de claris vallibus*) was highly connected, and frequently in office in the Court. Sir Richard Clerevaux, the lineal descendant of the John before us, died in 1490, "an Esquire of the body of King Henry 6th," and lies buried at Croft.

But of the whole of this transaction the Treasury affords no further corroborative proof. Chambre, the historian of the period, gives no intimation either of the outrage or its consequences; and what is still more surprising, the Shrine Keeper does not charge himself with the enormous fine which was ordered to be paid into his hands—and yet the decree of Richard II. is just as authentic as any other record in the Treasury. I confess I cannot account for the silence of the *two* under the circumstances of the case, except by supposing, that as the fine was a recompence for an offence committed against the *Bishop*, it might be an understood matter, that it belonged to him alone, and not to the convent; and that in consequence it might be immediately removed from the shrine by himself or his agents. Under this supposition the silence of the Shrine Keeper may be accounted for, but not so the annals of the See in a matter of such importance. The fine of £500. was equivalent to eight or ten thousand pounds of the money of the present day.

1389-90.	Paid to the bearer of St. Cuthbert's banner*	-	-	-	-	0	6
	To Sir Reginald Wermouth going to Court†	-	-	-	-	3	4
	To Sir Robert de Emyldon visiting his friends‡	-	-	-	-	0	12
	To the bringer of the new vestment‡	-	-	-	-	3	4
	For repairing the box of St. Cuthbert (<i>pixis</i>)	-	-	-	-	0	6
	A cloth for the shrine	-	-	-	-	6	8
1391-2.	A breakfast (<i>gentaculum</i>) given to Master Thomas de Gretam and the Bishop's Clerks§	-	-	-	-	5	0
	To a goldsmith working at the shrine, and for necessities bought for him	-	-	-	-	3	6
	To a stone-cutter (<i>latamus</i>) repairing the broken image of St. Cuthbert	-	-	-	-	0	14
1397-8.	Paid to the Feretrar and his associate on the feasts of the deposition and translation of our blessed Father Cuthbert	-	-	-	-	16	8
	To the Clerk of the shrine	-	-	-	-	20	0

* At one of the processions. See p. 108.

† Two Monks.

‡ It is stated in Sanderson, p. 89, that King Richard gave to St. Cuthbert "his Parliament robe of blue velvet, wrought with great lions of pure gold, an exceedingly rich cope." Perhaps this item has reference to the conveyance of the gift to Durham, especially as from the accounts of this same year it appears, that the sum of 3s. 4d. was considered sufficient to defray all necessary expences between Durham and London.

§ See hereafter.

|| Perhaps the one in the altar screen.

1397—8.	For a cloth before the altar, with dying the same	-	-	-	4	2
	To the singers playing at the Houk,* before the Nativity	-	-	-	2	4
	A contribution granted to our Lord the King†	-	-	-	26	8
	To the Dormitory‡	-	-	-	10	0
	For mending the pavement of the North Gate	-	-	-	0	16
	Gloves and money given to a minstrel at the Prior's games	-	-	-	3	8
	To the Lawyers of the Consistory for Alan Bower§	-	-	-	6	8
1398—9.	Received of Alan Bower by the decree	-	-	-	10	0
	Paid to William Cleveland and John Watson for making hooks and repairing locks	-	-	-	0	12
	For letters and other expences incurred in the Consistory for Alan Bower, and for those who came not to the procession, with a breakfast given to the Auditors of the Consistory	-	-	-	3	6
	For wine given to the Brethren at the games of the Lord Prior, and at home in the chamber (<i>solarium</i>) and Infirmary¶	-	-	-	8	0

* I am at a loss here to know what is meant by the *Houk*. It certainly was not one of the Prior's manor houses. Were it not that the period of the year disallows the conjecture, it might be supposed to have reference to *Hock-tide*, the day of rejoicing over the Danes.

† Probably to defray the expences of his journey into France in the year preceding, and his marriage with Isabel, daughter of the French King. Holinshead says that the expedition cost 310,000 marks.

‡ Then re-building. The contract is dated in 1398, and the mason's name was John de Middleton; but in 1401 (die Purific.) a new contract was entered into with Peter Dryng. This document is preserved in the Treasury, and such is its minuteness of specification, that it will be printed *verbatim* by Mr Surtees. Middleton, it appears, had built a portion of the wall, when his contract terminated from some cause not explained. Dryng bound himself to finish his work by All Saints' Day, 1404, and during the interval he was to receive, once a year, from the Convent, a robe of the suit of the Prior's Esquires, and daily a white loaf, a flagon of beer, and a dish of meat from the kitchen, such as was given to the Esquires aforesaid. The other conditions need not be specified here. The vaulted apartments beneath the dormitory formed no part of the contract, as they were in sufficient repair. The outside of the walls and the windows of the dormitory were again restored about five years ago.

§ According to an ancient custom, which probably had its origin when the Prior of Durham was *ex officio* Archdeacon of the Diocese, all Rectors, Vicars, and Parochial Curates, were bound to appear at Durham twice a year, and be present at the Prior's visitation of his appropriate churches in the Church of St. Oswald's, clad in their copes and surplices; and, moreover, they were to be attended by their respective Parish Clerks, bearing each the *banner* of his Church, "in sign of subjection and in honour of the Church of Durham." When this numerous body was gathered together, the banner of St. Cuthbert took the lead, and the whole assemblage moved on in procession to the church aforesaid. This sufficiently explains the above item. Alan Bower was an absentee, and was fined accordingly. There are similar proceedings hereafter, but especially in 1461; from which it appears, that those who attended offered each of them, by custom, a penny upon the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and that absentees were each fined 40d. to be expended upon the repairs of the Church; but in the same year, William Litster, the Apparitor, was commissioned to collect these fines at the following rate:—Rectors and Vicars 2s., Curates 12d., Parish Clerks 6d.—Regr. III. parv. f. 106. b.

|| For hanging relics, &c. upon.

¶ The mock solemnity of the *Boy-Bishop* was partly performed in the Infirmary, and always for its benefit.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
1398—9. For six capons given to the Lord Prior eating at home and at Bere-		
parke, with the Lord Bishop - - - - -	2	0
For knives and burses given to the Novices and their masters, with		
wine in the common hall, on the day of their profession* -	7	6
To a Chaplain carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert, for two years	2	0
To the laundress of the Altar, for two years - - - - -	0	20
Expences in the guest hall with divers guests, in the absence of		
the Hostillar - - - - -	3	0
For a jewel (<i>jocali</i>) bought and given to the shrine - - - -	4	0
For redeeming a gown of cloth of gold in pawn, as appears in the		
Roll for the year ninety-one, and given to the office - -	10	0
1399—1400. Paid to John Knowt for his labour at the shrine, and for silver		
hooks† - - - - -	2	6
Wax for lights at the shrine - - - - -	5	10
Expences incurred concerning those who came not to the pro-		
cession; with a breakfast given to the Auditors of the Con-		
sistory - - - - -	5	0
1400—1. Paid a subsidy to the Dormitory - - - - -	20	0
To John Knowte, goldsmith, for making a cross for the banner of		
St. Cuthbert,‡ for hooks for the shrine, and for repairing a cup		
belonging to the Refectory - - - - -	4	0
For a belt bought for carrying the banner, and for expences incur-		
red twice at Newcastle, and towards the march with the banner		
of St. Cuthbert, by order of the Lord King and Prior§ - -	8	0
For four bells bought for the shrine - - - - -	11	8
For a cable bought for the shrine - - - - -	11	8
To the makers of it, to drink (<i>ad potum</i>) - - - - -	0	4
For one whole vestment, with curtains and cloths, and an altar cloth,		
(<i>sup' altar'</i>) of green tartarin (<i>tartryn</i>)¶ - - - - -	42	0
For 13½ ells of linen cloth bought for an alb, and two towels or		
coverings (<i>linthiaminibus</i>) for the altar - - - - -	8	8

* See above p. 119.

† For relics, see above.

‡ The cross at the top of the banner.

§ The particulars of Henry the Fourth's invasion of Scotland in the above year may be seen in any History of England.

|| In this year, the cord which elevated the cover of the shrine, and the bells attached to it, were renewed.

¶ "*Tartarinus species panni ex Tartariâ advecti.*"—Du Fresne.

1400—1.	For 12 knots (<i>nod'</i>) of black and green silk (<i>serico</i>) bought for	0	4
	fringe (<i>freyns</i>) - - - - -	0	12
	For making the vestment alb and altar cloths, made with black		
	bindings, fringe, and thread - - - - -	4	0
	For two burses with relics given to our Lord the King and the		
	Earl of Rutland, by order of the Prior at the request of the same*	3	0
	Given to a cousin of the Prior - - - - -	0	6
	For a white coffer (<i>sistula</i> ? <i>cistula</i>) bought for the relics to be		
	sent to the Countess de Nevell* - - - - -	0	12
1401—2.	Received 20d. for the old cable taken from the shrine.†		
	Paid to a barber from the town for making the wax - - - - -	0	8
	To Thomas Hyndeley, stone-cutter, for putting up images - - - - -	0	6
	For making and buying tallow candles - - - - -	0	6
	For making and repairing locks and two keys belonging to the altar		
	of St. Benedict and the shrine - - - - -	0	4
	To a poor imprisoned man, once the <i>servant</i> at Mugylswyke‡	0	12
	Wine and pears given to the Lord Prior in his chamber and else-		
	where - - - - -	2	4
	Wine given to the Sub-prior when ill - - - - -	0	12
	The expences of a London goldsmith and his men coming from York		
	to Durham to see the shrine, by order of the Lord Bishop§	18	0
1402—3.	Paid a subsidy to the Bridge - - - - -	6	8
	For two pillows¶ for the shrine - - - - -	4	6
	To the carpenter for making a bench in the study - - - - -	0	4
	To John Tynemouth, for obtaining a Bull** - - - - -	0	20

* Thus, in this year, the King, the Earl of Rutland, and the Lady Neville of Raby, were gifted with a portion of relics from the Feretory.

† A new one, as we have seen, was bought last year.

‡ One of the Prior's Manors. The *serviens* was the *bailiff* or *steward* of the present day.

§ The Lord Bishop was Walter Skirlaw, the founder of the Skirlaw Chapel, and the re-edifier of Howdon and divers other ecclesiastical edifices in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It is probable that he contemplated some such ornamental work in one or other of his elegant buildings, and this will account for his sending workmen from York.

|| Shincliffe Bridge, built by Bishop Skirlaw. It seems, however, that it was not solely at his own expence.

¶ *Pulvinaria*. Cushions or pallets upon which the images were placed.

** A Papal Bull confirmatory of the possessions of the Church. John de Tynemouth was doubtless the Prior's *Procurator* at Rome. The Treasury contains only a few documents of this nature. The rest were all secreted at the Reformation. They are, however, all of them transcribed into the Chartularies of the Church.

1402—3.	To William Durham, for writing a gradal*	-	-	-	-	5	0
1403—4.	For painting the altar of St. Martin	-	-	-	-	6	8
	To a priest carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert	-	-	-	-	0	12
	For a pair of scales	-	-	-	-	0	4
1404—5.	For writing a prayer around the shrine	-	-	-	-	0	6
1405—6.	For cleaning the images and candlesticks before the shrine	-	-	-	-	0	4
	For keys for the relics	-	-	-	-	0	3
	For writing and making indentures between the Prior and Convent and the Abbot of Blanchland†	-	-	-	-	0	16
1406—7.	Received from the banner‡	-	-	-	-	4	3
	Received of many who were absent from procession at Pentecost§	-	-	-	-	8	10
	Received for lead sold	-	-	-	-	30	0
1407—8.	Received from the banners	-	-	-	-	6	9
	Expences for obtaining the seal of the Bishop	-	-	-	-	0	10
1408—9.	Paid for two dozen of rabbits against the feast of St. Cuthbert in September, with their carriage from Holy Island to Durham¶	-	-	-	-	6	8

In the year 1410 the custom was revived of sending out a monk on a begging expedition, with a relic of St. Cuthbert.

In the case before us, the bearer was William de Hexham, and the treasures committed to his care were a cross of silver gilt, having in the inside of it an image of the blessed Virgin; and one of the sandals which St. Cuthbert wore during his performance of divine service, (v. p. 38.) His exertions were confined to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and his commission, of which a copy is printed below,** was to continue in force for two years. We

* *Gradale, Graile, or Grayle*—the book which contained the Office for sprinkling Holy Water, and those parts of the ceremony of the Mass which were chaunted responsively, and, as it were, *gradually* by the Choir.

† Probably for securing the annuity of 15s. payable to Blanchland from Alman's house in Elvet. In 1445, the premises had so far fallen into decay that repairs were absolutely necessary, and there is an indenture (Reg. II. parv. f. 127.) in which the Abbot of Blanchland, to promote the work, forgoes his pension for a penny a year during the six years next ensuing.

‡ Money collected during the Procession. See above, p. 136.

§ See above, p. 136.

|| A confirmation by the new Bishop (Langley) of the various privileges of the Church.

¶ This curious item is taken from the accounts of the *Procurator* of Norham for the above year.

** *Universis Sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis Pateat per presentes quod nos Johannes Prior Ecclesiæ Cath. Dunelm. ad petendum colligendum & recipiendum nomine nostro fidelium Elemo-*

shall afterwards see that this was not the last time when a monk sallied out to collect the alms of the faithful, armed with such cogent arguments.

1411—2. Received for rent of houses in Elvet, &c.	-	-	-	-	73	0
———— from the banner in Whitsun week	-	-	-	-	7	1
———— for 12lbs. of wax sold*	-	-	-	-	4	6
———— for broken silver†	-	-	-	-	4	4
———— the legacy of Sir Robert de Seton, chaplain	-	-	-	-	2	4
Paid for a binding bought to repair a scarlet cloth containing the						
arms‡ of the Lord Nevill	-	-	-	-	0	8
For repairing a cup§ for the banner of St. Cuthbert	-	-	-	-	0	10
Also for the exchange of the new cross, I have delivered a girdle						
given by Nicholas Bacat to the value of 32s. as it weighed so						
much, with 8s. in silver, by the consent of the Lord (Prior) and						
the Convent.						
For making the little coffer of St. Andrew	-	-	-	-	2	0
For making chains for the dishes before the great altar	-	-	-	-	0	18
1412—3. Received the legacy of a smith from Staindrop	-	-	-	-	6	0
Paid to Sir Thomas Rome, at his proceeding in theology, at Oxford	-	-	-	-	20	0
For ornamenting the little coffer of St. Andrew	-	-	-	-	0	16
For a Papal Bull for the Churches in Yorkshire	-	-	-	-	10	0
To the Cousin of the Lord Prior going to Ireland	-	-	-	-	0	18

sinas nobis ac fabricæ Ecclesiæ Beati Cuthberti Dunelm. piâ fidelium devotione datas dandas assignandas infra Comitatum Northumbr. & Karlel Cumberland, necnon ad impetrandum literas ac indulgencias Christi fidelibus hujusmodi Elemosinas nobis ac fabricæ dictæ ecclesiæ devotè conferentibus a venerabili dei gratiâ Archiepiscopo Ebor. ceterisque prelatiis & ordinariis locorum predictorum, & ad sibi substituendum procuratorem seu procuratores nuncium vel nuncios coadjutores seu coadjutores ad eosdem et eorum potestatem revocandos et ad faciendum omnia et singula que ad officium quæstoris pertinent quoquomodo eciam et mandatum exigant speciale dilectum nobis in Christo Willielmum de Hexham latorem presentium procuratorem nostrum & nuncium specialem unam crucem argenteam et de auratam cum ymagine beatæ Mariæ Virginis in medio & unum de sotularibus quibus Sanctus Cuthbertus uti solebat in celebracione divinorum secum vobis deferentem ordinamus facimus & constituimus per presentes: Ratum habentes & firmiter quicquid per predictum Willielmum seu coadjutorem ejusdem actum gestum seu procuratum legitimè fuerit in premissis. In cujus &c. sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis apponi per duos annos duraturis. Dat. Dunelm. in Vigil. Apost. Petr. & Pauli, Anno D. m.cccc decimo.—Regr. ii. p. f. 13.

* In this year, therefore, the wax due to the shrine exceeded the consumption.

† Fragments of silver gradually collected from the broken images, &c.

‡ See above, p. 109. Upwards of half a century had elapsed from the battle of Nevill's Cross, and the banner of the conquering General was beginning to require repairs.

§ The cup for the banner of St. Cuthbert was the socket fixed to the girdle of the Monk who carried it in processions, in which socket the foot of the banner staff rested.

|| A confirmation of the Churches in Yorkshire appropriated to, or in the Patronage of, the Priory of Durham.

1412—3.	To the pavement in the Market-Place of Durham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
	To the pavement in the Bailey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	0
1413—4.	A lock bought for the house near the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10
	To Sir Richard Fereby, towards illuminating (<i>ad illuminacionem</i>)									
	a book	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0
	To Sir John de Tynmouth, for a vestment 40s. with the condition									
	of freely receiving it again when he shall pay 40s. to the Fere-									
	trar for the time being.*									
1414—5.	Paid to the Sub-sacrist for a light on the night of the Nativity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	For doubling the tunic of D. John Boner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
	Lead and boards bought for making a " <i>guter</i> "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	9
	For making a walk (<i>ambulatorium</i>) at Beaurepaire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	4
	To the man who brought the relics of Saints Stephen, Christo-									
	pher, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8
	To building the library†	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	0
1415—6.	Received for a " <i>dogdrayf</i> " sold at Hartilpoll‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	14
1416—7.	Paid to the librarian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	0
	To the master of the organists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6
	For divers relics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8
	For a necklace§ bought for the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
1417—8.	Received for gyans and scotts sold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8
	To the clerk and servants of the Infirmary on account of the sick-									
	ness of Sir Robert Crayk¶	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6

* Redeemed in the following year.

† The library which was built in this year was the large room now occupied by the Registrar and his clerks, immediately above the anti-room, between the Church and the Chapter-house. This anti-room was the place in which merchants were permitted to exhibit their wares to the Monks.

‡ This again is a curious item. I dare say if the whole of the story could be ascertained, it would run nearly as follows:—Some poor Hartlepool fisherman is overtaken by a storm when far out at sea, and like the sailor in Horace, vows a vow that if St. Cuthbert would bring him safe to land, he should have the best cod fish in his boat. He comes safe to shore and keeps his word, but instead of sending the fish itself to the shrine, he sells it and sends its worth.

§ The word is *moniali*, sed apage! I take it for granted, that it is a mistake for *monili*—a necklace for some one of the images within the Feretory.

|| See hereafter. 1430—1.

¶ Robert Crayk came no more out of the Infirmary. At the commencement of the repairs at present going on at the southern end of the Nine Altars, his grave-stone was discovered a few inches below the surface of the ground, in the Cemetery-garth (the burial place of the monks), inscribed

Robertus Crayk.

He had been Shrine Keeper from 1411 to the year before us. The name of Segbrok, in the list under 1412, is a mistake.

The following document is unique. I have already printed a sweeping catalogue of the *Relics* contained in the Feretory of St. Cuthbert, and *here* we have the various robes of which it could boast—the two when taken together afford a complete inventory of the shrine at its most flourishing period:—

1417—8. *The state of the Office of Feretrar, as left by Sir Robert Crayk, and delivered to Sir John Durham, on the feast of*

“ In primis, among the relics in the custody of the Feretrar, is one stone of berill, the gift of Sir Richard de Ireland, sometime Vicar of Emildon.

“ Item, one bloody vestment,* perfect, with curtains and cloths to serve before and above the altar, with towells and frontells.

“ Item, one green vestment, perfect, with curtains and cloths for before and above the altar, with towells and frontells of the same set.

“ Item, one red vestment, with towells.

“ Item, one old green vestment, with towells and frontells.

“ Item, two curtains, with one cloth before the altar, with divers arms.†

“ Item, one pair of curtains of a bloody and sea-green colour.

“ Item, two large cloths of a bloody colour, with the arms of the Lord Nevill, for a decoration around the shrine.

“ Item, two large ivory wands.

“ Item, two pairs of pillows, of which one is of “ *Cuthbert downe*”.‡

“ Item, one ivory pix, ornamented with silver and gilt.

“ Item, one good missal, one chalice, and two vials of silver.

“ Item, one dish of pewter (*peudr*), three towells, five pipes (*pypes*) of silver, with a cross of silver gilt for the banner of St. Cuthbert, with two silver bells.§

“ Item, one psalter fixed to a desk (*analogio*)|| near the shrine, and one psalter within the chamber¶ (*camera*) at the shrine, with other pontificals and books, as they are contained in an old quarto.

* Let me state once for all, that in general the word *vestimentum* implies not one, but all the robes used by one priest during the solemnization of mass.

† Of benefactors to the shrine or the church at large.

‡ From the breast of the Eider Duck. (See p. 22.)

§ Vide page 107.

|| Vide page 130.

¶ This fact, and the mention, under the year 1413-4, of the *house near the shrine*, induce me to suppose that there was within the Feretory a small watch-box sort of inclosure, or cabin, for the private use of the Shrine Keeper during his hours of attendance.

"Item, in the chest which is under, nearest to the pavement on the north part, are contained the professions of the Monks,* with divers other necessary Instruments.

"Item, there are hanging in the same place four ivory horns.

"Item, there are three candlesticks, one of copper (*auricalco*) for the altar, and two of copper, ingeniously wrought.

"Item, two poles for carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert in processions and in time of war, with a cover of hide containing the said banner.

"Item, there are two small shrines with divers relics, which were found along with the body of St. Cuthbert at the time of his translation.

"Item, one surplice for the Clerk of the shrine.

"Item, two stoles, with a book for the holy water.

"Item, LXXV pounds of wax.†

"Item, one girdle of green silk, ornamented with silver.

"Item, one basin and ewer of silver, with the arms of the Lord of Hilton, laying (in pawn) for 58s."‡

* The professions of the Monks were the oaths which they had respectively taken upon their admission to their order. Here follows the form from the MS. B. iv. 24. f. 4. b., in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham:—

+ "Ego frater N. presbyter vel diaconus promitto stabilitatem meam & conversionem morum meorum & obedientiam secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti coram deo et sanctis ejus in hoc monasterio quod est constructum in honore Sanctæ Mariæ semper virginis & Sancti Cuthberti presulis in presentia domini N." +

The crosses at the beginning and end were to be made by the *incipient* Monk.

† Here was a large accumulation from the sources specified at p. 95, and divers others not there noticed.

‡ This is not the only Baron Hilton who made the Prior of Durham his pawnbroker. The following bargain stands recorded (Regr. iv. parv. f. 195. b.); and it is too curious and interesting to curtail it even in a single word:—

"*Indentura inter Priorem Dunelm. et Baronem de Hilton de vexillo Patris sui, &c.*

"This bill endented made the xvth day of Julye, the yere of oure Lord God a thowsande fyve hundreth and thirteyne, berith witnesse that Maister William Hilton, Esquyer, hath borowed of the Reverend fathre in God Thomas, Priour of Duresme, Doctor Caly, Sub-prior, Doctor Swallowwell Terro^r, and Dan Robert Strother Bowser, in the nayme of the hole Convent of Duresme afforsaid, a baner, a standert, with the cote armo^r of the full and hole armes of the Hiltons, which was Sir William Hilton's, knight, laite father of the said M. William Hilton, Esquyer, which baner, standert, and cote armo^r the said M. William Hilton, Esquyer, hath promised by thes presentes to delyver and restore agayn to the Monasterie of Duresme, his busynes at the making of these presents conveniently doon. In witnesse whereof the said Prior and the afforsaid M. William Hilton, Esquyer, to thes presents entexchangeably have set their signetts. Geven the day, moneth, and yere of our Lord abovesaid."

The banner, standard, and coat armour of Sir William might possibly have fallen to the church as his mortuary; but I am rather inclined to believe that they were pledged to it by his son and heir. At all events, they were conceded by the church to that son and heir for a purpose, which, although not specified, was nothing less than that he might go to **FLODDEN FIELD** in his father's coat of mail, with his father's banners waving over his head. I presume that the bearings were safely restored to the church, as the borrower's "busynes" was "conveniently doon," and he returned home with his life.

1418—9.	RECEIPTS.—Rent of houses in Elvet	-	-	-	-	-	77	0
	At the procession in Lent	-	-	-	-	-	6	4
	For " <i>crownes and gyens</i> " and Scotch money*	-	-	-	-	-	27	9
1419—20.	Received for " <i>gyans</i> "*	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
	Paid for four caskets (<i>cophinis</i>) for relics	-	-	-	-	-	0	21
	A vestment bought for the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	46	8
	For wine which ought to be given to the Convent during the game of the Prior, given to the Infirmary	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
	To the organist (who appears to have <i>sung as well as played</i> ; the words are <i>cantori cantanti organum</i>) in the choir	-	-	-	-	-	5	0
	To the pavement of the old (Framwellgate) bridge	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
1420—1.	Received for gyans and Scotch money* (<i>obul'scotie'</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	3	4
	Paid for writing prayers around the shrine with tablets†	-	-	-	-	-	0	16
	For repairing two cushions (<i>quissyns</i>) the gift of the Lord Prior	-	-	-	-	-	3	0
	To William Ebchestre,‡ upon his proceeding to the degree of Bachelor in Theology	-	-	-	-	-	6	8
1421—2.	Given to the Lord Prior going to London to Parliament§	-	-	-	-	-	10	0

* See the year 1430—1.

† The prayers, therefore, were written upon slips of wood.

‡ Elected Prior of Durham in 1446, sixteen years after he had been appointed Prior of Holy Island, an office which he resigned in 1437.

§ The Prior of Durham was not summoned to Parliament as a mitred Dignitary, but as a member of the Benedictine Order. The preliminaries upon such occasions may be gathered from what took place in 1435. In that year, the Abbot of Winchecomb and the Prior of Worcester were the Presidents of the Black Monks of St. Benedict in England, and to these Henry VI. addressed the following mandate convening their order, which they forthwith transmitted throughout the kingdom:—

"Trusty and welbelovyd in God, for certeyn materes chargeable concernyng y^e worshipp of God, als well als y^e good of zour ordir, with his grace we wolle and charge yowe streitely yat ze doo com to gedres not only y^e faderes, but also yoo yat been clerkys, and other yat ben notable personys in every house of y^e same ordir in als grete nombr', als is goodly possible to assemble unto our Abbey of Westm' y^e fife day of May nexte comyng, and seth yat noon suche als is beforseyde bee excused from yee sayde congregacion, wythowte so resonable and evidente a cause yat by all reson oghte to be accepte, as ze and yey both desir to eschewe our indignacion. Geven undir oure signet of y^e egle in absence of our othir, at owr Towne of Leycestr' y^e xxv day of Marche (1435)."—Regr. parv. ii. f. 89. b.

The records of the Convent furnish many excuses made upon such occasions, some of them trivial enough; but in this instance (1421), the Prior obeyed the command, and compelled the officers, or rather the *offices*, under him, each to contribute to his expences. The Prior was a man of ability, and he would, doubtless, listen with feelings of exultation to a detail of "the acts which had beene doone in France," given by the King "with great wisdom and gravitie." What there fell upon him and his church, from the "double disme" granted by the Clergy to defray the expences of the war, I know not; but the sum might be easily ascertained from the Bursar's Roll of the year.—See Holinshed. What would the Prior's feelings have been, could he have listened to Shakspeare's poetical detail of the King's courtship, which ended in marriage, at the very time before us?

1421—2. For	* (<i>rūnay</i>) given to the Brethren	-	-	-	-	2	0
1422—3. Received from the processions in Whitsun week		-	-	-	-	5	8
Received for the fines of Rectors and Vicars not appearing in the procession		-	-	-	-	4	0
Paid to four Novices† going to Oxford for their carriage, 6s. 8d., and out of courtesy, 6s. 8d.							
To the Apparitor of the Lord Bishop for calling the Clergy in Whitsun week		-	-	-	-	0	6
To the same for citing those absent from the procession ‡		-	-	-	-	0	10

* The word is, as I have printed it in brackets, *runnay*. Can it mean *Rhenish wine*?

† Vide p. 119.

‡ It is to be hoped that it fared better with this Apparitor upon his circuit, than with the man whose treatment at Seaham forms the subject of the following letter from the Prior of Durham to the Bishop.—Regr. III. parv. f. 171. b.

"Litera missa Domino Willielmo Episcopo Dunelm."

"Right Reverend fadre in God and my moste singular and especiall good Lorde, I humbly commend me to yo^r gracieux Lordship with all obedience, hono^r and reverence dewe, Thankyng yo^r good and gracieux Lordship ever for me. Pleas it youre Lordship gracieuxly to undirstand, that now of late my welbeloved brothre dan Thomas Houghton, Sacristane of yo^r Cathedrall church of Duresme, Subcollector for me and y^e Chapitr of y^e Kyng's dymez (tenths), graunted by y^e Clerge of yo^r diocese at y^e last convocation holden at York, for non payment of y^e said dyme concernynge y^e paressshkirke of Seham, within vii myle of Duresme, be sufficient auctoritie yeven (given) unto him by commission, suspend and interdicte y^e said Kirke of Seham. The which notwithstanding, Sr Robert Fery, paresssh preste of y^e same Kirke onone (anon) estir said messe & ministred divine service in y^e same wittingly. Wherfor yo^r vicar generall sent a citacion ayenst (against) y^e said preste to appere affore hym & yo^r Officers in yo^r Consistory at Duresme, to tell a resonable cause why he aught not be punysht for hys contempt & presumptuose dedes done ayenst y^e lawe and in grete prejudice of oure soverayn lord y^e Kinge. And forthwith aftir, as y^e citacion was delyvered to y^e said preste, come (came) forth a Gentilman there abidyng, callid Humfrey Lile, and toke y^e said citacion and rave it in pecys, and manassid (menaced) y^e berer therof to smyte thugh both y^e cheks, bot if he did (if he did not) ete it. And he, for grete fere & drede of hys lyve, ete parte of y^e same. And this done, y^e said Gentilman gart sett him (caused him to be set) bakward on hys horse, and so led hym thugh y^e town, saynge had he be (been) there that sett up y^e suspension, he should have repented y^e bringing of it, and yitt shall and (whenever) he may mete with hym; and bad hym bewar of such message herafter. Wherfor, aftir a dewe consideracion herof, I beseche yo^r Lordship for a direction herin for punysshment and reformation herof, in exemple and terroure of all othre in tyme comynge; and that I and my brethre myght be dischargid of gederinge of dymes from hensforward, for we have had and have grete indignacion of y^e cuntre for gederinge of y^e said dymes. I shuld have writin more to yo^r Lordship, but I shall doe not longe to (*ita*) with y^e grace of all mighti God, who have you ever my full singular and especiall goode Lorde in hys blissid protection. Writin at Duresme, x day of Februar. (1476. 7.)"

The Humfrey Lisle above-mentioned was of the family of Lisle of Felton, and married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Bowes, of Streatlam and Dalden. The vicinity of this latter place to Seaham, may account for his being there when the Apparitor arrived. He was Ambassador to Scotland, 13 H. 7. (1497), and died in 1516, bequeathing his hatred for Churchmen to his son Sir William, and grandson Sir Humfrey, as appears from the following interesting extracts of letters written during the period:—

"Sir Humfrey Lisle has done divers wrongs, &c. &c. to the poore Priour of Brinkburne, his brethren and his servants—setting them in the stoks wrongusly—putting the Vicar of Felton, being a Canon of Brinkburne, from his Cure, and putting in a secular prieste, &c. I have taken

1423—4. For " <i>mulkyng</i> " for Scotch money*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	2
Received of Master Thomas Rome for cleaning the altar screen									
(<i>reredose</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	20
Paid for repairs around the shrine, and for cleaning the altar screen								8	0
To the reading desks (<i>caroli</i>)† of the Novices	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	20
Silver keys bought for the shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10
1424—5. A pension given to the fabric of the Prior's chamber‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	0

pains for redress, and have summoned him, &c. but in vain."—Lord Daere to the Privy Council, dated at Carlisle, 18th Aug. circ. 152...

Again—"Sir William Lisle and his son committed to Pontefract Castle for their behaviour to the Prior of Brinkburne, the Vicar of Felton, &c."—*Thomas Magnus to Cardinal Wolsey, s. d.* MSS. Cotton, Calig. B. III. 44.

And now for the sequel—

"I have proceeded against Wm Lysle and his complices, aided by the Justices of Oyer all the lands, &c. of the late William Lysle for the King's use—William Lysle, Humfrey Lysle his son, John Ogle, William Schafthowe, and Thomas Fenwicke, gentlemen of name, chief leaders and most haynous offenders of all the said rebels, all attainted of treason—all hanged, drawn, and quartered, except Humfrey Lysle, whom I send for the King's pleasure. I keepe here the other young son of the said Wm Lysle, (*Robert who afterwards married and perpetuated the family.*) The heads and quarters of them so executed, I have caused to be set up upon the dongeon of the Castle of Newcastle and other places in sight of the people. The residue of the rebels have been attaynted for marche treason and put to execution to the extremitie."—Earl of Northumberland to Wolsey, Alnwick, 2 Ap. (1526 ?) Ib. f. 146.

* See the year 1430—1.

† "In the north side of the Cloysters, from the corner over against the Church door, to the corner opposite to the Dormitory door, was all finely glazed from the top to the bottom, within a little of the ground into the Cloyster garth: and in every window were three *pews* or *carrels*, where every one of the *old Monks* had a carrel severally to himself, to which after dinner they resorted, and there studied their books, every one in his *carrel*, till the time of Evensong; and thus they exercised themselves every day. These pews or carrels were finely wainscotted and very close, except the fore side, which was carved work, and admitted light through the carrel doors, in each of which was a desk to lay books on: and the carrels were no wider than from one stanchel of the window to another. Opposite to the carrels, against the church wall, stood certain great almeries of wainscot full of books, as well the old written Doctors of the Church, as other prophane authors, with many other holy men's works: so that every one studied what Doctor he pleased, having the library at all times open to resort to and study in, as well as their carrels."—So far Sanderson, p. 75; and it would be an easy matter to restore the north side of the Cloister from the description. Enclose it at each end. Fit it up in front with as many private seats, or (if I may so say) boxes, as there are lights in each of its windows; let these all of them open by trelliced doors into a long path of communication behind; and still further behind against the wall of the church, let there be bookcases to hold the manuscripts belonging to the body, and the work is done. The glass windows and carrels have long since disappeared, but the wall of the Church, notwithstanding the *dressing* which it has undergone, exhibits abundant traces of the fixtures or bookcases anciently attached to it. The very books, or most of them, which were kept in this self-same alley of the Cloister, the common library of the Monks, now belong to the Church.—See the lately printed Catalogue of the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter, *passim*.

‡ The word is *camera*, but it has been already stated, that the term does not at all imply a single room. The Prior's *camera* was, in fact, the large suite of apartments, subsequently converted into the Deanery. I could write much upon the changes which this structure has undergone, but the detail naturally belongs to another work more closely connected with the Church. I shall only add, that when the various alterations which have rendered the Deanery a habitable house,

1425—6.	Paid for making the organs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8
	One " <i>pentys</i> "* made anew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	0
	To the pavement in Framwellgate, by order of the Prior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	12
1426—7.	To the Lord Prior going to Northampton†	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8
	To the servants of the Church at the beginning of Lent (<i>in carni-</i> <i>privio</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
1427—8.	Received of the Prior of Finchale the pledge money (<i>vadiis</i>), viz.									
	for the basin and ewer of silver‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	4
	A collection for the Archbishop of York§	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	0
	Another collection for Hemyngburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8

were made by the late Dean Hall, there was found, high up upon a beam in the roof, somewhat resembling fragments of paper, from appearances placed there intentionally. The *paper*, as might be expected, turned out to be *parchment*, which when blown upon by the air fell away into nothing, but there had been attached to it the leaden seal of Pope Alexander the Fourth, (1254-1261) proving it to have been a Papal Bull, in all probability of main importance to the Church of Durham, and secreted in the place in which it was found, by one of its Priors in a day of danger. The leaden seal is in my possession.

* Primarily a porch or some such matter. "*Penticium*, appendix ædis, gurgustium, tuguriolum parieti affixum."—Du Fresne. It is, perhaps, no great stretch of supposition to conceive, that the small partitioned-off recess within the Feretory, appropriated to its keeper, is here to be understood under the term *pentys*: it was literally his *penthouse*.

† To a general council of the Benedictine Order, held at Northampton, on the 1st of July, 1426, of which he was the President. The acts of this council are published by Reyner, p. 180, but not by Spelman. A MS. copy is preserved among the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter, B. iv. 26. tr. 17.

‡ The system of pawning robes and plate was carried to a great extent. See p. 143. Bishop Fordham in 1387, consigned to the custody of the Prior and Convent of Durham, an image of the Virgin Mary of silver gilt, to remain in their possession until he should pay the money which he owed to the Lord Nevill. (Surtees i. app. xxi.) Roger Frank, Abbot of Fountains, pawned to John Wyndhill, Rector of Arnecliffe, two chargers of silver, five silver dishes of one set, twelve silver dishes of another set, eighteen silver dishes of another set, twenty-one silver dishes of another set, eleven saucers of silver of one set, two pieces of plate with covers, six without covers, two chalices of gold with patens of gold, two precious jewels (*jocalia*), one of which is a small cross, in the middle of which is a small cross made of the wood of the true cross, set round with precious stones and a jewel, in the midst of which is a precious stone called a topaz." Henry the Fifth heard of this transaction, and commanded it to be investigated, under an impression that these valuables in reality belonged to the Earl of Northumberland.—Record in the Tr. 2. 4. Regal. 5.

§ John Kempe. I know not the reason for this contribution, unless, perhaps, it was to conciliate his Grace's favour to the arrangements detailed in the succeeding note.

|| The Church of Hemingbrough had been given to the Prior and Convent of Durham by William the Conqueror. In 1426, it was made a Collegiate Church. The Royal licence for this purpose bears date, 26th Oct., 1426, and the Archbishop of York made the necessary endowment, &c. in the November following.—Records in the Treas. The Regr. parv. ii. fol. 34., gives a copy of the Prior's letter to the Archbishop, requesting his concurrence, dated 15th May, 1426. From this it appears, that for a considerable time antecedent to this period, the profits of the Church of Hemingbrough had been enjoyed by the Cardinals, by arrangement of the Pope. The expences incurred in obtaining it to be made Collegiate were £172. 10s. 5d. *Wessyngton's Roll* noticed hereafter.

1428—9.	Received for Scotch money (<i>Scoticis denar'</i>) and "Blavnkys"	-	10	^{s.} 0
	Given to the fabric of the Infirmary	-	20	0
1430—1.*	Received for Scotch money and "Blavnkys"† sold	-	15	0
	A pension paid to the fabric of the Belfry‡	-	40	0

* 1431. William Fletchere, of Elvett, took of the Prior of Durham two acres of arable land at the head of Old Elvet, on the east side of the King's highway leading to Shincliffe—term ten years, rent 8s. per ann., payable to the Shrine Keeper. Dated on the Purification, 1431.—Regr. ii. parv. f. 63.

† I have reserved, for one concentrated note, my explanatory remarks upon the various coins which have been mentioned since the year 1417. In that year the Shrine Keeper accounts for "gyans and scotts;" in 1418-9, "crownes and gyans;" 1419-20, "gyans;" 1420-1, "gyans and Scotch money;" 1423-4, "mulkyng for Scotch money;" 1428-9, "Scotch money and Blavnkys;" 1430-1, do. do.

The GYANS were an Anglo-gallic coin minted for *Guienne*. In 1412, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was appointed Lieutenant of *Guienne*, with power to coin money of gold, silver, and copper, of the King's coin, at such rate as he should think fit, for the honour and profit of the King and country.—Rym. Foed. viii. 348.

SCOTTS. Coins were at first struck in Scotland of the same weight and alloy as in England, but a gradual declension took place in the value of the former, although they still retained the same denomination, "to the great loss of the King's people, &c.," 1354. In 1380, a complaint was made that the silver of England, because it was good and heavy, was taken into Scotland, and minted into lighter money of the same nominal value. At length, an Act was passed, "that all manner of Scottish silver should be banished, and not current within the realm of England." This took place in 1423, the very year in which, as may be seen above, the Shrine Keeper was mulcted for the Scotch money in his possession.

CROWNS. In 1361, John, King of France, being enjoined to pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ransom, the French endeavoured to cheat the English by coining gold crowns for the occasion of an inferior standard. In 1364, this King died in the Savoy. When on his death-bed, he sent for King Edward, and asked his forgiveness, inasmuch as he had, all the time he was in England, employed persons to gather English gold and send the same to France, to be minted of an inferior standard; which pardon King Edward granted, but told him, "he was going where he would find no counterfaite would passe."

BLANKS. Coins struck in France of baser alloy than sterling, called *Blanks* or *Whites*, from their colour (*Coke Inst.*) 1423, in Parliament, "the money called *Blankes* not being silver, but being made of metal of no value, was become current to the great damage of the common people—ordered, that all the money called *Blankes* should be put out of the realm before the feast of St. John Bapt. next ensuing."

‡ The great middle tower of the Church, which had been set on fire by lightning in the midnight preceding the feast of Corpus Christi, 1429. The following is a translation of the letter written by the Prior to the Bishop upon this unfortunate event:—

"A Letter sent to the Lord Bishop concerning the burning of the great belfry at Durham.—
Regr. ii. parv. f. 39.

"Most Reverend and my most singular Lord. Because, I doubt not, there has reached your ears an account of the misfortune which has lately happened to the belfry of your Church of Durham, to console in some part your grief, I lay before you, in this my letter, a correct statement of the fact. During the night before the day of *Corpus Christi*, from ten o'clock until two in the morning, there were in these our parts thunderings and lightnings dreadful, and such as were never before heard; and especially a short time before one o'clock, such was the violence of the thunder during the time we were at matins, that we believed a great part of the Church had fallen. At which time, as is most probable, the upper part of the great belfry under the dome, called in English, '*the Poll*,' was struck with lightning, but the fire did not manifest itself till seven o'clock in the following morning—from which hour until twelve the fire continued burning dreadfully, and the dome being made of copper or brass, and containing in circumference

I have below given the particulars of the accident which led to this last mentioned *item*; and it only remains to add here, that the Prior, upon the emergency, bethought him of the plan pursued by his predecessors upon former occasions, and after having embodied, in a *public instrument*, notices of the various Indulgences which had been granted to all those who gave somewhat of their wealth towards the *fabric of his Church* (p. 101 & 139), entrusted the document to John Walkere, "literate," of Durham, and committed to his care a cross of silver gilt, with images of our Lord and Saviour, of the Virgin Mary, and of St. John the Evangelist; and furthermore, there was consigned to him *a particle of white cloth, in which the body of St. Cuthbert had been swathed for 400 years*; and by arguments such as these he was to prevail upon the faithful to assist in repairing the middle tower of the Church. The commission is dated 26th April, 1432.—Regr. 11. parv. 56. b. See p. 139.

1432—3. Paid towards making the chest of the Novices*	-	-	-	-	0	20
1433—4. Received of Thomas Nesbyt, for broken money† (<i>fracta pecunia</i>)						
and two spoons	-	-	-	-	-	25 0

In the year 1434 (5th Oct.), the Prior of Durham, who then happened to be at Beaurepaire, received from Hugh Evewood (Evenwood), *to be hung up upon*

two ells and three quarters, being most intensely heated, fell down upon the Church, dragging with it its heavy iron work and burning timber, but the place of its fall was one calculated to receive no great harm. Blessed be the Most High—in this fact God acted graciously. For the ten or twelve men who were toiling to extinguish the fire, although surrounded by burning wood, drenched (*perfusi*) with molten lead, and struck by pieces of blazing timber, yet remained unhurt: and so, through the prayers of the people, who had assembled in very great numbers, by the will of God the fire was totally extinguished soon after mid-day. Whereupon the hymn, called *Te Deum laudamus*, was most devoutly sung by us and the multitude of people, because there was no one who witnessed the conflagration, who does not consider it a miracle that the whole belfry, and in consequence the Church, with its adjacent buildings, did not fall a prey to so devouring a fire. That portion of the upper part of the belfry which has been destroyed by the fire, is estimated to be twenty feet in length. May the Highest preserve your most reverend Lordship in prosperity to a good old age." Written at Durham, 27th May, 1429.

By the *twenty feet* above mentioned, is not to be understood *that length* of masonry, but as inclusive of the height of the dome, which from its description must have been a small cupola over the head of the staircase, at one corner of the tower. Its repairs cost £233. 6s. 8d. v. p. 154. For further particulars relative to the tower, see the year 1456.

* See p. 151. A place for their books.

† At this period, it should be remembered, there was no copper coin, and under this circumstance the silver penny and groat were frequently cut in two for the sake of convenience. One may conceive divers sections of this nature dropped into the *box*, of which, upon examination, no two were equivalent to the coin of which they appeared to form the constituent parts; as there were always *clippers and coiners* in abundance. This, I think, fully explains what is meant by *broken money*. It was, in fact, so cut down, as to be merely worth its weight as old silver. The Shrine Keeper sold at the same time two old spoons, perhaps as old as the Conquest.

the shrine of St. Cuthbert, a cross of gold suspended by a golden chain, a necklace of gold, with divers relics enclosed in the same cross, a rosary of gold, with a necklace of gold fashioned like a heart, a knife with a haft and sheath of silver and gilt, six mullets of silver gilt, and a chain of gold. Hugh Evenwood was one of the executors in the will of Richard Pudsay, Esq.,* by whom the valuables above mentioned were bequeathed to the shrine.—v. App. No. vi. p. 10.

						<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1434—5.	Paid for a looking glass† (<i>speculum</i>)	-	-	-	-	2	0
	For parchment and for writing and illuminating a tablet‡	-	-	-	-	1	3
	For gilding a rosary (<i>par precularum</i>)	-	-	-	-	2	0
1435—6.	Received for wax sold this year	-	-	-	-	5	10
	———— for broken money§	-	-	-	-	11	6
	Paid for making the organs	-	-	-	-	6	8

* Unquestionably of the family of Barford and Bolton; but, according to the pedigree, never the owner of the estates. There was, in the year 1407, a Richard de Pudsay, the fourth son of Sir John Pudsay, Knt., Lord of Bolton by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Layton of Barford, and probably this is the man before us. The armorial bearings of the family were—*vert a chevron, between three mullets or*; and I have not the slightest doubt that the six mullets silver gilt given to the shrine, were, in fact, in conformity with his bearings and with the usage of the period, those very stars of gold which had glittered on his surtout, or on the housings of his steed. But the connection between Durham and Barford was evidently not one of a casual or temporary nature. On the 2d Nov. 1525 (Regr. v.), the Convent granted a *Letter of Fraternity* to Thomas Podesay, Esq. (of Bolton and Barford) and to Margaret his wife, (who was one of the six daughters and co-heiresses of Roger Pilkington of Pilkington, County of Lancaster, Esq., who survived her husband, and was a widow in 1537). Of Barford, as it was at the time when the heiress of Layton intermarried with Pudsay, in the time of Edward, I could write much. The mansion-house then stood upon an *elevated* situation, overlooking the Tees, and right in front, at the distance of fifty yards, was the little chapel of the district—a chapel of ease under Gilling. As long as matters remained in this state, the Chaplain (who frequently occurs as a witness in Richmondshire charters of an early date) had doubtless his bed and board in the Hall; but long before the Reformation, the owner of the “Lordship,” as it is called to this day, crept lower down into the vale, and built the house, which, within my own memory, from being low, dark, and bemoated, has become a respectable habitation for the principal tenant of the estate, after various transitions, belonging to Lord Harewood. When once the *Hill* was forsaken by the Lord, the Chaplain was left to himself, and the steps which he took for his accommodation are manifest. He desecrated, if I may so say, half of his chapel, and converted it to his own private use, by striking across a partition wall, and subdividing the western end into a kitchen and other rooms suited to his wants. The walls of the whole are still standing, and it is only three or four years since the stone altar table fell from its place.

† This item, however interesting it may be, has so little connection with my subject, that my reader must be content to be referred to vol. iii. p. 164, of Beckman's History of Inventions, perhaps the most satisfactory chapter of his valuable book.

‡ Containing, doubtless, somewhat of the praises of St. Cuthbert, or the Indulgences held out by him and his Church.

§ See above, p. 149.

|| See p. 154.

1435—6.	Given to the fabric of the Church of Fyncall*	-	-	-	-	6	8
	To Sir John Heworth,† going to Rome	-	-	-	-	0	20
	For parchment and for illuminating a tablet	-	-	-	-	0	9
1436—7.	Given towards making a new chest in the Cloister‡ of Durham	-	-	-	-	3	4
1437—8.	Given to the fabric of the windows above the Choir§	-	-	-	-	60	0
	To the painter for washing and repairing the cover of the shrine of St. Cuthbert	-	-	-	-	3	4
1438—9.	Received of John Bulle, that he may be recommended in our prayers (<i>in nostris suffragiis commendari</i>)	-	-	-	-	40	0
	Received of another man for the same purpose	-	-	-	-	6	8
	Received for girdles (<i>zonis</i>) and rosaries (<i>preculis</i>) sold during the year¶	-	-	-	-	50	10

In the year 1446, died John Wessyngton, Prior of Durham, of whose compilations relative to the See of Durham, and the Order professed by its Monks, I have so frequently availed myself. Let me here state, in justice to his me-

* In this year the Church of Finchale underwent divers repairs and alterations, and most especially, from causes which it does not fall upon me to detail, the side aisles of the nave were totally removed, and the connecting arches being fitted up with masonry, from this time forward constituted its external wall till the dissolution. This fact, if there were no other information, is manifest, from the present appearance of its ruins. Hutchinson, at first sight, suspected this to have been the case (ii. p. 322), but he straightway quitted his conjecture, and fell into an absurdity.

† A Monk going to Rome on some litigated point connected with the rights of the Church.

‡ Where the greater part of the Manuscripts (as they prove at the present day) were kept for the use of the Monks and Novices, v. p. 119.—See the lately printed Catalogue.

§ The Clerestory windows, which were repaired at this period by Prior Wessyngton—see 1446 below.

|| Let me here throw into a note a brief outline of the way in which the Church communicated its benefits at this period. Those who could afford it purchased for themselves letters of fraternity, which at once entitled them to a full right of benefit from the prayers of the Convent. Among these were William Douglas, Earl of Angus, and Christian his wife, in 1420; Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, 1431; Matilda, Prioress of North Berwick, 1437; Sir Wm Edmundston of Cullodyn, and the Most Honourable Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, his wife, 1440; David Home, junior, and Elizabeth his wife, 1441; John Loury, a Scotch Captain, 1446; and a long list of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland families of note: but the less opulent were content to be remembered only by the Monks in their prayers. Such were John Bell and the *quidam* above. The MS. B. iv. 24. contains many curious memoranda upon this subject, entered in its fly leaves both at the beginning and end. As for instance, anno 1175, Dufgal, son of Summerled, and Stephen his Chaplain, and Adam of Stanford, received the fraternity of the Church at the feet of St. Cuthbert on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, and the said Dufgal offered there two gold rings to St. Cuthbert, and promised that he would every year during his life give to the Convent a mark of silver, either in *pence* or an equivalent. Especially see f. 5 of the above MS., where there are many very interesting and early contracts between Durham and other Monasteries.

¶ Probably presented to the shrine.

mory, that he did more than *write* on the subject of his Church. There are two rolls in the Treasury (Locell. 2), in some trifling points differing from each other, which abundantly prove his great anxiety for the welfare of the establishment over which he presided. The one before me commences with an enumeration, under thirty-three heads, of divers important services which he had conferred upon his Church, with respect to its rights and possessions, and his condensation of various records upon disputed points; with occasionally an item not immediately connected with the main subject of his care,—such as

“ A Treatise on the right of the King of England in the Kingdom of Scotland, and especially in the district between the Scottish sea (*the Frith of Forth*) and the Tweed, which was in the possession of the English for three hundred years before it was in the possession of Scotland.”

In this part of the roll there are one or two entries, closely connected with the subject before us :—

“ Item (he compiled and caused to be fairly written by Robert Westmerland, his Chaplain), divers emblazoned rolls on the subject of the miracles of St. Cuthbert, with inscriptions in verse, adapted to the same, for the glass windows in the Cloister* or elsewhere.

“ Item, a roll, proving the right of the Monastery to the *Funerals*† of departed Bishops.”

* The windows of the eastern or Chapter-house side of the Cloisters, were filled with a series of histories on the birth, life, death, and miracles of St Cuthbert (v. Sanderson, p. 69), and the above identical verses, written in English, were painted beneath each subject. The glass, with its illustrations, remained till the time of Edward the Sixth, when it “ was taken down by Dean Horne, and broken to pieces, for he could never endure *the antient monuments, acts, or deeds, that gave any light to true religion.*—Ibid. Any one who cares about the matter may see a similar compilation in Hutchinson’s account of Carlisle Cathedral (Cumberland, ii. p. 600), painted, doubtless, by order of Bishop Bell under similar historical or fanciful delineations. Bell was originally a Monk of Durham, but he was a man of learning and merit, and he was one day surprised with a command from the King to place himself at the head of the Benedictine Monks of the Trinity in York. His elevation came so unexpectedly upon the world, that some one, envying his fortune, laid before the Chancellor of the day charges of no ordinary nature against his moral character; but the Prior of Durham dissipated the cloud of calumny which beset him, by a plain-spoken testimonial in his behalf. From York he returned home again in 1464, but it was as *Prior of Durham*. He was made Bishop of Carlisle in 1478. I would only add, that the paintings in Carlisle Cathedral are upon pannel, much effaced, and that the verses in Hutchinson are very incorrectly printed. Prior Wessington was the writer of the inscriptions under the images of divers Monks near the altar of St Benedict, not printed in Sanderson, but preserved in his Treatise.

† This roll is kept in the Treasury (Loc. 2^o). It commences with Bishop Carileph (1095) soon after the Conquest, and ends with Bishop Langley (1457), and gives a minute account of every article of value (and they were numerous) which fell to the Church as Episcopal mortuaries. See p. 34.

The roll proceeds to a subject of greater interest—the enormous sums of money (I mean for the period) which the Prior expended upon his Church. There is a preamble, attributing the great decay of the fabric and its dependencies to the low state of its revenues, arising from various causes, but chiefly from the fact that no material benefit had been for a long time derived from the tithes of Norham, Holy Island, and Ellingham, in consequence of the inroads of the Scots; and these matters of fact, after a few further remarks in favour of the Prior's liberality, are succeeded by three Monkish verses, which, I doubt not, proceeded from himself:—

**Pluribus intentus, minor est ad singula census.
Plusquam vult census, non est expendere sensus.
Ultra posse viri, non vult Deus ulla requiri.**

And now I come to the most interesting parts of the roll:—

“Buildings and repairs *within*, made in the time of John Wessyngton, Prior of Durham, within nineteen years and a half,—*i. e.* from Christmas, 1416, to Pentecost, 1446. (Under the term *within* is comprehended the Church, the Library, the Cloister, the Infirmary, the Prior's Chambers, and the Hostel, as appears from the enumeration itself.)

THE CHURCH.—In primis, the repairing of eleven lower windows* above the Nine Altars, and in the southern gable there, in stone, iron, and glass—£120.

Item, in repairing the six upper windows above the Nine Altars, in stone, iron, and glass†—£9. 9s.

Item, for building the Exchequer‡ of the Sacrist—£60.

* Nine to the east and two to the south. The former were some forty or fifty years ago again repaired, and were, according to the *Gothic* fashion of the day, deprived of their tracery, fragments of which are standing, by way of parapet, upon the wall near the Water-gate, and there are others in the masonry of a stable connected with the mill on the opposite side of the river. These father themselves upon the period of Prior Wessington. The other two windows, I mean the lower ones at the southern end of the Nine Altars, were let alone till the year 1827, when a process of repair was commenced, comprehending the whole southern side of the Church, and which (May, 1828), as far as the southern end of the eastern transept is concerned, is almost finished. Of the original pediment, no architectural trace was left, and therefore recourse was had to the western front of the Chapel of St. James, in Gateshead, built at the period of the NINE ALTARS.

† There is here no mention of the great circular window, because it had been glazed anew (and, of course, previously put into a state of repair) by Richard Pickering, Rector of Hemingburgh. The date of this repair is limited to four years, 1409—1413, from the fact that Pickering was only Rector during that interval. (See p. 96, note).

‡ “The Sacrist's Exchequer was within the Church, in the north alley, opposite to Bishop Skirlaw's altar, on the left hand, as you go up the Abbey to St. Cuthbert's Feretory.”—Sanderson, p. 94. It was afterwards converted into the Song School, *ib.* p. 22, but no traces of it remain.

Item, for making desks (*desci*) in the Choir before the low stalls (*ante bassos stallos*)—£20.

Item, for repairing the great belfry after it was burnt (p. 149), in work above and below—£233. 6s. 8d.

Item, for making a ... (I am at a loss here—the word is *fiola*, which I cannot find applied to a building or any of its parts), on the northern part of the Church—£13. 11s.

Item, for making a window near the clock* (*juxta horologium*)—71s. 11d.

Item, for making the windows above the choir—£27. 16s.

Item, for repairing the vault (stone roof) of the nave of the Church—£91. 0s. 6d.

Item, for building and repairing the altars of St. John the Baptist, St. Katherine, St. Gregory, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Faith—£71. 2s. 4d.

Item, the making of divers pairs of organs—£26. 13s. 4d.

Item, for new work called the Rerdoose,† at the door of the choir—£69. 4s.

Item, for roofing the south part of the nave of the Church, with a payment made to the plumber for his labour—£110.

* The window near the clock was the small one on the west side of the transept, looking into the Cloister garth. On the general subject of clocks, I must refer my reader to Beckman, or some such book, simply from a fear of becoming too prolix; but I have before me a private letter, concerning a clock, from the Prior of Durham to the Lord Montague, which deserves to be printed:—

“*Litera missa Domino le Montagu.*”

“Right noble and worthy and my singular good Lord, I recomende me unto your Lordship in my most humble wise. Please it you to know, that I sende unto you a clocke as ye willid me to do unto y^e Newcastle, by a goode man callid John Stele, the which hath ben at all tymes past after his power both trew and faithfull unto your Lordshipp, and unto your most noble progenitours, and also unto all other that hath takyn part with you, as ye shall know and it please you herafter, beseking you to take him so, latying you witt yat he hath hade grete labour this weke passid to sett y^e said clocke in rule for yo^r singuler pleasir. Firthermor, I understonde yat Umfray Neville predendith querells against me. What he will do or say I wott noght. Neverthesse when I may come unto yo^r presence, I shall opyn my hert unto yo^r Lordshipp, recommending me by thies presents unto my worthy Lady yo^r wife. And our Lord Jhs Christ have you and hir evermore in his blissid kepyng. Writyn at Beaurepayr y^e viii day of August (1463).”—Regr. III. parv. f. 118. b.

The Lord Montagu, to whom the above letter was directed, was John Neville, second son of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, who was third son of Ralph, Lord Neville of Raby, the first Earl of Westmorland. He was created Marquess Montague, as his mother was Alice, daughter and heiress of Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury. He was appointed Guardian of the Eastern Marches on the 1st of June preceding (Rob. Scot. II. 407), and it is not to be wondered at that when once he had taken his post upon the Tweed, the Prior of Durham should be the chief man to whom he could refer for matters of information or amusement. He fell in the battle of Barnet in 1471. The Lady to whom the Prior sends his services was Isabel, daughter and heiress of Sir Edm. Engoldsthorp, Knt. With respect to Humfrey Neville, mentioned in the letter, I shall have more to say hereafter. From the letters and documents to which I have access, I could proceed to almost any length in detailing the History of the House of Neville and its devotedness to the Church of Durham.

† The screen at the entrance of the Choir. See Sanderson, p. 115, for an account of the Kings and Bishops who occupied its niches.

Item, buildings and repairs in the Church, made by the Sacrist in virtue of his office—£386. 15s.

Item, for making a window on the south side of the nave opposite the tomb of the Lord Nevyl*—£30.

LIBRARY.—Item, for making two windows in the library,† in stone, wood, and glass, and for repairing the roof, the desks, for two new doors, and for rebinding the books—£90. 16s.

THE CLOISTER.—For carpenter's wood, and iron for the studies or carols (v. p. 146) of the Convent in the Cloister—£33.

Item, for carpenter's work, at the (book) chest‡ and studies of the Novices (in the Cloister), and for glazier's work—£13. 15s.

Item, for repairing the washing troughs,§ with chests for towels—£26s. 5s.

Item, for building the vault (stone roof) of the Chamber of Charity|| (*solarium caritatis*), and two windows, &c.—£10. 2s. 9d.

Item, by the labour and procuration of John Wessyngton, partly before his Priorate and partly afterwards, the greatest part of the Cloister was built at the expence of Walter Skyrlawe, Lord Bishop of Durham, of happy memory.¶

* The bodies of the first Lord Neville and his Lady were not originally buried in that part of the Church in which their tomb now stands, but somewhere else; as there is a licence to their son and successor, to raise their coffins from their original place of sepulture, and remove them into the southern aisle of the nave. The window is large and peculiar to the period.

† The library of the Monks, as I have already said, was the upper room between the Church and the Chapter House, now subdivided into apartments for the Registrar and his clerks. One of these windows, that to the south, still remains, and the outline of the other may be distinctly traced in the wall.

‡ Made in 1423. It stood on the right hand of the Refectory door. *Orig. bill* in the Trea.

§ The large stone laver which still remains in a mutilated state, in the Cloister Green, was made in the years 1432 and 1433. The marble basin and rim were procured from the bed of the Tees, near Barnard-castle, upon the property of the Prior of Eggleston, to whom twenty shillings were given for his consent. The mason was Thomas Hyndeley. The carriage of the three stones of which it was composed, cost 28s. 4d. The spouts were made by Laurence Latoner, of Newcastle, for 9s. The whole work was superintended by Thomas Ayere, one of the Monks, who at his own charge laid a water pipe from the laver into the cellar. *Orig. bill* in the Treas. For a minute description of the laver in its perfect state, see Sanderson, p. 75.

|| I cannot localize this building. The orig. bill of expences is in the Treasury, and from this it appears, that it was built in 1430, and was ascended by a stair-case with an iron rail. There were in it two windows to the north, one of them made at the expence of Thomas Ayere, having his name painted in the glass. This window cost 53s. 4d. The other was given by John Oll, and contained his name. These Monks were afterwards, in their turns, Priors of Coldingham.

¶ The original accounts for building the Cloisters are preserved in the Treasury. The work commenced in 1408, and was finished in 1419. The particulars will be given by Mr. Surtees. Let me add here, that the timber came from Shincliffe and Bearpark, with now and then a few "Eastland bords" (or Norway deals) bought of John Goldsmith, of Hartlepool; the stones came from Bakstanford (*hodie* Baxterwood) or Westburne (? *ubi*). In 1409, there was paid the sum of 8s. for painting (the word is *pictura*, indefinite enough, as I have already said, p. 118) the arms of

THE INFIRMARY.—Item, the repair of the Infirmary—£400.

THE PRIOR'S HALLS.—Item, the building and repairing of divers of the Prior's Halls—£419. 10s. 3½d.

THE HOSTEL.—Item, the repairing of the southern chamber in the Hostel, called the King's Chamber, with new upper windows in the Hall there—£118. 17s. 9d.

Amount of repairs *within*—£2354. 2s. 9d.

The roll proceeds to enumerate the expences incurred in building and repairs *without*, and, inter alia,

Item, buildings and repairs in the office of Shrine Keeper—£30. 5s. 4½d.

The sum total of this head is £1947.

In addition to this, the sum of £513. 16s. 2d. was laid out in purchasing ornaments for the Church, jewels (plate), for hospitality, the Chapel of the Prior, the Refectory, the Infirmary, and the Hostel, viz.—copes, vestments, basins, ewers, &c. &c.; £400. during the period had been expended in entertaining the Lords spiritual and temporal, who sojourned for a while at Durham on their road to the Borders, &c. &c. And after other interesting memoranda, the whole is added up, and there stands the large sum of £7881. 8s. 3½d., as the amount of expenditure.

Prior Wessington was succeeded by William Ebchestre. During the short vacancy which intervened, a most minute survey was made of the Church of Durham and her possessions, the original of which is preserved in the Treasury (Loc. 42).

the Bishop above the wall of the Cloister —. In 1416, Nicholas Kervor (*the carver*) was paid 20s. for 60 *knotts* (*ornamental finishings*, where the cross beams of the roof intersect each other, many of which now remain)—and in 1419, when the work was drawing to a close, 7s. were expended for painting three angels with circles, and 20 “scucheons”. The three angels still remain, one over the old entrance into the Chapter House, another in the corner of the Cloister next to the Deanery, and the third in a mutilated state a few yards northwards, on the road to the library; two of them support the arms of Skirlaw, and the third those of the Sec. As to the “scucheons,” or armorial bearings, for that, in fact, is the meaning of the word, many of them are still extant, affixed to the crossings of the wood work of the cieling. They were numerous in 1666, as appears from sketches of them taken by Sir William Dugdale, and engraved upon two plates in Surtees's History of Durham. The most frequent bearing is, of course, SKIRLAW, but the arms of most of the northern families might once have been found. On this very May 13, 1828, they have been moved from their places, in order that their respective emblazons may be restored. In the same year (1419) there is a charge for “*tynnyng*” 300 “*clavi*” for the cloister 12d.; for the *painting* 3 “*keys*” 4d.; and to Nicholas Kervor for *painting* 60 “*keys*” 22s. The “*clavi*” and the “*keys*” refer to one and the same thing, the ornamental carvings attached to the crossings of the bars or beam work of the cieling, many of which remain to this day; and on many of them there are evident remains of a whitish covering or tinfoil among the intricacies of their carved parts.

In 1446-7, Jan. 10th, Robert Rodes, an eminent lawyer of Newcastle, Steward to the Prior and Convent of Durham, and enjoying the fraternity of the Church, presented to the shrine of St. Cuthbert a cross of gold, afterwards suspended against the eastern gable of the shrine near the feet of the Saint, set with five precious stones. In the midst was a sapphire, and at each angle or corner a ruby, and there were besides other small gems, arranged in circles at each extremity: behind the cross, beneath a cross-shaped berill, there were portions of the pillar to which Christ was bound when he was scourged, and of the stone of his grave cut out of the rock.*

* MS. B. II. 35. ad finem, v. p. 130, and Smith's Bede, p. 745. Of this well-known and opulent man, to whom the glorious tower of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle, is supposed to owe its origin, let me throw together a few brief notices from documents before me, in addition to the facts recorded of him by Brand (Newc. i. 261).

In 1439, he was opulent enough to lend £20. to the Prior and Convent of Durham (Regr. ii. parv. f. 108. b.), and on the 17th of March following £20. more, (ib. 134. b.) That he afterwards held office under Bishop Neville, appears from the following letter written by the Prior of Durham to Sir Thomas Neville, Knight, nephew and seneschal of that Prelate. The writer was Prior Ebchester:—

“ Litera directa Thomæ Nevill militi.

“ Wirshipfull and my full goode maystre, I recomende me to yow in my most lawly wyse praying gode for his endlesse mercy to rewarde yow for y^r goode supportt that yhe doo daily to me and my brethir. Besekande yowe for the luffe of Gode Almyghty of yo^r goode and gracieux contynuaunce. And I wete wele it is nott unknowyn to yowe how that our Stewarde William Hoton, at the calling of our Soverayne Lord Jhesu, is passide oute of this worlde, whose saule Gode for his goode grace receyff to endlesse mercy; whilke deede is to me and my brethrer your Chapeleyns, savyng the displeaunce of Gode, the most hevynesse and losse of oon that ever befell to us or to the Monastery of Durham. Bod sene (but since) God will it be thus, us moste (we must) of grett necessite purwey us of a lernyd man like as he was for the occupacion of the said office for mony consideracions. Wherfor my goode maistre, I requyre yow, for the luff of Gode Almyghty, oure Lady Seynt Mary, and Seynt Cuthbertt oure holy patrone, as I am and ay salbe (shall be) your trew bedman and preste, shew to me now and my brethir yo^r gracieux helpp, sdco^r and supportt, that it please yow to speke and moorover charge Robert Rodes, my Lordes servaunt and yours, and my trusty frennde, to be our Stewarde like as William Hoton was, to whame and to us I beseke yow and all my brether yo^r Chapeleyns for his luffe that diede on crosse to be protecto^r and defendour, for we hadd never moor neede than now, and I sall deservytt to yow with the grace of Gode; who haff yow in his gracieux kepyng, and preserve yow fro all adversities for his mercy. Wreten at Durham with a full, hevy, and sorowfull hertt, the xvii day of Septemb. (1446).”—Regr. III. parv. f. 4.

That Rodes was prevailed upon to accept this place of honour and trust, appears from the gift recorded above in the text, which was made by him a very few months afterwards to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, in his capacity of Seneschal to the Convent, the post which the Prior was so anxious to confer upon him.

In 1456, he was sojourning for a while in London, and during his stay there he received two letters from the Prior of Durham, of which the following are extracts:—

1. “ — And also in moore especieell I thanke you for your effectual and plenarye letter, yat yhe sennt to me, praynge you yhat yhe will provid me of vi copes of blewe welvett yat yhe have boght of, and powdre those vi copes with floures of gold after y^e ensample sennt to me. And also to provide of orfrays (gold fringe) with ymagirye for y^e said vi copes, price of y^e orfray of every cope viii marc, like as yhe have written to me. And I pray you remembre yat I desired yat ther sulde nott be mykell blakke in y^e said orfrays. Furthirmore I pray you hertly yat yhe

1446—7. To John Binchester, carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert	-	0	6
1447—8.* Paid to Sir John Palman, for writing four tablets with prayers concerning (<i>de</i>) St. Cuthbert, and for illuminating the same	-	0	10
To Simon Roos, for a hide, and making a great cord for the shrine	-	0	4

will provide me of other vi copes of y^e same cloth of blewe welvett, and to powdre thayme with smaller floures of gold, and fewer of thayme in everye cope yan in y^e othre vi copes after your plesier and discrete wisdom; price of a floure of yat soorte vi^d. if it like you, or viii^d. if nead bee. And orfres for y^e said vi copes of yis soorte of y^e cloth of golde yat yhe sennt me ensample, y^e whilke I sennde to you ageyn with y^e berer hereof — yis tyme I purpose to have no moo copes besid thoos yat I have rehersitt to you afor —. Writen at Durham y^e xx day of May 1456, your trewe brother and frennde W. Prior of Durham.

"(P. S.) I pray you yat if yhe may wele, yat we myght have y^e same copes at Durham afor Seynt Cuthbert day in September next comynge."—Regr. iii. p. f. 79. b.

My next extract proves, that in the Prior's opinion Rodes could be trusted with a secret. But could caution have been more strongly expressed?

— "Moreover, I pray you hertely, provid for me ii hoggeshevedes of y^e best Malvesye yat yhe may bye in London, and for to by it as for your awen person, and yat yhe will ordeyn to sennde it to your awen place in y^e Newcastell uppon Tyne, in your name as your awen proper goode; and what money yhe pay therfor I sall conteunt you ageyn, or ellis where it sall please you to be repaid. Durham, xiii Jun. (1456)."—Ib. f. 84.

* I have already (p. 105) promised my reader somewhat of information as to the consumption of provisions in the Church of Durham, at stated periods, and I avail myself of this opportunity of keeping my word. There is in the Treasury an undated Cellerar's roll belonging to the period before me, from which I make the following extracts:—

The week of the feast of St. Cuthbert and the Nativity of the Virgin. "A horse load of fish from Sunderland, 20d.; 260 salt herrings, 2s. 7d.; 20 cod fish ("*dogdraves*"), 7s. 7d.; six oxen and a half, 55s.; 21 sheep, 35s. 10d.; three kids, 7s. 2d.; twelve pork pigs, 5s. 4d.; seven dozen and three chickens, 7s. 7d.; four dozen and a half pigeons, 18d.; other fowl ("*volatil*") 3s. 1d.; cows' feet, 6d.; fish, 8s. 5d.; 780 eggs, 5s. 1d.; five pounds of pepper, 6s. 8d.; half a pound of saffron, 7s. 6d.; six pounds of figs, 6d.; six pounds of raisins ("*racemi magni*"), 12d.; a quarter of cloves ("*garioflor.*"), 15d.; a quarter of mace ("*de maces*"), 12d.; four flagons of oil, 6s. 8d.; two pounds of currants ("*racemi de curans*"), 10d.; two flagons of honey, 2s.; six pounds of almonds, 18d.; one pound of ginger, 12d."

My statistical reader will thank me for subjoining a few more extracts from similar documents.

1312—1313. For the week during the election and installation of Prior Burdon, when there were at Durham the Bishop, the Priors of the Cells, and the Justices of the Palatinate:—

Forty loads of white fish, £8. 1s. 1d.; 11400 fresh herrings, £5. 3s.; 191 salmon and 30 trouts ("*truytes*") £7. 12s. 3d.; 66 porkers, £1. 5s. 8d.; 552 chickens and 16 ? capons ("*altit*") £2. 19s.; 14300 eggs, £4. 3s. 5d.; milk, 3s.; milk and fresh water fish ("*aquæ dulcis*"), 4s. 8d.; vinegar and milk ("*vino ac.*") and milk, fodder ("*prebenda*") and milk, 3s. 9d.; congers, 7s.; bacon and veal, 15s. 1d.; bacon and veal, 7s.; a stone of lard, 15d.; dripping ("*exitus*") and mutton suet, 2s. 2d.; "*turbut and playc*," 25s. 6d.; 16 "*Lampreys*," 18s.; beef, bacon, veal, mutton, with dripping and suet, 44s. 7d.

From the same document, I extract the consumption during the week of St. Cuthbert's feast, in the above year, chiefly on account of a few early English words which occur:—

Milk, 3s. 4½d.; 8 horse load of fish, 28s.; 4500 white herrings, 26s. 10½d.; "*playc, sperlings, soles*," 11s. 9d.; 3 "*salmon*," with 6 "*truyts salm.*" 3s.; an ox and three quarters, 12s. 2d.; 327 geese, 73s. 16d.; 302 chickens, 40s. 3d.; 38 chickens, 3s. 5d., 18 ? capons ("*altit*"), 5s. 6d.; 13 porkers, 5s.; 6 dozen of "*pluvers*," 4s. 2d.; 8 dozen of "*curleus*," 2s.; 40 ducks, 5s.; 3 stone of lard, 6s.; 3000 eggs, 20s.

1326—Week of the feast of St. Cuthbert. 1700 herrings bought in the town, 10s. 10d.; nine horse load of white fish "*playc*" & "*sperlings*," bought in the town and at the sea side, 45s. 11½d.; an ox and a half, and eight sheep and a half, bought in the town, 30s. 11d.; thirty-nine porkers

On the 26th day of Sept. 1448, there came to Durham, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, King Henry the Sixth, then in the 27th year of his age. Three days after his arrival, on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, which happened on a Sunday, he attended in person the first vespers, the procession, the mass, and the second vespers, in the Cathedral; and on the last day of September he quitted the Castle, in which he had been entertained during his visit, and returned into the south.

Seventeen days afterwards, the King addressed the following epistle to Master John Somerset—but who Master John Somerset was I know not:—

“Right trusty and wellbeloved, wee greet you hartly well, letting you witt, that blessid be our Lord God, we have been right merry in ovr pilgramage, considering iij causes; one is how that the church of y^e province of York and diocesse of Durham be as nobill in doing of divine service, in multitude of ministers and in sumptuous and glorious buildinge, as anie in our realme. And alsoe how our Lord has radicate in the people his faith and his law, and that they be as catholike people as ever wee came among, and all (? als) good and holy, that we dare say the first commandement may be riefied right well in them. *Diligunt Dominum Deum ipsorum ex totis animis suis, ex totâ mente suâ.* Also they have done unto us all (als, doubtless) great hertly reverence and worshipp as ever we had, with all great humanity and meekness, with all celestiaall blessed, and hono’ble speech and blessing as it can be thought and imagined, and all (? als) good and better than we had ever in our life, eaven as they had beene *celitus inspirati*. Wherefore we dare well say, it may be verified in them y^e holy saying of y^e prince of y^e Apostles, S. Peter, when he sayeth, *Deum timete regem honorificate.* Qui (? quia) *timent dominum & regem honorificant cum debitâ reverentiâ.* Wherefore the blessing

and brawn (“braune,”) 20s. 7d.; 164 geese and 44 ducks, 46s. 9½d.; 18 capons, four hundred five score and eighteen chickens, (six score therefore to the hundred), and five score pigeons, 38s. 4d.; three geese? (“*aucis rosetlis*”); 30 chickens, fowl, and lard, 9s. 11d.; two stones and 4lb. of white lard, six stones of cheese, nine flagons of milk, and lard, 7s. 8d.; 2180 eggs, 13s. 11½d.

1547—Whitsun week. 600 salt (red) herrings, 3s.; four hundred white herrings, 2s. 2d.; thirty salted salmon, 7s. 6d.; twelve fresh salmon, 5s. 6d.; fourteen ling (“*lengs*”), 55 “*kelengs*,” four “*turbot*,” 23s. 1d.; two horse loads of white fish and a “*congr*,” 5s. 10d.; “*playc*,” “*sparlings*,” and eels, and fresh water fish (“*aquæ dulcis*”), 2s. 9d.; nine carcasses (“*carcos*”) of oxen salted, so bought, 36s.; one carcase and a quarter fresh, 6s. 11¾d.; a quarter of an ox fresh bought in the town, 3s. 6d.; seven carcasses and a half of swine in salt (“*bacon*”), 22s. 2½d.; six carcasses fresh, 12s. 9d.; fourteen calves, 28s. 4d.; three kids and 26 sucking porkers, 9s. 7½d.; seventy-one geese with their feed, 11s. 10d.; fourteen capons, 59 chickens, and 5 dozen pigeons, 10s. 3d.; five stone of hog’s lard (“*alb sag*.”) 4s. 2d.; four stone of cheese, butter & milk, 6s. 6d.; a pottle of vinegar (“*vinî acr*.”) and a pottle of honey, 6½d.; fourteen pounds of figs and raisins, 13 lbs. of almonds and 8 lbs. of rice (“*rys*”), 3s. 7d.; pepper, saffron, cinnamon, and other spices, 2s. 6d.; one thousand three hundred eggs, 15s. 5d.—Sum total, £11. 4s. 0½d.

I should add, that the rolls of the Cellarer frequently contain marginal notices of the high titled visitors who were entertained within the walls of the Convent during the respective weeks of their account.

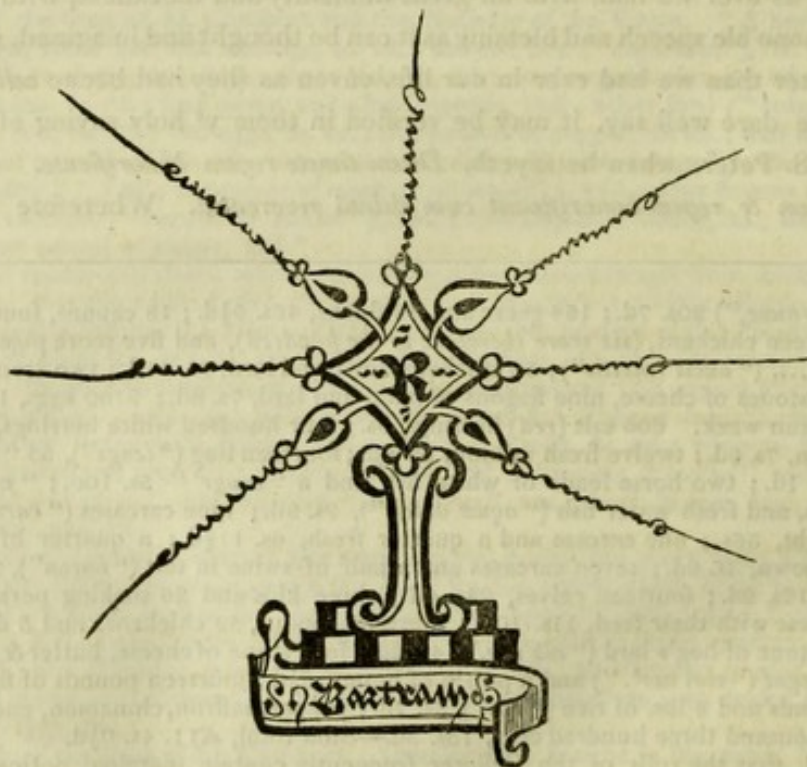
y^t God gave to Abraham, Isack, and Jacob, descend upon them all, &c. Wryten in oure citty of Lincolne in crastino S. Lucæ Evang. 1448."*

1448—9. Received a legacy of John Shakeloke to the shrine of St. Cuthbert	20	0
Paid to John Raper,† for one cable rope (<i>cabill raype</i>), bought for raising the shrine	-	4 0
To Symon Roose, for a horse's hide, bought for the same, 12d., and for stitching it on (<i>pro suicione</i>) 8d.		
1450—1. Paid to Thomas Goldsmyth, for " <i>stapilles & crookes</i> " of silver, made in the shrine	-	0 4
1451—2. Paid to John Walker, for making a " <i>matte</i> " for the bench near the shrine of St. Cuthbert	-	0 12
To Master Robert Bertrame,‡ for a certain commission of our Lord		

* I give the whole of the above story from Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 338, where it is printed upon the authority of Randall, but without any reference from that painful antiquary to the source of his information.

† Note here the origin of professional surnames.

‡ Robert Bertram was a very distinguished Notary Public at the period before us. I subjoin his notarial mark, which he sketched with his own hand upon every document which proceeded from him. It is taken from a deed in the Treasury, connected with Coldingham, and dated in 1461.



"In 1476 (22d May), Letters of Fraternity were granted by the Convent of Durham to Sir Thomas Bartram, Chaplain, Robert Bartram, Notary Public, Joan his wife, and Isabel Milner her sister."—Regr. iv. As to the Curates and the Procession, see above.

the Bishop, to levy the fines of Curates not appearing at the Pro-	0	4
cession in Whitsun week - - - - -	0	12
For paper, parchment, and writing this account - - - - -	0	12
1453—4. Paid for a new key for the iron door before the relics on the south		
side - - - - -	0	3
To Symon Rose, for repairing the cords of the shrine - - - - -	0	4
For rings for the curtains (<i>riddyls</i>) - - - - -	0	2

In the year 1456, the great tower of the Church was again in a state of decay, notwithstanding the repairs which it had lately undergone (v. p. 149). This fact is ascertained from a letter in Latin, written by the Prior and Convent to their Bishop, under one side of their common seal, in which the following facts are detailed:—

“The belfry of your church, both in its masonry and timber, in consequence of winds and storms, is so enfeebled and shaken, that doubts are entertained as to its standing for any length of time—we have called in workmen in both capacities, and they have reported to us, that three of its sides are out of perpendicular, that many of the key and corner stones of its windows and other places have fallen out, that in other respects it is defective; and that, besides, its wooden work is in a state of great decay, so that it cannot be expected to stand for any length of time. Some are of opinion, that the belfrey (the words are *stilum campanilis*) should be totally removed, as it cannot stand long; others, on the contrary, wish it to be perfectly restored; a thing which exceeds our means, unless we have the advantage of charitable aid. In this state of doubt and hesitation, we have recourse to you, as members to their head, presuming not to engage in any such great and *stupendous* alteration with reference to your church, without your advice. If, which God forbid, the tower should fall, the solemn fabric of our choir, and *the shrine of our most holy Patron*, would, without doubt, be bowed down and irrecoverably laid flat on the ground, for that is the direction towards which it leans. We confess that whenever winds and storms are high, and we are standing at our duty in that part of the church, we tremble for our fate, having positive danger before our eyes. Wherefore we with one mind implore—aid—and—counsel, &c. Dated at Durham, in the Chapter House, 2d Jan. 1456.”

I could easily ascertain and detail the steps which were taken to repair the stately middle tower of the Church, and to superadd the present belfry or upper story of the fabric, but in the midst of original information hitherto unexplored, I have far too frequently lost sight of the subject before me. I only add, that the fabric of the tower was not finished in 1474, for in that year there is a letter

dated 16 May, to Dr. Morton, in which the Prior speaks of the "reedificacion of o^r steple, begun but nogt fynyshed in defaulte of goods as God knaweth." (Regr. III. parv. f. 160.) There is a letter written by the Prior to Sir Robert Ogle, about this period, from which it appears, that the new bells intended for the steeple were lost at sea on their way to Durham.

1457—8. Received of Richard Bell, late Hostillar, from the box of John Warton,* in the Church of St. Oswald, for the year 1456, 114s. 9½d., assigned by the Lord Prior to the Office of Feretrar.

Received £4. 4s. 6d. of John Myddellam, Hostillar, from the same box for 1457.

Paid for a cord for the dish hanging at the head of St. Cuthbert	-	s.	d.
		0	6

1458—9. For repairing the missal belonging to the altar of the shrine of St. Cuthbert

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	16
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1459—60. For repairing the cross† once belonging to Bishop Thomas Langley, and the image of the blessed Virgin Mary

-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
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For repairing the dish hanging at the head of St. Cuthbert	-	-	0	7
--	---	---	---	---

For repairing a lock of the box of St. Cuthbert‡ at the foot of his shrine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

For making a lock§ at the head of St. Cuthbert, and ornamenting a chain there	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	16
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

My readers are acquainted with the bloody history of the period at which I have arrived, and of the vigorous struggles made by Queen Margaret in favour of her weak and passive husband, Henry the Sixth; but it has not been hitherto known, that large contributions were made by the Prior and Convent of Durham to the maintenance of her cause. The fact appears from the following petition, presented to Edward the Fourth, who happened to be at Durham in April, 1461, about a month after Henry was deposed. The Prior, in a letter

* The Vicar of St. Oswald's, at this period, was endowed with a money payment, and the tithes of his parish, great and small, were gathered by the Convent. The Hostillar received the offerings and fees of the Church. John Warton is afterwards dignified with the title of *Saint*, but I know not his history.

† See above, p. 121.

‡ See p. 113, where it is incorrectly stated that the *box* of St. Cuthbert stood at the *head* of the shrine.

§ For the wooden covering of the shrine, see p. 113.

to the Lord Chancellor,* printed in a note below, gives a minute account of the presentation and reception of his brief, from whence it appears, that up to the date of his letter no notice had been taken of his prayer.

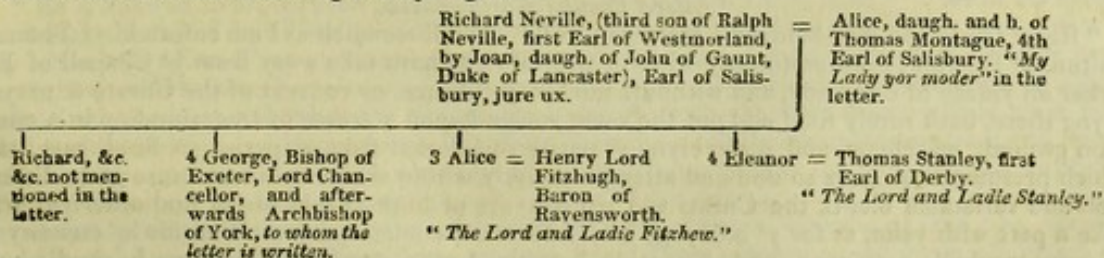
Supplicatio facta Domino Regi Edwardo.

"Most humbly besekith unto yo^r gracieux highnesse yo^r cotidian oratoures y^e Prior and y^e Covent of Duresme of yo^r fundacion, that wheras the quene late called Quene Margaret, borrowed of your said Oratoures cccc marc' agaynst their good will by might

* *Litera directa Cancellario Angliæ.*

"Most reverent noble and my singuler goode Lord, I recomende me unto your goode Lordshipp of my most humble wise, thanking you for yo^r goode grace shewid to me at all tymes in all my neds, beseking you of yo^r gracieux continuance. And in especiall of yo^r goode helpe for y^e goode spede of y^e bill yat I put up to the King's heghnesse when he was at Duresme, wharof I sende you a copy by my brothir (monk) dan Thomas Cale: the whilk can enforme your Lordshipp of y^e grete costs and losse that our house hath hade of late, whereby we ar of unpower to ber o^r chargs as we wer wont, and we ar in dispayr to recover our goods and to be of power as we wer, but only yat my trist and comforth is in you chefely and my Lords your brethren, and my good Ladis, my lady yo^r moder, my Lady Fitzhew and my Lady Stanley, and my goode Lord Faucombrig, my Lord Fitzhew and my Lord Stanley, by y^e meanes of whome I triste our lyege Lord the King will be inclyned to grace to graunt me myn asking. For what tyme he toke his lefe (leave) at Saynt Cuthbert, my Lord of Duresme toke me in his honde and satt down uppon his knee befor y^e King, and so dyd my Lord Warwic, and I beside yaim (them): and thay prayed y^e King to be my goode Lord, and y^e Kyng answerd and said, 'Prior, I will be your good Lord, and I shall remembr your bill.' I am his trew liegeman and his trew bedeman, and yf it happyn this grace to be grauntied, and any man assigned to make y^e payment othir (either) in part or in y^e hole, I wold, and ye thynk so, yat he shuld be charged bi you in y^e King's name to bring up to yow acquitaunce under my seal of such sommes as I shall recover, and within sich tyme as ye will think. Elles I drede that sich men be assigned to make me payment that other will noght paye, or elles yat I dar noght aske it of yaim. My Lord of Duresme is my goode Lord, God thank you therof. Umfray Nevill hath ben a cummerouse man to me and my brethir, and if he come agayn to our country to have liberty and rule as he had afor, I drede that I and my brethir shall nozt rejoyce our goods in pease. I trespass never to him, as I will make goode. I beseke you to see for sich a remedy that he do us no mor harme. And our Lord Jhs Crist have you in his blissid keepyng. Writen at Duresme y^e xxvij day of Octobr, by yo^r devoute orator John, Prior of Duresme." (1461.)—Reg. III. parv. f. 105.

The relative position of the various stars in the above bright galaxy of nobility, will be best understood from the following brief pedigree:—



The "Lord Faucombrig" was Sir Wm. Neville, another son of the first Earl of Westmorland, created Lord Falconbridge by Henry VI., and uncle to the Chancellor. Notwithstanding these high names interested in his behalf, I am not aware that the Prior was ever recompenced for his loans. Umfrey Neville has already crossed my path (p. 154). He was a member of the same family, but not in the Prior's good graces. What he had done I know not.

and grete power, the which yai might never worse have spared in all yair daies as God knoweth, for y^e which some to be paied againe ther be bounden by obligacion Maister John Moreton, Thomas Tresham, Wylliam Grymmesby, Squiers ; and S^r John Qwhelpdale, prest. Moreover other diverse persones late decessid awe unto yam notable somes, that is to say y^e Erle of Northumberland xxii^{li}. xiii^s. iiiii^d. Sir Willyam Bartram, xxv^{li}. xi^s viii^d. Sir John Heron, xxiiii^s. Thomas Ilderton, viii^{li}. xiii^s. iiiii^d. Robert Fenkall, L^r. Robert Macson and Thomas Butre, iij^{li}. vj^s. viii^d. Robert Rokeby, xxxiiii^s. iiiii^d. So yat now yo^r said humble Oratours shall never mowe to be restored, or to have any manner of remedy withoute your speciall grace beshowed unto yaim in that partye. Please it yerfor yo^r gracieux highnesse of yo^r most noble and blissid disposicion that such a remedy may be hade in yat behalfe that y^e lifelode and goods of y^e said persons may content and satisfie yo^r said humble Oratours of y^e said somes ; and yai shall pray God hertly for the perfite conservation of your highness."—Regr. parv. III. f. 96.

The real object of this petition was not so much to obtain from the King the repayment of the 400 marks—for of this there could be no reasonable expectation—as an order to the representatives of the other debtors above mentioned to reimburse the Church. The Earl of Northumberland *certainly*, and *probably* all the others, had fallen in battle on the side of Henry the Sixth ; and therefore the Prior, aware that there could not possibly be any disposition on the part of Edward to favour their successors, might reasonably hope for a favourable result to his application ; but I do not find that any steps were taken by the Crown for the purpose.

1464-5.*	The expences of Roland Lene, at York, buying fish against the feast	s.	d.
	of St Cuthbert	-	2 6

* From the Bursar's Roll of the year :—

" *Litera Comitis Northumbriæ.*

" Right trusty and well-beloved I grete you well. And forsomuch as I am enformid y^t Thomas Folton, of Ellerkar, presumptuously without titill of right hath take away from y^e Chapell of Ellerkar an ymage of our Lady, and withoute auctory, licence, or consent of the Curate & paryshyng there, hath surely fixid and put the same ymage uppon a crosse of tree standing in a common ground, marchyng and disseveryng y^e parish of Ellerkar from y^e parish of Southcave, the which presumptuose dede so don and attempt ys likly within shorte tyme to cause grete dissencion and variaunce bitwix the Curats and parysshyns of both y^e said towns and other yat will take a part with yaim, as for y^e offeryngs yat of devocion cometh yerto. Wharfor in eschewyng of more troubyll, variaunce, and dissencion herastir, I pray you hertfully to see in goodly hast that y^e said ymage be restorid agayn unto y^e foresaid Chapell by y^e hands of the said Thomas. Chargyng him in my name yat he so do upon payn y^t may fall y^r upon yf he do y^e contrary, and God help you. Writyn at Heton, (1464.)"

Nomina ad quos dirigitur ista litera sunt, Alex. Lame & Rob. Sheffield, jun.—Regr. III. parv. 1. 125. b.

1464—5.	The expences of Richard Pacock, at Norham, buying salmon against	s.	d.
	the said feast - - - - -	7	0
1480—1.	For painting the staff of St. Cuthbert's banner - - - - -	0	10
1488—9.	For repairing and fixing the images round the tomb of St. Cuthbert	0	8

The records of the Shrine Keeper for the latter part of the fifteenth century are neither numerous nor interesting.

St. Cuthbert's last miracle was performed in the month of July, 1502, during the short period that Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., sojourned at Durham, on her way to share the throne of Scotland with King James the Fourth. The patient was Richard Poell, one who was following in her train, and high in favour with her father. A long account of the deep rooted disease under which he was labouring, his groans, his prayers, his short sleep, and his awaking perfectly restored to health, may be seen in *Chambre* (Angl. Sacr. i. p. 781), detailed with as much *minute seriousness*, as if the narrative had been drawn up by Reginald himself.

“But soft, methinks I scent the morning air”

of the Reformation. “Let me be brief” with such stories as these.

There stands upon record, in the private register of Thomas Castell, who was Prior of Durham at the death of King Henry the Seventh, a poem upon that event, which I feel inclined to lay before my readers, not so much from any connection which it has with my subject, or any intrinsic merit which it possesses, as from a wish to avail myself of this opportunity of ascertaining whether

The abjuration of a Fortuneteller.

“Be it knawen to all christen people, yt where I Katherynn Murra, from ye tyme of my byrth to the xxixth day of Aprill last passid, hath oppenly namyd & callid my selfe a *Jew*, and so made my selfe to be taken & reputed among cristen people in divers parties of England, & have pretendyd my selfe to have knowlege of secrete thyngs, jugging (judging) mennys fortune & wymmens, both passid and for to come, agayne the lawes of crist's church, where I hadd none nor hath such knowlege, as I here oppenly knowlege & confesse to all yow cristen poeple: and upon satterday last passid, not coact ne constreynyd, hath takyn upon me the sacrament of baptysm, and ther protestyd to lyve accordyng to ye lawes of holy church. Whilk not withstanding, upon weddysday and thursday last passid, in ye parisshe of Seynt Nicholas of Duresme, agayne ye feith yt I have obliged & bound me unto, to have divers waies renewid myne old errors & opinionns, ye which I utterly forsake, & forthynkith & oppenly askith almighty godd forgifnes; prayng yow all beyng present, yt yis myne oppyn confession may be example yt ye gyve no feith ne credence to none such in tyme to comme, and of yot charite hertely praith yow for to pray for me. This abjuration or protestation was made in the Market-place of Durham, 6th May, 1503. Dominical letter A.”—Regr. iv. parv. 140.

it be not, in fact, the composition of the Prior himself. I am not aware that it occurs in the writings of any known Poet of the period; and if this be really the case, considering the place in which it is found, I know of no other alternative than to ascribe it to Castell, who, under these circumstances, becomes the third Poetical Prior of his Church :—

“ O wavering worlde all wrapped in wretchidness,
What auales thy pompes so gay and gloryous,
Thy pastymes, thy pleasors and all thy riches,
Syth of necessitie they be but transitoryous;
Example but late, O to much pyteous!
The puyssaunt prince that yche man whilome dred,
Maugre thy myght by naturall lyne and cours,
Henry the Seventh, alas! alas! lyeth dede.

“ O case wonderfull, so ryall a king,
Surmountyng in man^r the prudent Salomon,
In wysdome in riches and in ev’ry thing,
None to hym lyek in no cristen region;
Redoubted and fered not long agone,
Lauded and prased, his name by fame spred,
From worldly conceit nowe destitute alone,
For Henry the Seventh, alas! alas! lyeth dede.

“ Lo marke we this mater, we wretchid creatures,
For all his kyngdomes and trihumphant majestie,
For all his joyes, his pastymes and pleasures,
He is now gone withouten remedie,
The soule where God will, the miserable bodie
Closed in stone and in hevy lede:
O what is this worlde but vanyte and all vanyte,
For Henry the Seventh, alas! alas! lyeth dede.

“ Come we therefor his subjectes and make lamentacion
For the losse of one so noble a governowre,
To God with our prayers make we exclamacion
His soule for to guyde to his supernal toure:
For faded is the goodly rose floure
That whilome so rially all aboute spred,
Dethe hath hym mated—wherre is his power?
Henry the Seventh, alas! alas! lyeth dede.

“ Of this most christen kyng in us it lyeth not
His tyme passid honour sufficient to prayse,

But yet though that thyng envalue we may not,
 Our prayers of suertie he shall have always:
 And though that Atropose hath ended his days,
 His name and fame shall ever be dred
 As fer as Phebus spredes his golden rays,
 Though Henry the Seventh, alas ! alas ! lyeth dede.

" But now what remedye ? he is uncorable
 Toucheyd by the hand of God that is most juste,
 But yet agayne a cause most comffortable
 We have wherin of right rejoys we muste—
 His sone on lyne in beaute, force and lust
 In honour lykely Trajanus to shede ;
 Wherfor in hym put we oure hope and trust,
 Sith Henry his fader, alas ! alas ! lyeth dede.

" And now for conclusion, about his herse
 Let this be grayd for endles memorie
 With soroful tunes of Thesyphene's verse
 Here lyeth the puyssant and mighty Henry,
 Hector in batayll, Ulyxes in polecy,
 Salamon in wysdome, the noble rose rede,
 Creses in riches, Julius in glory,
 Henry the VIIth ingraued here lyeth dede."

REGR. IV. PARV. F. 176. B.

1513—4. In this year, as I have already stated (p. 116—7), the box of St. Cuthbert was found empty. That of St. John Warton, in Elvet Church, produced 16d.; and there are the two following charges:—

" To Sir John Forster, for carrying the banner of St. Cuthbert—16d.

" For repairing the banner of St. Cuthbert*—13s. 4d.

In 1522, the Banner of St. Cuthbert was again in the field against Scotland ;

* All the Chroniclers of the day mention the fact, that the Banner of St. Cuthbert waved over the men of the Bishoprick, headed by Sir Wm. Bulmer, at Floddon Field. The above item proves that it underwent considerable repairs before it could be moved from its place within the shrine. It was taken from Durham by Lord Surrey, who heard mass there on his road to the borders. See the old Poem of Floddon Field, edited by Lambe and Weber; in which, by the way, there is a stanza evidently in a corrupted state:—

" Where he devoutly did hear mass,
 And worship't God his maker dear ;
 Then *prayed the prayer* of that place,
 Saint Cuthbert's banner for to bear."

By reading *prayed the Prior*, the line becomes intelligible. The Banner was again victorious, and again brought home with it the Royal Standard of Scotland, which, with many pennons of the Nobility of that nation, was deposited within the Feretory of St Cuthbert.

but for the circumstances which led to its requisition so soon after the Field of Floddon, I must refer my readers to Ridpath's Border History, or any Chronicle of the period. From a letter in the British Museum (Calig. B. 111. 299), written by William Frankelyn to the Bishop of Durham, dated at Kypier, 15th Sept. (1522), it appears, that upon this occasion Baron Hilton refused to go with the rest of the Bishoprick men, but went at the head of his own retainers, and that many would not go at all.

At the period before me, there are abundant proofs of the anxiety of the Crown to secure to individuals connected with it, the ecclesiastical preferments of the Prior and Convent of Durham. Clerk after Clerk was recommended to benefices upon the point of becoming vacant, and recommended in such a way as to constitute *a sign of the times*.

I relate the following tale upon the authority of Camden (Remains, p. 308). It evidently refers to the period at which we have arrived:—

“Not many years since, a French Bishop, returning out of Scotland, coming to the Church of Durham, and brought to the shrine of St. Cuthbert, kneeled down, and after his devotions offered a Bauby,* saying, *Sancte Cuthberte, si sanctus sis, ora pro me.*† But afterwards, being brought unto the tomb of Bede, saying likewise his orisons, offered there a French Crown, with this alteration, *Sancte Beda, quia sanctus es, ora pro me.*‡

If there be any truth in the above little anecdote, it satisfactorily proves the opinion of the foreigner on the relative merits of Cuthbert and Bede.

From this period until the Dissolution, I meet with nothing upon record, connected with my subject, which deserves to be noticed, and, therefore, in conclusion, I gather together from Sanderson the various memorials of our Saint of which I have hitherto made no mention, but which must have met the eye of any one who visited the Cathedral when that event took place. I have already noticed what might be seen in the Feretory (p. 111), and in the eastern aisle of the Cloister (p. 152).

The middle altar in the Nine Altars was dedicated to *St. Cuthbert and Bede*—(Sand. p. 1.)

* The smallest Scottish coin.

† St. Cuthbert, *if thou art a Saint, pray for me.*

‡ St. Bede, *because thou art a Saint, pray for me.*

"In the south alley end of the Nine Altars, there is a goodly fair great glazed window, which hath in it the whole history, life, and miracles of that holy man *St. Cuthbert*, from his birth and infancy unto the end; and the discourse* of his holy life, marvellously fine, and curiously set forth in pictures, in fine coloured glass, according as he went in his habit to his dying day," (p. 5.)

In the niches of the altar screen, "in the midst, right over the High Altar, were artificially placed, in very fine alabaster, the picture of *St. Cuthbert* on one side, and the picture of *St. Oswald* on the other, all richly gilt," (p. 10.)

A painting of *St. Cuthbert* in the northern window of the middle transept, (p. 34.)

In a compartment of a window in the western wall of the Galilee, was "the picture of *St. Cuthbert*, very lively coloured in glass, in his ordinary Episcopal vestments to say mass, with his mitre on his head, and having a crozier or pastoral staff in his left hand, and the image of *St. Oswald's* head painted on his breast supported with his right hand, in fine coloured glass;† under his feet is written in the glass, (p. 50),

**Sanctus Cuthbertus quondam Lindisfarnensis Episcopus,
hujus Ecclesiae et Patriae maximus Patronus.**

In the third window in the north aisle, reckoning from the middle transept, was the picture of *St. Cuthbert* and his arms,‡ (p. 99.)

In the first window on the south side of the nave, beginning at the middle transept, "was pictured *St. Cuthbert* all in fine coloured glass;" in the second, "*St. Cuthbert* in his Episcopal robes;" and in the third, "*St. Cuthbert*, with certain arms of the Neville's,"§ finely done, (p. 100, 101.)

There was a window towards the Cloisters, west of the clock, which had three

* This expression, and two or three others of a similar nature, convince me that Sanderson's publication is merely a translation from a compilation originally in Latin. The *discourse of life* above, is evidently a translation of *discursus vitae*, a mode of expression into which a man writing in Latin would naturally fall.

† This painting, or one of a similar nature, was sold at a sale in Durham not many years ago for a few shillings, and was sent to London.—M. T.

‡ I could write much on early armorial bearings, were this a proper place for the subject; but I do not believe that even Morgan, after the highest of his soarings, has alighted upon those of *St. Cuthbert*. What *these* were, I know not; but if by the arms of *St. Cuthbert* be here meant the shield of the County Palatine, over which he was the Tutelar Spirit, I can only say, that the Lions which were made to ramp upon it were his juniors by many centuries.

§ A few of these still remain.

lights. In the first was the picture of our Lady: under her the picture of *St. Cuthbert*, with *St. Oswald's* head in his hand, (p. 105.)

In the second window in the north aisle of the Choir, in the fourth light, was "*St. Cuthbert*, with *King Oswald's* head in his hand," and above him written

Sanctus Cuthbertus.

In the third window, in the second light, was a painting of "*St. Cuthbert*," subscribed

Sanctus Cuthbertus.

And in the fourth light, a Monk travelling to the sea-side and washing his feet, who found *St. Cuthbert* standing in the sea above his shoulders, holding up his hands and saying his prayers. Also, another Monk lying on the top of a rock, leaning his head on his hand, and beholding holy *St. Cuthbert* where he stood in the sea at his prayers,* (p. 106-7.)

In the fourth window, in the second light, was a painting of *St. Cuthbert*, (p. 107.)

In the Vestry, a projecting too-fall attached to the south aisle of the Choir, and removed about seventeen years ago, in the second window, was "the picture of *St. Cuthbert*, with *St. Oswald's* head in his hand," (p. 109.)

In the Nine Altars, immediately above the altar of *St. Cuthbert* and *St. Bede*, mentioned above, (p. 168), "was a fine long window with stone partitions, and a cross division in the middle, (p. 153). In the first light was *St. Cuthbert*, with *King Oswald's* head in one hand, and his crozier staff in the other, in his habit as he used to say Mass, viz. his albe and red vestment. In the second light was *St. Bede* in a blue habit. These two were in a higher light, and under their feet were the pictures of two Bishops with crozier staves in their hands, kneeling and looking up to them in their Episcopal attire, with mitres on their heads, one under *St. Cuthbert*, and another under *St. Bede*. In the lower lights were the *birth of St. Cuthbert*; and the picture of *St. Oswald* blowing his horn, and *St. Cuthbert* appearing to *St. Oswald*,"† (p. 110.)

* V. Bede, Cap. x. There is a brilliant illumination of this scene in Sir Henry Lawson's Manuscript.

† *St. Oswald*, I dare say, *blew his horn* many a time and oft, when "culling the principal of all the deer" in his kingdom of *Bernicia*—but whoever heard, until now of "*St. Cuthbert* appearing to him" whilst so engaged? *Oswald* fell in 645; and if any conclusion can be come to from circumstantial evidence, *Cuthbert* was at the time a shepherd boy, scarcely twelve years of age. *Sed quorsum hæc?*

On the south side of St. Cuthbert and St. Bede's altar was a window, the lower lights containing the story of St. Oswald's beheading, and being on his bier accompanied by *St. Cuthbert* and others,* &c., (p. 111.)

In the second window to the north from the central window of the Nine Altars, in one of the higher compartments, was a picture of "*St. Cuthbert*," p. 113.

There was an image of *St. Cuthbert* standing in the screen between the nave and choir (v. p. 154), on the south side of the door, with the following inscription beneath, p. 121 :—

Sanctus Cuthbertus monachus, Episcopus Lindisfarnensis, nunc Patronus Ecclesiae et Civitatis ac Libertatis Dunelm. Cujus corpus post 418 annos sepulturae suae, incorruptum & flexibile, dormienti quam mortuo similis est inventum. Et sic vitam intemeratam commendat corporis incorruptio.†

To those who have not seen Durham Cathedral, I have only to say, that none of the above pictorial representations remain. The portions of stained glass contained in its windows, are few and imperfect. There are figures of Bishop Aidan, of a Prior, a King and a Queen, &c., in the tracery of the Te Deum window over the clock, and there is in the small window, to the south of the clock, a perfect figure of a Monk in a kneeling posture, with the following prayer proceeding from his mouth—

Christe Ihesu Thome h...h'm† des gaudia celi ;

But all the rest is patched work.

The painted glass in the circular window was put up six years ago, from fragments, preserved from the Nine Altars. The central star is new.

* This story is just as apochryphal as the one mentioned in the preceding note. It makes St. Cuthbert present at Oswestry. (See p. 8.)

† Written by Prior Wessington.

‡ The blank may be supplied with the surname *Hexham*. There were two Monks of the name of *Thomas Hexham*, contemporaries in 1436.



In addition to the above memorials of St. Cuthbert, there was, under one of the external canopies of the great middle tower, a figure of him in stone, engraved in the margin. It is, as will readily be observed, much mutilated; but enough remains to designate the Saint with his usual accompaniments. It is now standing within the Feretory, along with the other figures removed from the tower twenty years ago, when it underwent a thorough repair.

Such was St. Cuthbert, and these were his glories, on the morning of the 31st December, 1540; but before the evening of that day, his Prior and Convent of Durham had surrendered their Church and all her possessions into the hands of the Crown. It is no part of my province to enter into any detail of the motives and circumstances which led to the dissolution of religious houses. This is a subject which more properly belongs to the general historian; and whenever the task is vigorously undertaken, and faithfully executed, I am of opinion that many new historical facts will be brought to light.

As to the Priory of Durham at the time before us, she was bent down to the ground like a second Niobe, bereft of her offspring. Her daughter cells of Holy Island, Farne, Jarow, Wearmouth, Finchale, Lythum, Stamford, and her College in Oxford, had all been annihilated by the Act, 27th Henry VIII.,

(1536), which dissolved every Monastic establishment, the annual income of which did not amount to £200., and she knew enough of the shafts which were flying abroad, to be morally certain that her turn came next. She had, like a full grown oak upon the summit of a hill, seen the axe of innovation lay flat one *green* tree after another beneath her, with an uninjured edge; and if these had every one of them in succession been turned to profit, and not one was left, she must have daily and hourly anticipated the levelling of that self-same unblunted axe against her own *dry* root. She had endured five hundred years, and if eight stately trees, the "*densissima silva*," which grew under her protecting shade, had been cut away, she, the "*mater*," standing as she was unimpaired, and stretching out her branches from side to side, must have known that she was to fall at no distant period.

After the dissolution of the minor establishments, the Monks of the larger Monasteries had four years of warning as to themselves. I do not mean that in 1536, when the smaller Convents were dissolved, it was denounced to the larger, that in 1540 they should suffer the same fate; but I mean that a period of four years did really intervene between the one event and the other, and that all the while the larger Monasteries were fully aware of the changes which they were destined to undergo, and that soon. Under these circumstances, there is an interesting field for enquiry with respect to the first Dignitaries in most of our Cathedrals after the Reformation,—whether the greater part of them were not Abbots, Priors, or Monks of their respective Churches during the old system; and whether these did not, in each several instance, so far recommend themselves by conformity, as to be necessarily appointed to similar, or even higher, posts, under a new name, in the new order of things. This is an enquiry which may easily be made by those who have leisure; and if it should happen that the above was frequently the case, the advocate for the Reformation can be at no loss to draw from it more than one important inference.

But enough of the "unsparing hurricane," by which

"Green leaves, with yellow mix'd, were torn away,
"And goodly fruitage with the mother spray."

Let me only add here, that, as we shall see in the sequel, the Church of Durham had no reason to complain of the change.

I know not the precise period when the Royal Commissioners visited Durham; but, of course, it was antecedent to the surrender of the Church. According to Sanderson (p. 87), their names were Lee, Henly, and Blithman;

and here follows an account of their proceedings from various authorities. I venture to print certain important passages in italics, or even stronger characters.

“ ST. CUTHBERT'S SHRINE DEFACED.*

“ The sacred Shrine of holy St. Cuthbert was defaced at the Visitation held at Durham for demolishing such monuments, by Dr. Lee, Dr. Henly, and Mr. Blithman, in King Henry the Eighth's reign, at his suppression of Religious Houses. They found many valuable and goodly jewels, especially one precious stone, which, by the estimate of those three Visitors and their skilful lapidaries, was of value sufficient to redeem a Prince. After the spoil of his ornaments and jewels, they approached near to his body, expecting nothing but dust and ashes ; but perceiving the Chest he lay in strongly bound with iron, the goldsmith, with a smith's great fore (? forge) hammer, broke it open, when they found him lying *whole, uncorrupt, with his face bare*, and his beard as of a fortnight's growth, *and all the vestments about him*, as he was accustomed to say Mass, and his metwand of gold lying by him. When the goldsmith perceived *he had broken one of his legs* in breaking open the chest, he was sore troubled at it, and cried, *Alas, I have broken one of his legs* ;† which Dr. Henly hearing, called to him, and bade him *cast down* his bones. The other answered, he could not get them asunder, for the sinews and skin held them so that they would not separate. Then Dr. Lee *stept up* to see if it were so, and turning about, spake in Latin to Dr. Henly, that he was entire, though Dr. Henly, not believing his words, called again to have his bones cast down : Dr. Lee answered, if you will not believe me, *come up* yourself and see him. Then Dr. Henly *stept up* to him, and handled him, and found he lay *whole* : then he commanded them *to take him down* ; and so it happened, contrary to their expectation, that not only his body was whole and uncorrupted, but the vestments wherein his body lay, and wherein he was accustomed to say Mass, were fresh, safe, and not consumed. *Whereupon the Visitors commanded him to be carried into the Revestry, till the King's pleasure concerning him was further known ; and upon the receipt thereof, the Prior and Monks BURIED HIM IN THE GROUND UNDER THE PLACE WHERE HIS SHRINE WAS EXALTED.*”

“ Whereupon the Visitors commanded that hee should be carried to y^e Vestry, where hee was safely kept in the inner part of y^e Vestry, till such tyme as they did further know y^e King's pleasure what to doe wth him ; and upon notice of y^e King's pleasure therein, y^e Prior and y^e Monks buried him in y^e ground under y^e same place where his shrine was exalted.”‡

* Sanderson, p. 87.

† See hereafter.

‡ MSS. Hunter, No. 44, tract. 10, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, copied apparently about 1650, from an original compilation, made, as is therein stated, in 1593.

"Whereupon the Visitors commanded y^t he should be caryed into y^e Vestry, where he was safely kept till such tyme as they did further know y^e King's plesure therein. And after, y^e Prio^r and y^e Moncks *did bury hym in y^e ground, UNDER A FAIRE MERBLE STONE, W^{ch} REMAYNES TO THIS DAY WHERE HIS SHRYNE WAS EXALTED.*"*

"It is to be remembered, that in the time of King Henry the Eighth, the Sepulchre of St. Cuthbert, by certaine Commissioners of the said King, was opened, and the holy corpes of St. Cuthbert, with all things about the same, was found incorrupted, whole, sound, sweete, odoreferous, and flexable: the same was taken up, carryed into the Revestrie, vewed, touched, and searched by sundry persons, both of Clergye and others, and afterwards laid in A NEW COFFIN OF WOOD; of which premisses many *eye witnesses* were of very late, and some are *yet liveing*."†

"When the Shrine of the Saint was plundered and demolished by the order of King Henry 8th, the body of St. Cuthbert, which was found still entire, as Harpsfield testifies, met with greater regard than many others; for it was not burnt as were those of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, St. Thomas, and others. After the King's officers had carried away the plunder of his Shrine, *it was privately buried UNDER THE PLACE WHERE HIS SHRINE BEFORE STOOD, though the spot is now unknown.*"‡

I now come to Harpsfield himself. Nothing can be more minute and decisive than his testimony concerning the place in which the body of St. Cuthbert was deposited. He flourished at the very period of the Dissolution; and such was

* MSS. Hunter, No. 45, tr. 26, *ibid.*, in the hand-writing of Theophilus Brathwaite Esq., Anno 1655. Brathwaite was Under-Sheriff of Durham in 1649.—Surtees i. civ. It may not be improper to state, that the remains of St. William of York were treated in the same manner at the Dissolution. His shrine was demolished, and his bones buried under a blue marble slab.—Drake, p. 420.

† MS. C. iv. 14., in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, entitled "THE ORIGIN AND SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM." This curious tract was printed by Mr. Allan, of Grange, at his private press, in 1779. There is abundance of internal evidence, that the record, of which it professes to be a translation, was compiled almost immediately after the death of Bishop Tunstall, in 1559.

‡ Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. iii. p. 228, ed. 1779. The seven last words of the above quotation, written in ignorance of the localities of Durham Cathedral, have given rise to a ridiculous notion with reference to the real place of St. Cuthbert's final interment. The absurdity could not have been greater, if the writer had expressed his ignorance of the local situation of the Cathedral itself.—"*St. Cuthbert was buried in Durham Cathedral, but the situation of the Cathedral is now unknown.*" I shall hereafter have a word or two to say to St. Cuthbert's

"Holiest servants three,
Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
Who share the wondrous grace"

of knowing where, at the present day, his incorrupt body is to be found. This notion is not older, I believe, than the above mistake, upon which it was probably founded. It is, as appears, fully admitted by Roman Catholics themselves, that the body was buried within the shrine, and I think I can tell where in the Cathedral the shrine may be found.

his attachment to the old system of things, that his statement upon the point is not to be doubted. His original Latin, which is printed below, may be thus translated:—

“ When, by the command of King Henry the Eighth, the coffins of the Saints were every where throughout England plundered and broken to pieces, and their remains thrown into places of disgrace, there was broken also *the wooden coffin* of this holy body, which was cased in *white marble*. And when he, who was deputed to dissipate and break in pieces the sepulchre, had aimed a heavy blow at the coffin, the blow fell upon the very body of the Saint, and *wounded its leg,* and of this wound the flesh gave presently a manifest proof*. When this appeared, and at the same time *the perfectness of the whole body, unless that the prominent part of the nose, I know not why, was wanting*, an account of the proceeding was laid before *Cuthbert Tunstall, then Bishop of Durham*, and he was requested to give orders as to what he wished to be done with the body. In consequence, by his command, *a grave was made in the ground, IN THAT VERY SPOT previously occupied by his precious coffin, and there the body was deposited*. And not only his body, but even the vestments in which it was clothed, were perfectly entire, and free from all taint and decay. There was upon his finger a ring of gold, ornamented with a sapphire, which I myself once saw and handled; and as it were a certain divine relic, more precious than any treasure, I clasped it in a marvellous fashion, and kissed it. There were present, among others, when this sacred body was exposed to day-light, Doctor Whithead, the President of the Monastery, Doctor Sparke, Doctor Tod, and William Wilam, the Keeper of the sacred Shrine. And thus it is abundantly manifest, that the body of St. Cuthbert remained inviolate and uncontaminated eight hundred and forty years.”†

* See hereafter.

† “ Cum enim Regis Henrici octavi jussu (in the margin ‘1537,’) Divorum thecæ ubique in ANGLIA diriperentur, atque confringerentur, et beatæ illorum reliquiæ in loca ignobilia adjicerentur, confracta est et lignea arca beati hujus corporis quæ tegebatur albo marmore. Cumque is, cui dissipandi atque confringendi sepulchri negotium datum erat, arcam gravi ictu confregisset, delatus est ictus in ipsum beati corpus, tibiamque vulneravit, vulnerisque mox manifestum in carne signum apparuit. Quo viso, totiusque simul corporis integritate, nisi quod summa nasi pars, nescio quâ de causâ defuerat, res relata est ad Cuthbertum Tunstallum Dunelmensem, eo tempore, Episcopum; quem, quid de corpore agendum statueret, consulebant: quod, ejus jussu, effossâ humo, eo loci, ubi preciosum ejus serenum (? *scrinium*) prius locabatur, repositum est. Nec corpus modo, sed et vestimenta quibus induebatur, integra prorsus erant, et ab omni labe atque corruptelâ libera et immunia. Habuit vero in digito annulum aureum sapphiro ornatum, quem ego aliquando vidi atque contrectavi, et tanquam divinum quoddam monumentum, omni-que thesauro preciosius, mirificè amplexus atque exosculatus sum. Huic autem sacri corporis in lucem producti spectaculo adfuere inter cæteros Doctor Whithead cœnobii præses, cum Doctore Sparke, & Doctore Tod, et Gulielmo Wilam, sacri feretri custode. Atque ita satis jam constat divi Cuthberti corpus inviolatum atque incontaminatum octingentos & quadraginta annos perdurasse.”—Harpfeld. Hist. Eccles. Anglic. sept. secl. p. 105.

Harpfeld was Archdeacon of Canterbury during the bloody reign of Queen Mary. The

Let me here trace the subsequent history of the above-mentioned *invaluable* Ring, as it now appears for the last time in connection with St. Cuthbert and Durham.

In 1553, after the short reign of Edward the 6th, Popery again rallied, and Horne, the Protestant Dean of Durham, having been deprived, Thomas Watson, Chaplain to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, "a warm Roman Catholic, and a great favourite with Cardinale Pole," was appointed to succeed him. Watson continued Dean of Durham till 1557, and during this period the Ring of St. Cuthbert must have fallen into his possession. In 1557, Watson was made Bishop of Lincoln, but was deprived in the following year upon the accession of Elizabeth the Protestant Queen, but not before he had given the Ring to Sir Robert Hare, by whom it was bestowed upon Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute, so created by Queen Mary in 1554. By this Nobleman it was given to Doctor Richard Smith, Roman Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon, who in his *Flores Historiarum*, p. 120, states the above facts, and boasts of the treasure. Upon the authority of Alban Butler, (*Lives of the Saints*, iii. p. 228), Smith gave the Ring to the Monastery of English Canonesses at Paris. With its history afterwards I am unacquainted. Upon the same authority, the English Canonesses, at Paris, possessed a TOOTH of St. Cuthbert. *Quere—when, and with what feelings of reverence, could this have been extracted from a body perfect and undecayed, and adored for its incorruption?*

From the above numerous extracts, it appears, that the body of St. Cuthbert was found at the Dissolution in an elevated position within the Shrine; that the place upon which it rested was considerably above the pavement; that the coffin, in which the remains were contained, was broken open by

title of his book is "Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica a primis gentis susceptæ fidei ad nostra fere tempora deducta, &c." The original MS. under his own hand, is preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Cotton. Vitell. C. 9. 12., and there is a copy of it in two volumes in the Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth (v. Wood's *Athenæ*, Oxon. ii. 214). His book was first printed at Douay in 1622. Those of my readers who would know more of Harpsfield, must be referred to his disputation with Bishop Ridley (*Fox*, iii. 71); his disputation for his degree (*ib.* 86); his conference with Thomas Haukes (*ib.* 258); and with Master Philpot (*ib.* 565). The fate of Philpot is well known. His Christian pertinacity in adhering to the simple word of revelation, rather than to the glosses of a corrupt Church, brought him, on the 18th Dec. 1555, to the stake, "pouring out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most heartie thanks that hee of his mercie had made him worthie to suffer for his truth." It is important to my present purpose to establish the fact, that Harpsfield was a thorough advocate for Popery, and I do not think that this can be better done, than by referring to the above sources of information.

a violent blow, which *injured* one of its legs, (as to the *wound* and *fracture*, see hereafter); that it was removed for a while from the place which it had occupied within the Shrine, into the Vestry, in the inner part of which it was safely kept for a time; and that it was eventually *buried in the ground beneath that precise part of the SHRINE upon which it had rested in its exalted state.*

This evidence is afforded by Roman Catholics themselves. Words cannot be plainer; and the sequel will prove, that the respective writers of the above extracts were neither deceived themselves, nor intended to deceive others. They detailed what they knew to be the fact as to the real place of St. Cuthbert's final sepulture; and, therefore, to those who know the place which St. Cuthbert's Shrine occupies in Durham Cathedral, further evidence upon the point is unnecessary.

And yet I have before me two additional pieces of information, which under the circumstances of the case are invaluable. They both of them are extracted from a bundle of bills in the Treasury for 1542, under which year are comprised the expences of the Church from Michaelmas, 1541, to the same day in the following year, according to the custom still in use at Durham. Let me thus bring them out in their full force.

The foregoing extracts prove that St. Cuthbert was buried under the place previously occupied by his Shrine. His Shrine was a mass of marble. Does any record or proof remain as to its removal, before the grave was made in the ground upon which it stood?

I answer,—it, and the tomb of the Venerable Bede, in the Galilee, were removed in November, 1541, by John Symson, who was employed four days in the task, at the rate of 6d. a day.*

But, again, according to the preceding extracts, the body of St. Cuthbert was, soon after the Dissolution, buried in the ground in a grave within his

* "1542. Post festum Divi Michaelis die S. Andreæ. Solut' Johanni Symson pro ablacione Tumbæ S. Cuthberti & Tumbæ S. Bedæ pro quatuor diebus iij^a per me Robertum Dalton." That four days were not sufficient for both purposes appears from the following additional charge in the same year:—

"Payd to Rayffe Skelis and iij fellows for taking away Sanct Beds Tummbe 15^d. Raphe Blakestone" (first Prebendary in the tenth stall), as to Dalton, more hereafter. The cost for the removal or demolition of the various altars and other relics of Popery which abounded in the Church of Durham before the Reformation, might easily be ascertained from the *Treasurer's Books* of the period. I must confess, I wish "the *Paschal*, one of the rarest monuments of England," with its four flying dragons, beasts, men on horseback, bucklers, bows, &c. &c. (see Sand. p. 14) had been suffered to remain in some one of the many unoccupied corners of the Church, as a specimen of ancient art.

Shrine, made for that especial purpose, over which there was placed "a faire marble stone." Do the records of the Church supply any detail of the expenses incurred upon this occasion? I answer, here follows the original bill for making the grave, to which I subjoin a translation:—

Post Fest. Michaelis (ad init. bund. "1542").

CIRCA S. CUTHBERT.	{	Dat' georgio skeles . 1 . die Januarij p 2 ^o dieb ^o ⁊ dim ^a circa fact'ra putei . S. Cuthb'ti—xv ^d
		It' dat' eidē p Johe paxtō (ad iij ^d) Johe Wyll ^a msō (iij ^d) Johe oxenet (iij ^d) p duob ^o dieb ^o ⁊ dim ^a xxij ^d ob.
		It' dat' eidē p Wyllmo taylle. (ad iij ^d) p j. die ⁊ dim ^a iij ^d ob.
		It' dat' Cuthb'to Jonsō p 2 ^o ⁊ dim ^a xv ^d

CIRCA S. CUTHBERT.	{	It' dat' p . 5. vlneis linie p . j. sheytt ad viij ^d j. vlnea iij ^a iij ^d
		It' dat' p . j. loyde calcis iij ^d
		It' dat' Stokell p clavis ⁊ ligamētis ferreis iij ^d
		It' dat' georgio skeles p 4 ^{or} dieb ^o ī festo epiphanie circa sepulcrā s'ci Cuthb'ti ij ^a ij ^d aur ^a
		It' dat' eidē p Johe paxtō Johe Wyllmsō Johe oxenet 4 ^{or} dieb ^o ad iij ^d ⁊ p aurora cuilibet j ^d ⁊ p Wyllmo tayler ad iij ^d 3 dieb ^o ⁊ aurora j ^d ⁊ p Rychardo Yggle ⁊ Rolādo Robsō dim ^a diei iij ^d — iij ^a v ^d
		It' dat' Cuthb'to Jōson p se (ad vi ^d) ⁊ s'vo . 3 ^o . dieb ^o circa sepulcrā S. Cuthb'ti ⁊ circa lapidē marmoreū ⁊ circa eccliaꝝ pp ^t vēt' ij ^a iij ^d
		It' dat' illi ^o vxori p shewynge off a sheytt ij ^d *

* In the places occupied by the above asterisks, are inserted small payments made in connection with Bearpark and Billingham, *sed nihil ad rem*, and the whole bill, amounting to xxiijs. vd., is examined, "*compar*," and signed "*p' me Robert' dalltō*."

Robert Dalton was the First Prebendary of the Seventh Stall in the new order of things. It is scarcely necessary to remind my reader, that on the 12th May, 1541, the possessions of the Church of Durham were restored by the Crown, and instead of a Prior and Monks, a Dean and twelve Prebendaries were established in the re-founded Cathedral.

1542.—*After the feast of Michael.*CONCERNING
S. CUTHBERT.

Given to George Skelis, on the first day of January (1541-2) for two days and a half about making *the grave of St. Cuthbert.* 15d.

Item, given to the same for John Paxton (at the rate of 3d.), John Wylliamson (at the rate of 3d.), John Oxenett (at the rate of 3d.), for two days and a half. 22½d.

Item, given to the same, for William Tayller (at the rate of 3d.) for a day and a half. 4½d.

Item, given to Cuthbert Johnson for two days and a half. 15d.

CONCERNING
S. CUTHBERT.

Item, given for 5 ells of linen for *a sheet*, at 8d. per ell. 3s. 4d.

Item, given for a load of lime. 4d.

Item, given to Stokell for *nails and iron bars.* 4d.

Item, given to George Skeles for four days at the Feast of Epiphany, working *at the grave of St. Cuthbert*, and for a morning. 2s. 2d.

Item, given to the same, for John Paxton, John Wylliamson, John Oxinet, four days at 3d. per day; and for a morning's work, to each a penny; and for William Tayler, at 3d. per day 3 days, and a morning's work at a penny; and for Richard Yggle and Roland Robson, half a day 4d. 4s. 5d.

Item, given to Cuthbert Johnson, for himself (at 6d. per day), and his servant three days, *for working at the grave of St. Cuthbert, AND AT THE MARBLE STONE*, and at the Church on account of the wind. 2s. 3d.

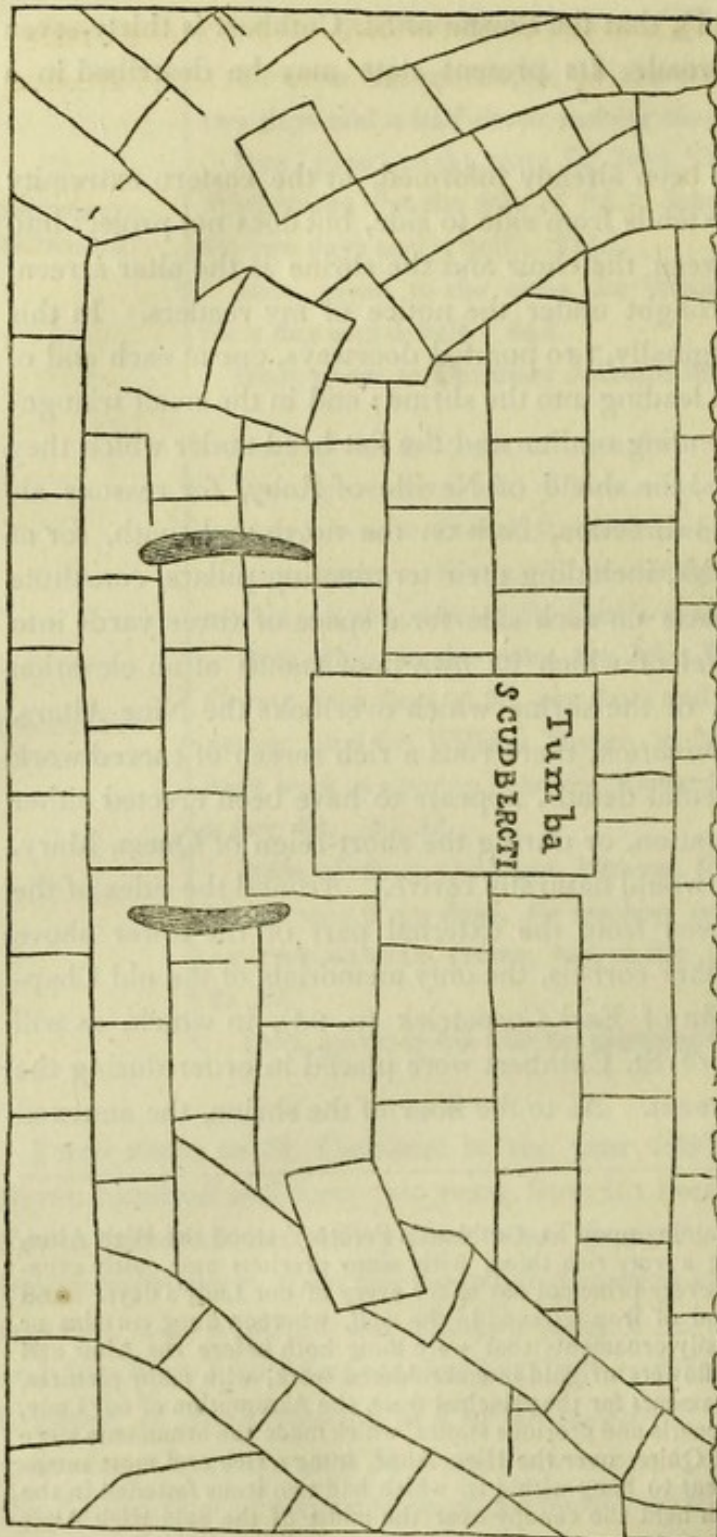
Item, given to his wife for shewynge (sewing) of asheyt (sheet) 2d.

I now come to St. Cuthbert in the year 1827 (Thursday, May the 17th), eleven hundred and forty-two years from his becoming Bishop of Lindisfarne; eleven hundred and thirty-nine years from his death; eleven hundred and twenty-eight years from the reported discovery of his body in a state of incorruption; nine hundred and fifty-two years from the final removal of his bones and See from Lindisfarne; nine hundred and forty-four years from the establishment of the Cathedral at Chester-le-Street; eight hundred and thirty-two years from its removal to Durham; seven hundred and twenty-three years from the Translation of the remains of the Saint into the Shrine devoted to his name; and two hundred and eighty-five years from the ultimate burial of those remains in the ground beneath that part of the pavement upon which they had rested in their exalted state.

I have already stated (p. 111), that the Shrine of St. Cuthbert is thirty-seven feet long, and twenty-three broad. Its present state may be described in a very few words.

It stands, as my reader has been already informed, at the eastern extremity of the choir, across which it extends from side to side, but does not project into the aisles. The partition between the choir and the shrine is the altar screen, which I have so frequently brought under the notice of my readers. In this screen, there are, and were originally, two pointed doorways, one at each end of the High Altar,* both of them leading into the shrine; and in the small triangular space, left between their bending outline and the flat head under which they stand, is, in the four instances, the shield of Neville of Raby, for reasons already detailed. In the eastern direction, both on the north and south, for at least fourteen feet, the side aisles, including their terminating pillars, constitute its boundary, and then it projects on each side for a space of three yards into the Nine Altars, above the level of which its own floor stands at an elevation of six feet. Around that part of the shrine which overlooks the Nine Altars, *laterally, and at its eastern termination*, there runs a rich screen of carved work in oak, which, from its ornamental details, appears to have been erected either immediately before the Reformation, or during the short reign of Queen Mary, when the fame of St. Cuthbert would naturally revive. Around the sides of the shrine stand the figures removed from the external part of the tower above mentioned; two capitals, or rather corbels, the only memorials of the old Chapter House; and the stone coffin of Earl Cospatrick (p. 95), in which, as will be hereafter stated, the bones of St. Cuthbert were placed in order during the few hours of their late disinterment. As to the floor of the shrine, the annexed

* "At the east end of the Quire, joining upon St. Cuthbert's Feretory, stood the High Altar, the goodliest in all the church, being a very rich thing, with many precious and costly ornaments appertaining to it, as well for every principal day as for every of our Lady's days. And at either end of this Altar was a wand of iron fastened in the wall, whereon hung curtains or hangings of white silk daily. The daily ornaments that were hung both before the Altar and above were of red velvet, with great flowers of gold in embroidered work, with many pictures, besides, very finely gilt. But the ornaments for the principal feast, the Assumption of our Lady, were all of white damask, beset with pearls and precious stones, which made the ornaments more glorious to behold. Within the said Quire, over the High Altar, hung a rich and most sumptuous canopy, for the blessed sacrament to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French Pierre, very finely gilt; which held the canopy over the midst of the said High Altar that the pix hung in, that it could not move or stir; whereon stood a pelican all of silver, upon the height of the said canopy, very finely gilt, giving her blood to her young ones, in token that Christ gave his blood for the sins of the world; and it was goodly to behold for the blessed sacrament to hang in," &c.—Sanderson, pp. 10-11.



wood cut, copied from part of an engraving in Smith's Bede, p. 265,* affords a pretty accurate idea, save that here and there the outlines of a few of the flag stones are somewhat incorrectly sketched; but this is a matter of little moment. Premising that the upper part of the engraving points to the south; the curving direction of some of the flags designates the line of the original semicircular termination of the middle aisle of the Cathedral (p. 94 and 104), the foundation masonry of which was last year ascertained to be in a perfect state a few feet below the level of the shrine; the two deeply shaded portions of the floor, the most prominent objects of the sketch, are, by uniform tradition, said to have been produced by the devotional *scrapings* of the feet of pilgrims before the object of their veneration; and the square stone in the midst occu-

* Under the title, be it remembered, of "Feretri S. Cudberti Summique Altaris Dunelm. Prospectus." 1722.

pies that precise spot of the shrine upon which the body of St. Cuthbert rested in its exalted state, and beneath which, according to every authentic account, it was buried in 1542.*

On the 17th May, 1827, in the presence of the Reverend William Nicholas Darnell, B. D., Prebendary of the sixth Stall, and in the above year Sub-Dean; the Rev. William Stephen Gilly, M.A., Prebendary of the ninth Stall, and at the time the Prebendary in residence; Mr. John Leybourne, Deputy Receiver; Mr. Edward Fairclough, *Clericus Operum*; Mr. Anthony Tyler, Virger; Mr. William Joplin, Master Mason; and of the writer of these pages,† as the first step towards the contemplated investigation, the above stone, placed over the grave in 1542 (p. 180), and spoken of in 1655 (p. 175), measuring eight feet ten inches and three quarters in length, and four feet three inches and three quarters in breadth, of Frosterly marble, was with some difficulty removed from its place. Its thickness was proportionate to its length and breadth, and, as has been already stated, its surface was perfectly smooth, and uninscribed. The removal of this slab did not, as might have been expected, at once expose to view the coffin and grave of the Saint. Nothing appeared, save a level surface of soil, which, however, upon investigation, was found to be only about eighteen or twenty inches in thickness, and to rest upon another large grey stone of a size almost equal to the one above-mentioned. The upper surface of this latter slab was in a rough and unfinished state, but upon being raised from its place this circumstance was easily accounted for. It was, in fact, in an inverted position, and, on its smooth lower side, there was, in the neatly carved black letter in use in the early part of the fifteenth century, the inscription,‡—

Ricardus hestwell monachus.

* The inscription "TUMBA S. CUDBERTI," is not cut upon the stone. The words are the words of Smith in his plate,—another proof of the constant tradition of the Church as to the final resting place of St. Cuthbert.

† There were present, besides, Francis Bulmer, George Fenwick, and Joseph Taylor, masons; Ralph Vasey, Thomas Blagdon, Robert Pearson, and George Herrin, labourers; and Peter Dryden and William Elliot, carpenters, and the makers of the new coffin, in which the bones of the Saint were afterwards buried.

‡ The Monks of Durham were not permitted to be buried within the Church. Their place of sepulture was the *Cemetery Garth*, from whence the stone in question must have been removed to serve as a lid to the grave of St. Cuthbert, upon the burial of his bones in 1542. The inverted position in which the stone and its inscription were found, as above detailed, proves the anxiety of those who superintended the operation, to prevent any possibility of mistake at a fu-

This slab, upon its removal, disclosed to view a stone grave, if I may so call it, in the shape of a parallelogram, about seven feet in length, four in width, and from four to five in depth, the sides and ends of which were built not with brick, but with freestone, the masonry of which was finished in a very workmanlike manner, and, in consequence of the exclusion of the air, perfectly white and fresh. The upper edge of the highest course of masonry projected a few inches over the grave, but the stone, after about three inches of perpendicular hewing, was beveled off below so as to accord with the tier of stones upon which it stood. The same pains did not appear to have been taken with the one or two middle stones in the upper course at the foot of the grave.* Mr. Fairclough endeavours to account for this fact, by supposing that the space which they occupy was left open for the admission of levers, until the stone slab was properly placed, and that then the cavity was filled up in the careless manner in which we found it.

But to return :—at the bottom of the grave, extending nearly from one end to another, and almost from side to side, there appeared a large high coffin

ture period as to the remains of him who rested below. They evidently foresaw the difficulty ; and after carefully reasoning upon the subject, they adopted a plan to prove, if other proofs were wanting, that this was not the grave of *Richard Heswell the Monk*.

Richard de Hessewell was, as his name implies, a native of Haswell, in the parish of Easington. In 1405 he filled the office of Bursar of the Priory—*Bursar's Roll*. On the 21st February, 1411, he was appointed Prior of the Cell of Lythum (*Regr. 11 parv. f. 18. b.*), from whence he was twenty years afterwards recalled, and was succeeded by William Patryk, whose appointment bears date 14th June, 1431 (*Ib. f. 49*). I know not the precise year of his death, but it certainly took place before 1446, as appears from the following extracts, translated from the great inventory taken in that year, already mentioned, p. 156.

"THE REFECTORY.—In the Refectory there are, &c. &c. Item, four pieces of unornamented plate (*pecie plane*), one belonging to *Richard Hessewell*, with a cover having a large boss, upon which is engraved his name"—and again, "Item, twelve "*platers*" and two "*chargeors*" of silver, marked with the letter **R** under a crown, and the arms of Walter Skirlaw, the gift of *Richard Hessewell*." It must not be understood, that from the engraving of the crown the plates and dishes last mentioned had at one time belonged to Richard the Second. A crown was at the time before us, the usual ornament placed over their initials of their Christian or Surname upon the seals or devices of individuals not entitled to coat armour. I have in my possession a large brass thumb ring, the impress of which is precisely the same as the one above described, an **R** under a crown, and which may possibly have been the very ring of Hessewell himself. It was found a few years ago upon the Palace Green. The arms of Skirlaw upon the above plate prove, I think, that it was a present from that Bishop to the Monk.

* See above, the particulars for making the grave. The master masons were George Skelis and Cuthbert Johnson. The names of their men are common names in Durham to the present day, save Yggie and Oxenet. The latter, as appears by the register, lived in the parish of St. Mary in the South Bailey. There was a man of the name of Taylor at the making of the grave, and there was a youth of the same name at its opening last year.

of oak in great decay,* not shaped after the usual manner, (I mean with projecting shoulders,) but in the form of a parallelogram, and of that dusky colour which oak always assumes after a long period of years. THIS COFFIN, as was ascertained upon examination, had been made of oaken planks, an inch and three quarters in thickness, and had been ornamented with a mitred moulding of considerable depth around its bottom, lid, and sides. With the exception of this moulding, the surface of the lid, ends, and sides, was plain. In the sides of the coffin, in a perpendicular hole made down the middle of the plank, had been inserted, at proper distances, rods of iron† half an inch in diameter, which upon reaching the bottom turned along for a few inches beneath, so as to give strength and stability to the whole. There were three of these rods on each side of the coffin, and perhaps one at each end, but of this I have no memorandum. Besides, on each side of the coffin there were three large iron rings, the external diameter of each of which was $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches of $\frac{3}{8}$ rod iron; and one at each end of a larger size.‡ These rings were suspended by a perpendicular bandage with a projecting loop or eye not passing through the wood, but rivetted to it by means of four screw nails, two above and two below the place for admitting the ring. The state and condition of this outer coffin may be easily described. Its lid was nearly entire, but probably from having been made of green timber, or from the influence of the damp masonry by which it had been originally surrounded, it had completely detached itself from the coffin on end and side; and to use a term, for which I have to thank Mr. Fairclough, it was *dished* upwards, both in length and breadth, like a scroll of parchment shrivelled before the fire: and at first sight it might have been taken for a trough, which it closely resembled. The mouldings of the lid and sides, notwithstanding their thickness, were all loose and broken into short disjointed pieces; the ends and sides were in the same state; and, that the *nature* of the wood was completely exhausted, was evident from its light and brittle state.

The fragments of this outer coffin were gradually removed, when ANOTHER COFFIN was discovered, but in a still more decayed condition. Enough of it, however, remained, to prove that it had been plain, and made of oak an inch in thickness; and there were here and there clinging to it portions of an envelope, which, whatever it might have originally been, had, from length of time,

* This outer chest was the NEW COFFIN made in 1541-2.—v. p. 175.

† The "*ligamenta ferrea*," accounted for in the bill of 1542.—v. p. 179.

‡ $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

settled into a white adhesive substance, of which there were numerous and distinct traces. That this covering had not been of linen was manifest, for linen, however decayed, would have been traceable by its threads. I have no hesitation in considering this as the very coffin mentioned above in 1104 (p. 76 and 92), as the second coffin of the Saint, and at that time covered with skins. I have already said that this coffin was in a state of very great decay; but it was especially so as to its lid. This fact prevents me from distinctly localizing another discovery, made at the very time when this second coffin was first observed. I mean a large collection of human bones, loosely huddled together towards the lower end of the chest. I know not whether the proper place of these relics was upon or beneath the lid of this second coffin, as they were so confounded with its fragments; but it is of little consequence, seeing they had no connection with the Saint himself. These relics consisted of a scull and several ribs, arms, thighs, and legs, of a full-grown size; and besides these, there was the scull of a child, and numerous rib bones of other infants. These latter, and the bones above mentioned, all lay in a confused state at the lower end of the coffin. The former I believe to have been the relics, in particular, of the early Bishops of Lindisfarne, which were removed from thence along with the remains of St. Cuthbert in 875, were taken from his coffin in 1104,* and were, till the Dissolution, preserved in his shrine.

That these relics would be buried somewhere when that event had taken place, and their virtue was gone, admits of no doubt—that they would be again buried with St. Cuthbert may be naturally supposed;—and I would ask, was it not for this very purpose that linen was purchased and made into a sheet in 1541-2, *in connection with the grave of St. Cuthbert*,† as a decent envelope for these very bones and other relics of a similar nature preserved in the Feretory? That the sheet was not made for the Saint himself, is plain enough from the state in which he was found. I must admit, that no traces of a sheet were observed adhering to the bones in question; but then I must state, that this part of the investigation was very hastily gone through, from an over anxiety to reach at once the real object of our curiosity. If traces of the sheet had been looked for, I am convinced they would have been found. Another question arises: whence came the bones of so many children? Even here, the answer is an easy one. The inventory of relics printed above (p. 121) states, that there

* P. 41, 79, 87.

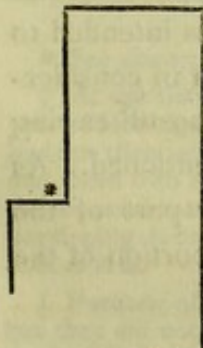
† See p. 180.

were preserved in the Shrine "*Bones of the Innocents*"—"bones of the holy Innocents"—"*bones of the Innocents*"—and again, "*bones of the Innocents*." These *items* all refer to distinct collections of bones *so denominated*; and under these circumstances, the bare fact of finding such relics in the grave of St. Cuthbert sufficiently proves what the other bones were, along with which they were found, and the place from which they came.

The above relics, which were numerous, were speedily removed; and during the process, the lid of A THIRD COFFIN was discovered below them, but in such a state of decay, that portions of it were almost necessarily raised along with the superincumbent bones and fragments of wood. During this part of the investigation, an iron ring was found, which I shall notice by and bye; and there was also raised from the lower end of the grave another full-grown scull, in a somewhat imperfect state, the resting-place of which was evidently beneath the last-mentioned lid. That this was the reputed scull of King Oswald, which the anonymous Monk and Reginald* both prove to have been the only relic replaced in the coffin of St. Cuthbert in 1104, may fairly be presumed. The situation in which it was found fully admits of the supposition. Perhaps, under all the circumstances of the case, with such a discovery, and such historical information upon the point, before me, I may be blamed for *conjecturing*.

I proceed to describe the *inner or third coffin* at which we have arrived.

This also was of oak, in general about three quarters of an inch in thickness, although in places much thinner, and of the same shape as the two already described. Its lid and sides were, from extreme old age, collapsed and much broken; and "the touch of time" had so completely exhausted the nature of its wood, that a portion, measuring about ten inches in length, and nine in breadth, weighs only thirteen ounces. Besides, there were fragments *curled*



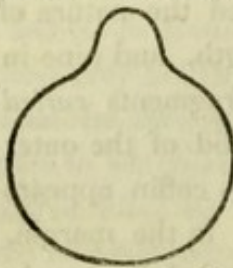
up, if I may so say, after the manner of the lid of the outer coffin, above described. The structure of this coffin appears to have been simple. The sketch of its joint, in the margin, of the full size, will easily be understood; and I have only to add, that along that part of the grooved receptacle, marked *, there ran two or three thickly intertwined threads of woollen, to exclude the air, many portions of which were remaining.

* See pp. 81 and 92 above.

Notwithstanding the decayed state of this third and last coffin, enough remained to prove that it was the very coffin described by Reginald, and the anonymous Monk;* and further, upon their testimony the identical coffin in which the remains of St. Cuthbert were placed in the year 698, eleven years after his death.

According to the Monk, when the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert was exposed to view in 1104, it was found to be enveloped in a covering of coarse cloth of a triple texture, which was removed in order to facilitate the *then* meditated investigation, and after that investigation it was again covered with *linen cloth of a coarse texture dipped in wax*.† Now, pieces of cloth of this very nature, coarse and strong, some of them almost an inch in breadth, were found closely adhering to divers fragments of the coffin which I am describing; and so saturated had this said cloth been with wax, that the indented lines of the carvings hereafter to be described, appear in very many instances to have been surcharged and almost rendered invisible by its contact. In fact, judging from the filled-up state in which many of these carvings were found, I almost suspect that the coffin itself had been besmeared with a coating of wax before the cerecloth was applied.

But to proceed:—The Monk‡ informs us, that the lid of St. Cuthbert's coffin in 1104, was raisable by means of two iron rings, one at the head and the other at the feet; and Reginald,§ after stating the same fact in still more minute terms, adds that there was no lock or fastening by which the lid was attachable to the coffin. Now in our late investigation these statements were proved to be perfectly correct. The lid had evidently been always loose, and moreover,



in proof of their assertion as to the rings, a ring was at the same time discovered, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, so perfectly different from those above described, and of a shape so apparently calculated for a horizontal surface upon which it was intended to lie flat when not in use, that I have no hesitation in considering it as one of the two rings in question. The other ring was overlooked amid the mass of broken wood and bones above-mentioned. As a further proof of the fact with respect to the rings, the lower part of the iron loop by which one of them was held, is still remaining in a portion of the lid.

* See above, p. 76 and 92.

† See above, p. 81.

‡ v. p. 78, above.

§ See above, p. 92.

Again, Reginald* states, that the whole of the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert was ascertained in 1104 to be externally carved with very admirable engravings, of minute and most delicate workmanship; that in small and circumscribed tracts or compartments, there were *beasts, flowers, and images* or figures, *engrafted, engraved, or furrowed* in the wood.†

Now, listen to a description of the ornamental part of the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert in 1827, as far as its fragments‡ can be described.

The external surface of its lid, ends, sides, and bottom, were occupied by various engravings; the upper part of one of which I have given at full size (Pl. viii.); and my reader, from the following description, with that plate before him, will fully comprehend the workmanship, if I may so call it, of these most ancient specimens of Saxon art. Their execution is the same wherever they occur, and it is quite interesting to observe how accurately Reginald must have been informed as to this part of his statement. Any one of the verbs which he uses in his description would have amply served his purpose; but the three are beyond measure descriptive. The carvings, one and all, with all their accompaniments, appeared to have been partly cut upon the surface of the wood by a sharp-pointed knife or chisel, and partly by some such instrument as the scribe of the woodman; and in confirmation of Reginald's statement, that there were subdivisions or tracts, a slight single line, made with the point of a knife, but now scarcely discernible, runs between each engraving.

I begin with the carvings upon the coffin; and here again I must refer my reader to the *eighth* of my plates, which represents the upper part of a figure of St. John, of the full size, which it occupies upon the wood. I give this engraving for divers reasons: it is, perhaps, the most perfect of the carved portions of the coffin which were preserved—in consequence, it exhibits the best

* See above, p. 92.

† At the time Reginald's account was written, sixty years at least had elapsed from 1104, the year of investigation; and when it is remembered that his informants (his seniors in the Church), had not themselves been present, but were merely the connecting link of transmission between him and those who had witnessed the scene; and when it is still further remembered, that a very short period intervened between the depriving the coffin of its covering of linen, and the re-enveloping it in a cloth of wax, it is perfectly marvellous that his description should be so accurate as it is.

‡ Portions of the coffin were raised from the grave, a foot and a half, or two feet in length, but they did not long continue in that state. The fragments, great and small, were removed into the Library, where they now remain, and when they were minutely examined for the present purpose, the greater part measured but few inches either way.

remaining specimen of the mode in which the other embellishments were executed,—and, judging from its size, from the grain of the wood, and from various other figures of the same character, it must have formed one of a series of similar figures *cut* upon the sides and ends of the coffin. Let me here again state, that the space between the *double lines* in the figure before my reader, and in all the rest, is most frequently cut out, apparently by a sharp-pointed knife, or some such instrument, certainly not a chisel; and when this has been the case, the surface of the cavity, thus formed, is about one-eighth of an inch in breadth, and the same in depth, sinking down to a point so as to give a three-sided shape to a section of the incision. Sometimes, however, there has been used in the process, a scribe or a goodge, and then the bottom of the incision is not angular but curving, after the shape of the instrument by which it was made; and as a proof that a scribe or goodge was used, the sides of the incision are much jagged and torn, especially when the instrument has crossed the grain of the wood. The figures are nearly all of them beneath a *nimbus*, or glory—their right hand is generally elevated and laid upon the breast, with the two first fingers extended as if giving the benediction, and the left hand, covered by a part of the robe, supports a book, probably intended to represent the New Testament.

The figure before me is ascertained to be that of St. John, from the inscription IOHANNIS* which stands at its side, not in the position which it occupies upon the plate, but in the direction of the I by the side of the nimbus. On the other side of this figure, stretching over the broken edge of the wood, are the letters KVS, in all probability the three last letters of MARKUS, St. MARK, of whose figure no trace remains. The other figures, or fragments, are St. THOMAS (v. inscription, pl. II. 2). St. PETER holding in his right hand the keys, (v. insc. pl. III. 3.) St. ANDREW, (v. pl. II. 3.) St. MATTHEW, (v. pl. II. 4). St. MICHAEL, (v. inscription imperfect, pl. III. 6.) St. PAUL, a bearded figure, with the letters PA..... A fragment of a figure with an inscription, the three first letters of which are engraved, pl. III. 5; and another fragment of a figure, differing materially from the rest, in having upon its breast something in the shape of a parallelogram, three-eighths of an inch by seven-

* Upon the apparent wrong *case* of this inscription, see hereafter. I have caused the middle part of the letter A in this plate to be engraved in dotted lines, and in plate II. I have adopted the same plan. The black line is a full-sized copy of that part of the inscription which was *perfectly* apparent. The *dotted* line was not so perfect, but still visible.

eighths, and moreover, the Latin inscription in Runic characters, pl. II. 6. These letters, which are evidently SCS, have been preceded by a short word of not more than three letters, the last of which was clearly an S in the same Runic character, and the last but one appeared to be an H. Admitting this, the inscription at full length must have been IHSVS SANCTVS, and the figure a representation of OUR SAVIOUR. Besides these, there are numerous other imperfect remains of similar figures, all of which, from their proportions, seemed to have occupied places on the sides or ends of the coffin.

The figures on the lid and *bottom* were of a larger size; but I am sorry to say, their remains are in a still more imperfect state. I have before me tracings of the heads of four figures, some of them with wings, the face of the largest of which is five inches long—another of almost the same size, holds a sceptre, and a mutilated inscription, beginning with Σ Γ Σ, induces me to consider it a representation of SAINT OSWALD; the third inscribed IA Γ....., designates probably ST. JAMES; and of the fourth nothing except the face is left. Divers fragments of drapery upon a large scale remain, which have evidently belonged to the above four delineations. In addition to the above, there is the lower part of a figure of ST. LUKE, with the inscription (pl. III. 4), and immediately beneath stands a bull, with a nimbus round its head. A portion of the lower end of the lid contains an imperfect delineation of a short winged figure, the inscription attached to which is broken away. This fragment is above measure valuable, as to it was affixed one of the rings mentioned above. The lower part of the iron loop, by which the ring was held, is still remaining in its place. There are divers other curious fragments, such as a portion of a well-carved delineation of THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, the two fore feet of a LION, the head and neck of an EAGLE in a nimbus; and upon a small fragment of wood, the letters, pl. II. 5, evidently the latter part of the word *Episcopus*, attached in all probability to a representation of St. Cuthbert himself, of which no other portion perhaps remains.

It is much to be regretted, that the portions of the above coffin which remain are so few, and these few so decayed; but there is enough to prove its high antiquity, and the accuracy of Reginald respecting its embellishments and the mode of their execution. The coffin, judging from its remains, so perfectly coincides with his description, that further proof of its identity might almost seem unnecessary; and yet I must beg to mention two corroborative facts which have come under my own observation.

I have above (p. 34, note †), given a brief description of the copy of the Gospels, which was written for the use of St. Cuthbert by Eadfrid, eventually eighth Bishop of Lindisfarne, and which is now preserved in the British Museum. I refer my reader to a plate in Astle's "*Origin and Progress of Writing*" (xiv.), exhibiting a specimen of the various characters, great and small, in which this far-famed book is written; and those who have access to this engraving will see at once how strikingly the inscriptions upon the coffin of St. Cuthbert, accurately engraved *at full size* in my plates II. and III., correspond with the more simple of the capitals of which a fac-simile is given by Astle. The inscriptions upon the coffin are in single lines, made with the point of a knife; and it is marvellous to observe how perfectly they resemble the capitals in Astle's plate, and thus prove themselves to be coeval with the book of which that plate is an illustration.*

Besides, I have (p. 34, note †), described another manuscript (A. II. 17), now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and written unquestionably about the same period as the preceding. Here, again, the capitals are the same as those upon the coffin; and, what is still more curious and worthy of attention, in this MS., *Johannis* is invariably used as the nominative case of the Latin name of the Evangelist, and not *Johannes*. So it is upon the coffin (v. pl. VIII). Such coincidences as these prove the high antiquity of the coffin, just as strongly as if there had been carved upon it its date, and the name of its maker.

After the larger fragments of the lid, sides, and ends of the coffin, which I have last described, were removed from the grave, there appeared at its bottom a dark substance, of the length of a human body, which, after a moment's investigation, proved to be a skeleton, lying with its feet to the east, swathed apparently in one or more shrouds of linen or silk, through which there projected, in their respective places, the brow of the skull, and the lower part of the leg bones. The bones of the feet were disjoined and fallen flat. In this stage of the process, it was deemed advisable to elevate the whole substance from the bottom of the grave before any further examination was made; and for this purpose one strong board was placed longitudinally, and three transversely, under the

* It is probable that these letters were carved upon the coffin by Eadfrid, the writer of the MS. He was certainly at Lindisfarne when it was made.

lowest bottom of the coffin, by means of which the remains were raised up in an undisturbed state, and placed upon tressels on the spot—a step which most materially facilitated the subsequent investigation. Here it should be remarked, that the bottom of the grave was perfectly dry, and free from any offensive smell; nor was there any, even the slightest, symptom that a human body had ever undergone decomposition within its walls. The same remark must be made with respect to the body itself. The only unpleasant smell connected with it, arose from the mouldy and somewhat damp state of the robes in which it was swathed.

Our first step, after the skeleton was raised out of its grave, was to free it still more carefully from the broken wood* and dust which rested upon it; and in doing this, it was impossible to leave uninjured the robes by which it was protected: some of them were, in fact, in such a state of decay, as scarcely to endure the slightest touch.

The first or outer envelope had evidently been of linen; but it must be admitted, that of this only a few small portions were observable, and these much discoloured by time: but whenever this linen winding-sheet, for such it had been, had originally come in contact with the lid, sides, or bottom of the coffin, to all those places, as far as the wood was preserved, there were adhering portions of the cloth, proving the fineness of its texture, and the fact, that it had at least twice, if not thrice, surrounded the body. Now, the Monk and Reginald both state,† that in 1104 the body, after all its other swathements, was wrapped up in a linen winding-sheet of this nature, as its outermost covering.

The robes beneath this winding-sheet were still more decayed: so much so, in fact, that it was quite impossible to detach them one by one, or to preserve any accurate account of their respective shapes, or the order in which they occurred.

I have before me fragments of at least five, all of silk; and although

* The residue of the lids and sides of the three coffins above described.

† Vide pages 80 and 91 above.—“In addition to the robes which it already wore, they clothed it with the most costly pall which they could find in the church, and *over this they placed a covering of the finest linen.* And again, “the outer, and last of all the envelopes of his most sacred body is of the *finest linen.*” Several specimens of linen of the very finest texture may be found attached as safe-guards to the illuminations of the earliest Manuscripts belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

some of them were unquestionably above, and some below the stole, and the other more perfect relics hereafter mentioned, I prefer giving a description of them at once, and shall afterwards try to assign to them their respective places upon the body, from Reginald's description.

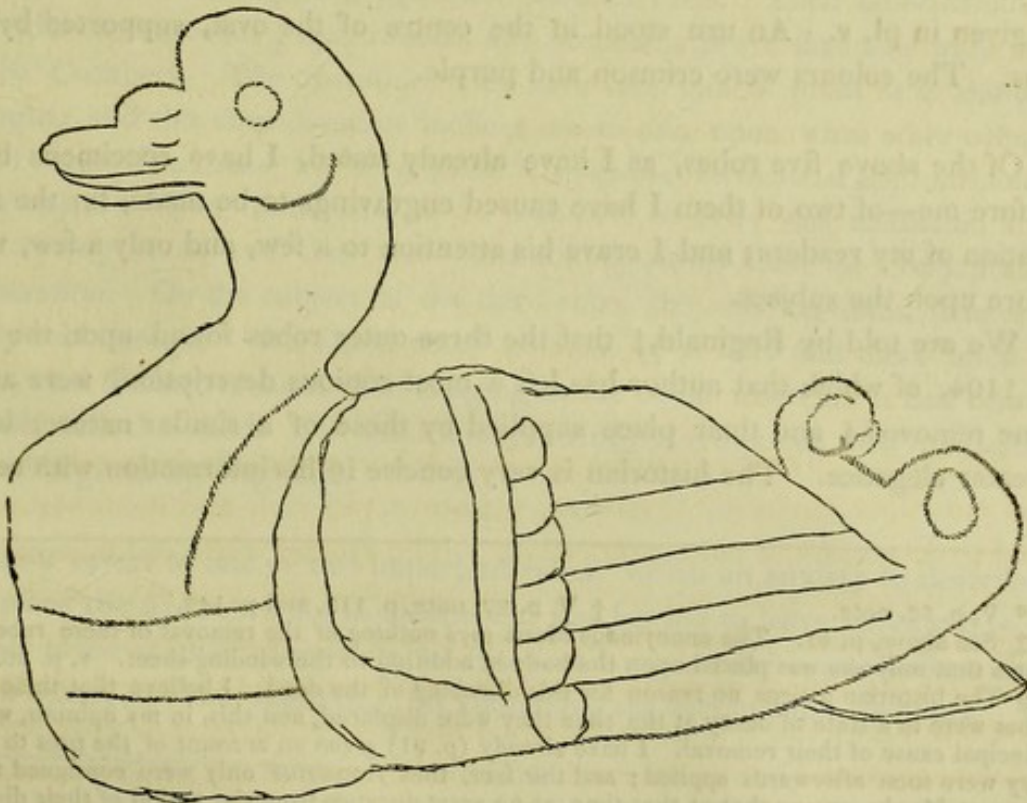
1. A robe of thinnish silk, the pattern of which forms the subject of my fourth plate. My reader must be informed, that in the original the ornamental border which surrounds the knight measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches from its outermost side to side, the ornamental leaf which runs round the pattern measures 4 inches, the border inclosed in the twisted line of cordage 2 inches, and the border of rabbits $4\frac{1}{2}$. The ground colour of the whole is amber; and the ornamental parts were literally covered with *leaf gold*, of which there remained distinct and very numerous portions.

It is interesting to observe the curious combination of ornaments upon this robe. The knight himself, and his horse dressed in the Saxon fashion, and equipped with hawk and hound, for fowl or four-footed beast, is a natural embellishment—but then there is the "*flagrans telum*" of Jove, and still lower down a border of rabbits "dancing it trippingly" above the fringe, which fringe is a braid of the same colour stitched on with a needle. The knight might be an appropriate ornament for the period, the thunder-bolt might be a trace of heathenism then fast wearing away; but I am of opinion, that the ornament of the rabbit had a special reference to St. Cuthbert, and to Lindisfarne, the scene of his exaltation, which must always have abounded with this timid animal. "*Ecce multi cuniculi*," cried the fool in Lord Bacon, and spoiled the sport; and "*Ecce multi cuniculi*," in one language or another, must be exclaimed by every one who visits Holy Island.

2. See pl. v. A robe of thick soft silk. A line stretching from side to side of the outermost circle of the pattern, measures two feet, and the other ornamental parts are in the same proportion. The ground work or lower part of the circle is evidently the sea, in which six porpoises and four eider ducks are taking their pastime; above these, however strange, there stands within the circle, upon the surface of the waves, an urn, or some such receptacle, filled with fruit and flowers; but it is to be regretted that the outline of the upper part of this ornament could not be obtained. The inner part of the circular border is occupied exclusively by a succession of grapes and pears, or a similar fruit; and in the space left between one circle and another, stands another basket of fruit

and flowers, with a solan goose on each side, of the same size as the annexed.* The circle and its accompaniments, which I have engraved, stands evidently at the lower part of the robe, be it what it might. This I infer from the border beneath, which, in forming a more extended drawing of the robe, must not be taken into consideration, except as circumscribing the whole. The colours of this robe have once been brilliant beyond measure, but they are now much faded. The ground within the circle is red, the urn or flower basket, the eider ducks, and the sea, red, yellow, and purple; the porpoises yellow and red; the ground of the border is purple tinted with red; the fruit and foliage yellow with red stalks; and the pattern which runs round the border, red. The remainder of the pattern is ornamented with the same colours.

Here, again, I would ask, do not the details of this splendid robe prove that it was expressly made for our Saint? There is *the sea*, by which he was surrounded at Lindisfarne and Farne—there are the *solan geese* which frequent



* I regret that the inner details of this cut are not so accurate as I could have wished, but its outline and size are perfectly correct.—See pl. iv.

both islands—there are *porpoises*,* which still “sport and lord it in the flood” which dashes against their rocks—and there are the *eider ducks*, male and female, in which St. Cuthbert took such great delight, that they have ever since been called by his name.†

3. Of silk,—the ground amber, and the pattern strictly resembling the diaper of the present day, in which the elevation and altered position of the threads give the appearance of a lighter tint to the raised parts. Around this robe, judging from the portions of it which were preserved, there was a border of thick lace, $1\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch broad, and almost the eighth of an inch in thickness, evidently owing its origin, not to the needle, but to the loom, and of a pattern much resembling the *coach lace* of the present day, which is copied from some one of those accurate publications on the subject of ancient Roman embellishments, which have been lately given to the world.

4. Of silk. Colours purple and crimson; the only prominent ornament a cross—often repeated, even upon the small portion which remains.

5. Of silk. A rich damask pattern in ovals, like that of which a specimen is given in pl. v. An urn stood in the centre of the oval, supported by griffins. The colours were crimson and purple.

Of the above five robes, as I have already stated, I have specimens before me—of two of them I have caused engravings to be made, for the information of my readers; and I crave his attention to a few, and only a few, words more upon the subject.

We are told by Reginald,‡ that the three outer robes found upon the Saint in 1104, of which that author has left a most copious description, were at that time removed,§ and their place supplied by those of a similar nature, but of greater elegance. The historian is very concise in his information with respect

* V. p. 22. note.

† V. p. 22. note, p. 119, and p. 142.

‡ See above, p. 91. The anonymous Monk says nothing of the removal of these robes, and states that only *one* was placed upon the body in addition to the winding-sheet. v. p. 80.

§ The historian assigns no reason for this disrobing of the dead. I believe that these three robes were in a state of decay at the time they were displaced, and this, in my opinion, was the principal cause of their removal. I have already (p. 91) given an account of the uses to which they were soon afterwards applied; and the fact, that *fragments* only were consigned to the itinerant Monks, proves that at that time, at no great distance from the period of their displacement, their remains were few and in an unconnected state. That they remained in the Church, however imperfect, until the days of Reginald, may, I think, be inferred from the minute description which has been given of them in the chapter above referred to.

to the nature and texture of these three last-mentioned robes; but if I am not mistaken, I have mentioned more than one of them in my above detail of the robes which we removed from the bones of the Saint. *The first*, says he, (that is, the robe which was placed immediately above the other numerous integuments left undisturbed in 1104,) *was of silk, thin, and of the most delicate texture.* Is it too much to suppose, that this is the robe mentioned above, No. 1, and pl. iv.? It exactly corresponds with Reginald's description. The next robe, says Reginald, was *costly, of incomparable purple.* Now, admitting that Reginald uses the word *purpura* in the loose sense in which it is very frequently used by the best classical authors,* as applicable to any colour, bright and perfect of its kind, whatever that colour might in reality be, we have, I think, the robe No. 2 above, engraved in pl. v; the original brilliancy of which might well entitle it to any descriptive term best calculated, in the opinion of the writer, to express in one word its general elegance. I must notice another circumstance, which induces me to believe that the two robes above mentioned were two of the three placed upon the Saint in 1104. Their embellishments, the eider ducks, solan geese, rabbits, and porpoises, prove that they were made for St. Cuthbert. The operation must have been one of great time and forethought; and this consideration inclines me to ask, upon what other occasion could robes, fabricated for so express a purpose, have been appropriated to their object? The translation of St. Cuthbert in 1104 was meditated for at least twenty years, and thus there was abundance of time for every possible preparation. On the subject of the third robe, the winding-sheet, I have already said enough. We found small portions of it here and there upon the body, and distinct remains of it clinging to the coffin wherever it had come in contact with the wood. Its texture most strictly corresponds with the description of it given by Reginald.

I now revert to one or two important relics, which an anxiety to describe in one place the five robes above mentioned, has led me to leave unnoticed in the proper place of their discovery. I mean an ivory comb; a small silver altar; and a burse, or small linen bag, for containing the sacramental elements. The

* "*Ignis purpureus*"—*Stat.* By the way, the word must here literally mean *red*, a mighty strong case in point. "*Mare purpureum*," "*Ver purpureum*"—*Virg.*; and still more strangely the "*purpurei olores*" of Horace. I could easily prove that Reginald was well acquainted with the best classical authors.

anonymous Monk states, that these several articles, among others, to be noticed by and bye, were replaced in the coffin in 1104.* Reginald mentions the same fact,† and adds, that they were arranged not upon the body, but upon a small tablet at the head of the coffin. It must not be denied that we did not find them in that situation; but for this fact I shall endeavour to account hereafter, and in the mean time my reader shall have abundance of proof, that the relics I am upon the point of describing were the same as those mentioned by the two Historians.

I begin with THE COMB—of which Reginald, after stating that it was *of ivory*, and thus confirming the Monk, gives the following description,‡ upon the authority of his seniors in the Church, who derived their information from men who had seen it:—

“The comb is perforated in the middle, so that about three fingers may be slightly inserted into the hole. As to its size, its length appears to bear a becoming proportion to its breadth. For the length is almost equal to the breadth,§ except that for ornament there is a slight difference between the one and the other. From length of time it has acquired a reddish tinge, and the character of white bone, which belongs to it by nature, is, from its antiquity, exchanged for a ruddy tint.”

I would now refer my reader to the seventh of my engravings, of the same size as the original. The comb there represented was found in 1827, among the folds of one of the very uppermost robes of the Saint, upon the lower part of the breast; but in so frangible a state, that the slightest touch broke away the part of which it attempted to lay hold. At the time of the investigation, no one present was aware of the information which Reginald could give upon the subject; but every one who saw the fragments, as they were removed one after another, pronounced the comb to have been made of box-wood, or some such material. This conclusion was formed from its red tinge, and from its breaking asunder in parallel lines like wood. Its component parts, however, were carefully collected, and afterwards still more carefully put together by Mr. Matthew Thompson, so as in every respect to warrant the engraving; and during the process, the tediousness of which may be easily ascertained from the lines which run through its middle, for into so many parts was it broken, its material was most clearly ascertained to be of ivory. With reference to its length

* V. p. 81 above.

† V. pp. 91 and 92 above.

‡ Ibid.

§ See the original words in the APPENDIX, p. 6. They by no means imply that it was broader than it was long.

and breadth, and the perforation in its middle, I have nothing to say. When compared with Reginald's account, they speak for themselves.

With respect to the antiquity of this comb, and the uses for which it was intended, I must refer my reader to my preceding pages. It certainly was no personal relic of St. Cuthbert himself;* at least it is not mentioned as such by any of his historians. We hear of it *for the first time*, in connection with the proceedings of Westoue, the Sacrist, who, according to a marginal note in Reginald, in a more modern hand, flourished about the year 1022. Those proceedings have been already detailed (see pp. 58 & 59 above); and I beg my reader to turn to the pages above referred to, whilst I make the following remarks. The Sacrist wishing it to be understood that the hair of the Saint required a periodical tonsure, is there said to have used *an* ivory comb for the purpose, not *the* ivory comb as would have been the natural mode of expression, had it existed antecedently in the coffin, as the original property of St. Cuthbert himself. The silver scissors, used in the same operation, are distinctly stated to have been fabricated by Westoue, for the above pretended purpose; and it may fairly be presumed, that the same man made the comb also. Reginald's concluding words are almost decisive upon the subject—"Whence (i.e. in consequence of the uses to which they had been applied, and not in consequence of their having been personal relics of St. Cuthbert), those scissors, along with the large ivory comb perforated in its centre, are found in the coffin of the blessed Bishop, &c." I have already stated my opinion with respect to the pretended *hair* of the Saint (p. 59), and I shall hereafter revert to the subject.

Near to the comb, but somewhat higher upon the breast of the body, was found THE SILVER ALTAR, alluded to by the anonymous Monk, (v. pp. 34 & 81), afterwards mentioned by him by name, and last of all by Reginald, (v. p. 91). The interesting remains of this relic are engraved, pl. vi. That this is a memorial coeval with St. Cuthbert himself may not be doubted;† the character of its inscriptions would of itself at once prove this, if the above historical information had

* Lingard conceives that *probably* the scissors and *comb* buried with St. Cuthbert were those which had been used at his Consecration.—Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 268. But it is not a fact that they were originally buried with him.

† "The altar was a flat plate of silver, on which it was customary to consecrate the Eucharist. A similar altar, made of two pieces of wood fastened with silver nails, and bearing the inscription "ALME TRINITATI, AGIE SOPHIE, SANCTE MARIE, (to the Holy Trinity, to St. Sophia, to St. Mary,) was found on the breast of Acca, Bishop of Hexham, when his tomb was opened about the year 1000. Lingard, p. 268, from S. Dunelm. See above, p. 127, note *.

been wanting. But here again I have to express my regret, that notwithstanding the utmost pains was taken to remove this relic in its original state, nothing more of it could be preserved than the fragments which I have engraved, at their full size, in the plate referred to. These I proceed to describe :—The altar, although said to be of silver, was only so externally. It consisted, in fact, of a square slip of oak, about a third of an inch in thickness, totally covered on edge and side with a thin plate of silver somewhat raised at the margin, and attached to it by nails of the same material. Of this plate the fragments were preserved, which constitute the square delineation on the upper part of my engraving; but they are so few, that I am quite at a loss to explain satisfactorily to myself, the imperfect inscription which runs in a circle round the cross in the centre. It appears to be a mixture of Greek and Latin, in Latin characters; and if I may venture a surmise, I should consider the letters which remain as parts of the words O ‘A Γ I A ET ERASTE*—*Oh holy and lovely*. The concluding word may be either *Trinitas*, or the name of a *female Saint*. The *S* appears not to be a letter, but merely a distinction between the words, as was at one time common enough. My great doubt is with respect to the *T* in *ET*. There has, moreover, been an inscription on the outer margin of the circle, of which two letters only remain, *OH*, the former of which I conceive to be the vocative *O*, and the latter the aspirate to some Greek word requiring it. The intertwining ornament, which occupies the space behind the cross, is the very commonest of all others in early Saxon manuscripts, and especially in those which are known to have belonged to the Church of Lindisfarne. The letters and other ornamental parts of the plate stand up from the surface, and consequently they have been made by a stamp applied to the lower side of the plate. The reverse of the altar was equally covered with silver; but of this the remains were still more indistinct and imperfect. It might, however, be ascertained that the greater part of the square had been occupied by the full length figure of a priest in his robes, with a glory over his head, and a Greek inscription in Latin characters running from side to side, like those upon the stole hereafter described. The letters which were remaining are *P*..... *OS* *Σ* the first word may be either *PETROS* or *PAVLOS*, either name will suit the space which the word appears to have occupied. The second word is of course *APOSTOLOS*. But my description of the altar is not yet complete. Between the silver lamina and the wood below, was a composition, apparently

* The underlined letters are imaginary. See the inscription upon the altar mentioned in the above note, which this appears to resemble.

of paste, or some such material, of almost the eighth of an inch in thickness, which had evidently been in a soft state when the silver covering was first applied, as the parts of it which were perfect exhibited an accurate outline of the ornamental parts of the plate. This coating fell rapidly into dust; and no sooner was the wood, the ground-work of the whole, exposed to the air, than it also became so exceedingly brittle as not to bear handling. Two contiguous fragments were, however, preserved; and of these I have given an outline on the lower part of the plate above referred to (pl. vi.) From these it appears, that this wooden *substratum* had been itself used as an altar (for how long a period I know not), before it was decorated with the coating of silver above described. I infer this from the fact, that there was deeply carved upon it with a sharp pointed instrument, an inscription of which two fragments have been preserved, but fortunately these two fragments constitute the beginning and end of one and the same line, with the loss of only two letters in the middle, which may readily be supplied without at all indulging in antiquarian fancy. The inscription is IN HONOREM S PETRV. I supply the two letters in italics without risk; but I wish I could as easily account for the peculiar termination of the concluding word. *In honorem S. Petri* (in honour of St. Peter), would have been intelligible enough. Not being at all disposed to believe this relic as old as the days of that Apostle himself, although admitting that *Petru* may possibly be the nominative of his name, the final S being, in fact, broken off, and that *he* might be the *giver in honour of* some one whose name could not be obtained from the crumbling wood, the surmise is not a very extravagant one; I would be inclined to assign a lower date to the relic, and consider the final U (for there has never been an S behind it), as in fact giving the sound, if not the orthography, of OU, the name of the Apostle in the genitive case. If so, the inscription means simply that the altar, whenever it was made, was made *in honour of St. Peter*. We have already seen, that no strict rule was observed as to Greek and Latin characters, or cases, at the period before us, and, therefore, I think I am right in my opinion; but at all events, the fact, that an inscription was found so situated, necessarily proves that the wood upon which it was carved was used as a portable altar for some time in its unornamented state. Two crosses stand below the letters, and excepting these it did not appear to ever had any additional embellishments. I must further add, that the inscription upon these two wooden fragments still more closely resembles the mode of writing exhibited by the two early Lindisfarne manuscripts to which I have above referred. The peculiarly formed N and O and H of the wood are precisely the same as those of the MS. A. II. 17.; a MS. which is coeval with St. Cuthbert.

We next observed, nearly in the same position, THE BURSE, or small linen bag, for holding the sacramental elements. The altar above described was not contained in it, nor in fact did it hold any thing else. Its size may be compared to that of a duodecimo book, or perhaps it was somewhat larger; and the fine linen of which it was made, whatever its original colour might have been, had become brown and dusky, as if it had been tanned.

I now come to the STOLE, AND MANIPLE, OR FANON, alluded to by Reginald (v. p. 83 above.) I have already (p. 33, note †) described the position in which these two robes, if I may so call them, were worn;* and my author shall himself account for the imperfect description of them which he has left behind him:

“Above the alb, he was (in 1104) decorated with a stole and fanon, the *extremities* of which (stole) are for a short space visible near his feet, but yet no one can ascertain the precise nature of their texture; for *their inner parts are covered by the tunic and dalmatic* which are above them, *but the extremities of their borders appear to be of most costly workmanship.*”†

Now, although in the above year the dalmatic was removed (v. p. 91), yet still there was left undisturbed the robe which Reginald, erroneously perhaps, calls the Tunic, and which, whatever it was, must have effectually prevented a minute examination of the robes beneath it, and most especially of the two splendid habiliments which I am upon the point of describing. My task will not be an easy one; but I go to it with the greater alacrity, as these two alone have suffered the least from time.

I begin with THE STOLE, which, although broken into five pieces, is in other respects perfect; and, as far as the gold in its fabric is concerned, as brilliant as the day it was made. Its breadth, and the general character of its decorations, may be, to a certain degree, comprehended from pl. II. fig. 1, containing a representation of Jonas the Prophet, one of the numerous figures with which it is ornamented, and engraved at the full size of the original; but it is no easy matter to convey to my reader a just idea of its fabric or colours. In the first place, the ground-work of the whole is woven exclusively with thread of gold: I do not mean by thread of gold, the silver-gilt wire frequently used in such matters, but real gold thread, if I may so term it, not round but flat. This is the character of the whole web, with the exception of the figures, the undulating cloud-

* See above, p. 33, note *. See also the figure of St. Cuthbert at p. 15.

† See above, p. 83, and Appendix, pp. 3 and 4.

shaped pedestal upon which they stand, the inscriptions, and the foliage, for all of which, however surprising it may appear, vacant spaces have been left by the loom, and they themselves afterwards inserted with the needle. That there has been no cutting out of spaces for the purpose is plain, from the selvadged edge which everywhere appears in connection with the above ornamental parts. The figures are of tapestry work, and the prevalent colour of their drapery has been crimson, tinged deeply here and there with green; the more prominent parts of the folds are enlivened with threads of gold, of the same nature as those described above. The clouds, if they be intended for clouds, upon which the figures stand, have been tinged with crimson, blue, and green, in shades, and separated from each other by gold. The letters are occasionally red, but most frequently green; the inner ornamental parts of the nimbus a reddish scarlet and gold, and the foliage above the figures is of crimson, green, and purple. The border on each side is most evidently of needle work. The outer edge is a dark brown, approaching almost to black—next adjoining to this runs a line of scarlet, and after this the other divisions are scarlet and gold alternately; the scrawled ornament in the middle is scarlet, upon a ground of gold. This description is intended to apply to the whole obverse of the stole. The reverse or lining is of thin silk, saving about two inches and a half at each of its ends, hereafter described, exclusive of the fringe; and its colour is a dark red, ornamented with a narrow stripe of gold, running along each side about the eighth of an inch from its margin. After this general detail, let me proceed to the figures and other embellishments which have been preserved; and here again I must beg to remind my reader of the use to which this robe was applied, or rather of the position which it occupied upon the body of its wearer. It was, in fact, slung round the neck by its middle, so as to leave its extremities to hang down in equal lengths in front of the priest. This being the case, the ornamental figures which it contained must have appeared to stand on their heads upon one of its suspended sides, if their regular order one above another had been preserved from end to end: but the difficulty was easily obviated. Immediately behind the neck of the wearer, and consequently just half-way in the stole, stood a quatrefoil ornament, occupying the greater part of the space included between the borders, and itself inclosing a representation of A LAMB in needle work, with a glory over its head, around which were scattered the letters,

AGNV... DI

On the right side of this, and consequently on the right side of the stole,

there stood, almost touching it with its head, a representation of the PROPHET ISAIAH, the upper part of which only remains, with the inscription,

ΕΣΑΙΑΣ

After this, I know not the precise order in which the fragments should be arranged. One portion contains an imperfect figure of the Prophet JEREMIAH, perfect delineations of the Prophets DANIEL and AMOS, holding in one hand a book, and in the other the branch of a palm tree, and a fragment of a figure of OBADIAH. The respective inscriptions, scattered *literatim* from side to side after the manner of the specimen given, pl. II. No. 1, are

..... ΜΙΑΣ PROPHEΤ̄

DANIEL PROPHETA

AMOS PROPHETA

ABDIA

On another fragment are depicted, in a perfect state, the Prophets HOSEA, having in his right hand a palm branch, and in his left a book; JOEL, holding a book upon his breast; and the upper part of a figure of the Prophet HABAKKUK. The inscriptions are

ΟΣΕ PROPHETA

IOHEL PRPHETA†

ABABAEVE*

Another portion contains a perfect figure of the Prophet JONAS, engraved pl. II. 1.; and there is beneath it the upper part of ZACHARIAS—with the inscriptions

IONAS PROPHE...Α†

ΖΑΣΗΑ...Α.....

There is still a further fragment with an imperfect figure, below which stands the Prophet NAHUM holding a book. The inscriptions are

..... PROPETA‡

NAVVM PROPHETA

* The name was so spelt when the stole was removed. The first three letters only now remain.

† The letter T had fallen out when the drawing was made by Mr Salvin. This is not to be wondered at considering the facts above stated.

‡ Ita.

My further description of the stole must be confined to its terminating parts on the right side and the left of its wearer. On the obverse, and therefore in front, as the stole was worn, is the half-length representation of **ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST**, of which I give a full-sized outline, pl. 1. 2; and which appears to hold in its right hand a book, and in its left the leaf of a palm-tree, or some such emblem of peace. The colours are the same as upon the other parts of the stole above described, and the inscription is

IOHANNES EVĒ.

The reverse of this delineation is also engraved upon the same plate, fig. 1. The inscription, proving that **THE STOLE WAS MADE BY ORDER OF AELFLED**, runs thus—**ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT.**

At the other extremity of the stole is a half-length figure of **THOMAS THE APOSTLE**, of the same size as St. John above referred to, with the inscription, **THOMAS APOST**; and on the reverse is the following inscription, proving that it was made **FOR THE PIOUS BISHOP FRITHESTAN**:—

PIO EPISCOPO FRIDESTANO.

Of the stole, the above details may suffice. I proceed to describe the maniple; after which, I shall offer a few remarks, applicable to them both.

Let me again refer my reader to p. 33, for an explanation of the maniple and its uses. **THE MANIPLE**, which I am upon the point of describing, measures in length thirty-two inches and a quarter, exclusive of the fringe, which hangs down to the depth of an inch and three quarters at each end. Its breadth is about two inches and a quarter. Here also, for the same reason which applies to the stole, the figures are so arranged, as to stand in a natural position on each side, and the fabric, colours, and reverse, are precisely the same as those of the stole above described. In the middle or half-way length there is the same quatrefoil, in which is inserted in needle-work a stretched-out hand, apparently proceeding from a cloud, with the inscription,

DEXTERA DĪ

From this **RIGHT HAND OF GOD** there proceed, in each direction, two figures, and then come the terminations hereafter described. On the one side is **ST. GREGORY THE POPE**,* holding over his right hand a maniple, of precisely the same

* Of Gregory the Great, saving that he died in 604, I have nothing to say, but refer my reader to any Ecclesiastical History which he may have an opportunity of consulting.

shape as the one I am describing, and elevating his left, as if in the act of giving his benediction. The inscription is

ΣΕΣ ΓΡΕΓΟΡΙΥΣ ΡΑΡ—

Below him stands PETER THE DEACON,* elevating his right hand, and holding a maniple in his left—

PETRVΣ DIACONVΣ.

The small square termination below contains on the obverse a half-length figure of JOHN THE BAPTIST, holding in his right hand a palm branch, and in his left a book, inscribed

IOHANNES B̄

And immediately behind, on the reverse, is an inscription, see pl. 1. 4, of the same import as the one upon the stole, proving that this maniple also was made for Bishop Frithestan,—

PIO EPIΣCOPO FRIDESTANO.

On the other side of the *Dextera Dei*, there stands nearest to it SAINT SYXTUS THE BISHOP,† giving the blessing with his right hand, and supporting a maniple upon the wrist of his left. I have, at p. 33 above, given a correct outline of this embellishment, as the best mode of conveying to my readers a correct idea of the dress of a priest, as it was then worn. The inscription is

ΣΕΣ ΣΥΧΤΥΣ ΕΠΙΣCΠ̄

Immediately beneath the feet of the above figure, stands LAURENCE‡ THE

* Peter the Deacon was the most familiar companion of the Gregory above.—See SURIUS, *VITÆ SANCTORUM*, 12th Mar. p. 151, from which page I derive the following information :—In the year of Gregory's death there was a grievous famine, and during its continuance an envious mob, conceiving that the deceased Pope had been a prodigal and a dilapidator, became extremely anxious to burn his books. Some the fire had already consumed, when *Peter the Deacon*, his most familiar (*familiarissimus ejus*), the man with whom he had held the Dialogues, comprised in four books, is reported to have opposed the proceeding most vehemently, telling them that the burning of the Pope's books (from the context, his writings) would be of no avail towards the blotting out his memory, as copies of them had found their way into every corner of the world. He dwelt upon the enormity of such a proceeding, with respect to the books of a man upon whose head he himself had very frequently seen the Holy Ghost sitting in the likeness of a dove. "Nay, said he, if what I have said upon my oath be succeeded by instant death, then cease ye from throwing his books into the flames; but if I survive such a putting to the proof, I myself will give you a helping hand." Without delay, he grasped in his hand a copy of the Gospels, and hurried into the pulpit, where, as a proof of the sanctity of Gregory, he died in the midst of a confession made in the words of truth.

† *St. Sixtus* was Bishop of Rome, and was put to death in his old age by Decius the Emperor. This event must have taken place before the year 251, the year of Decius's death.

‡ *Laurentius*, called by Surius an *Archdeacon*, but by himself, in confirmation of the inscription upon the maniple, a Deacon, for his attachment to his martyred Bishop, was soon afterwards, after undergoing various tortures, burnt to death upon a gridiron.—See SURIUS, 10th Aug., anno 253, and *ITALIA SACRA*, i. 9.

DEACON, holding in his right hand a maniple, and pointing to the ground with the two fore fingers of his left,—

LAVRENTIVS DIACONVS.

Next comes the square termination, now broken off, on which is depicted, at half length, JAMES THE APOSTLE—

IACOBVS AP̄O

And on the reverse, as in the case of the stole, there is an inscription, stating, that *Ælfled commanded the maniple to be made—*

ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT.

I have already stated, that at each end of the maniple there hangs a fringe of crimson purple, an inch and three quarters in length.

It now becomes necessary to revert to the historical information afforded by the stole and maniple above described.

Who was *Ælfled*, by whose order they were made? Who was *the pious Bishop Frithestan*, for whose use they were intended? And

How came such *bearings* to be found upon the bones of St. Cuthbert?

The two first questions are easily answered.

Frithestan was consecrated Bishop of Winchester in the year 905, by command of King Edward the Elder,* the son and successor of King Alfred. And the *Ælfled* by whose command the stole and maniple were made, was no less a personage than the Queen of that Monarch. As *Ælfled* died before 916, for in this year Edward was married to Edgiva his third wife, the period when they were made is limited to ten years. Winchester was then the seat of royalty,† and the Queen would, in consequence, have frequent opportunities of seeing her favourite Bishop clothed in the splendid robes fabricated by her command.

But how came it to pass, that robes made for a Bishop of Winchester were found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert?

For this I think I can easily account. *Frithestan* resigned his see in 931, and died in 932.‡ Now, not more than two years after the death of *Frithestan*, *Athelstan*, the illegitimate son of the King Edward above-mentioned, and

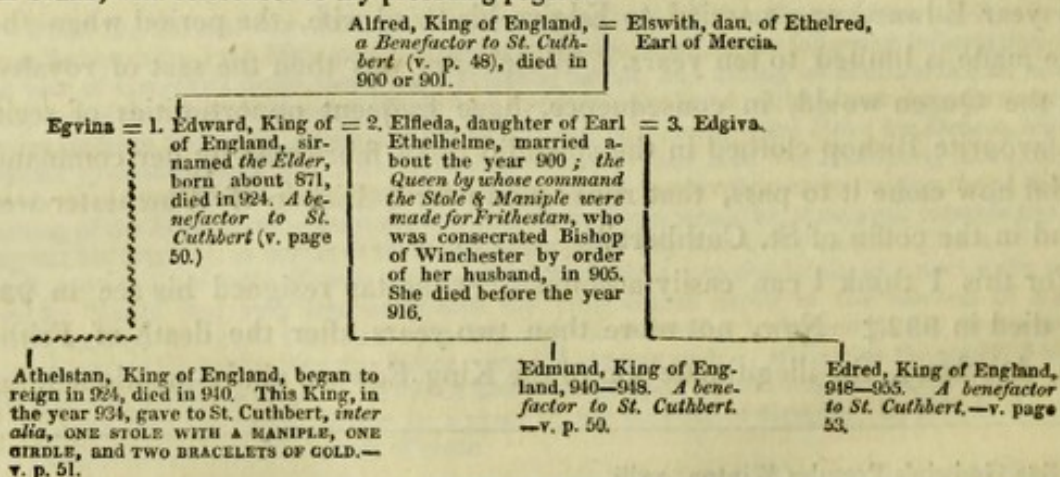
* See Godwin's *Presules Winton.* xxiii.

† v. Milner's *Winchester*, p. 131.

‡ Godwin and Milner. The *Saxon Chronicle* gives these two dates, 932 and 933. One of *Frithestan's* occupations, as it appears, was to sing requiems for the dead in the church-yards in which they were buried; and when he was so employed, the lifeless bodies are reported to have frequently raised a hollow-toned *Amen* from their graves, in response to his chaunt.—See *X. Script.* pp. 454 and 838.

his successor on the throne,* took his departure from Winchester upon an expedition into the northern parts of his kingdom, for purposes already detailed (v. p. 50). On his journey he visited Chester-le-Street, then the seat of the See, and during his stay offered to St. Cuthbert, among many other valuable presents detailed in the page above referred to, ONE STOLE, WITH A MANIPLE, ONE GIRDLE, and TWO BRACELETS OF GOLD. With respect to the girdle and bracelets, see hereafter. That the stole and maniple offered by Athelstan to St. Cuthbert, were the stole and maniple made for Frithestan, by command of the Queen his mother-in-law, may fairly be presumed. These habiliments were actually found upon the body of St. Cuthbert. Athelstan offered such habiliments to our Saint; and it would be almost scepticism itself to require a more satisfactory answer to the question, how came Frithestan's stole and maniple to St. Cuthbert. It might be, as the Queen died long before the Bishop, that the present never in reality came into the possession of him for whom it was fabricated, but was preserved in the palace; it might be, that these two articles of priestly dress were not intended to become the personal property of that Bishop, but only to be worn by him when officiating in the private chapel of the Queen: either of these circumstances would account for their falling into the hands of King Athelstan.† The whole story receives no small confirma-

* The following brief genealogical sketch may be of use to my reader. It is copied chiefly from SPEED, with references to my preceding pages:—



† The above account of the probable manner in which the stole and maniple of Bishop Frithestan found their way to St. Cuthbert, will be satisfactory to most of my readers. In fact, it is very seldom that such strong evidence can be brought to bear upon the transactions of a period so remote. I had at one time conceived that possibly the donor might have been Ethelwold, a subsequent Bishop of the same See, who is reported to have once visited the Shrine of St. Cuthbert, and after lifting up the lid of his coffin, and talking to him as one friend would talk

tion from the fact above-mentioned, that Athelstan offered at the same time a girdle and two bracelets of gold.

A GIRDLE and TWO BRACELETS OF GOLD TISSUE were found upon the bones of St. Cuthbert, during our late investigation of his remains. Of the *girdle* or *cingulum*,* the portion, which we were enabled to preserve, measures twenty-five inches in length; and, consequently, it is shorter by at least twelve inches than when entire. Its breadth is exactly seven-eighths of an inch. It has evidently proceeded from the loom; and its two component parts are a flattish thread of pure gold, and a thread of scarlet silk, which are not combined in any particular pattern, save that at a very short distance from each selvage there run two or three longitudinal lines, which serve to break the uniformity of the whole. The lining is of silk. The *bracelets* are made of precisely the same materials and workmanship, only their border is checked, and saving that their scarlet threads are somewhat discoloured by time, they are as perfect as in the day they were made. They measure nine inches in circumference, and are of the same breadth as the girdle which I have above described.† These, I doubt not, were the gift of King Athelstan.

I know not the precise period when the above-mentioned *insignia* were placed upon the bones of St. Cuthbert. I should almost infer, from the terms in which Athelstan's gift is worded, that no time was lost in appropriating them to the place in which we found them; but if this was not done at the moment, I am inclined to believe that they might possibly have remained *apart* from his remains until the day of Elfred the Sacrist (circ. 1022, almost a century afterwards), who is acknowledged to have taken more than ordinary liberties with his patron Bishop, and to have clothed him in such robes as he thought fit.‡ This is an enquiry of little consequence, as the very next discovery which I have to mention prove, the fact, that even after the year 1104, the

to another, placed upon him *a pledge of his love*—(see above, p. 53). That pledge might have been the above stole and maniple, which might have descended to the donor from Frithestan, his predecessor: or it might have been purchased by the Bishop of Chester-le-Street at the time when, according to Godwin (p. 210), the embossed silver and more costly ornaments of the Church of Winchester were sold by the same Bishop Ethelwold, to provide food for the poor of that city during a famine. Either of the above facts may be laid hold of, as accounting with some plausibility for the discovery of Frithestan's robes upon the body of St. Cuthbert; but with such historical information as is detailed in my text on the subject of Athelstan and his gifts, the real history of the whole transaction may be considered, as far as can be reasonably expected at this distance of time, ascertained.

* See above, p. 33.

† Two bracelets of a similar description are said to have been placed upon the body of St. Cuthbert by King Edmund (see p. 52 above). We found only one pair.

‡ See p. 59 above.

famous year of the Translation of our Saint, of which so much has been said, there was at least one addition made to the robes in which he was then laid to sleep. I allude to A SECOND MANIPLE, which, from its shape, appears to belong to a period at least a century and a half posterior to that event. Of this maniple, or rather of its lower termination, I have given a full-sized engraving, pl. III. 1. It measures in length twenty-six inches and a quarter, inclusive of the fringe; its breadth, and the proportions of its lower parts, may easily be ascertained, by applying a scale to my plate. I have given at detail the ornaments of only one of its members. The pattern of the other, which I have left blank, is the same. The ground and fringe are silk, of a scarlet colour, and the pattern or ornamental part is gold, so contrived, that when the maniple is bent, it appears to detach itself to a certain degree from the woof, to which it is only here and there affixed. The borders of the lower swallow-tailed part of the maniple are of gold. The ornamental leaf, where the two pendants join in one, and the space between the double lines, horizontal, or proceeding upwards, are of gold. The pattern of the reverse is precisely the same, only the gold and scarlet change places. On the reverse the ground is gold, and the pattern scarlet.

I have said above, that this maniple is by no means so old as the year 1104; and in coming to this conclusion, I have proceeded upon the best possible evidence. The seals of the Bishops of Durham, upon which, in their succession, one Prelate after another is engraved in the canonicals of his respective period, afford the very best testimony with respect to the changes made in ecclesiastical dress from time to time. Now, the first Bishop who wears a maniple, at all resembling the one before me, was Richard Poor,* who sat upon the Episcopal throne of Durham from 1227 to 1240. I would, in further proof, refer my reader to the representation of St. Cuthbert, given at p. 15 above, from a manuscript, not older than the early part of the thirteenth century, in which the maniple is, as near as may be, of the same shape as the one which I have been describing. It would be no easy matter to ascertain the time when this addition was made to the robes of St. Cuthbert. In all probability, it was placed in his coffin during the period when he must necessarily have been for a while removed from his resting-place,—I mean, during the building of the NINE ALTARS.

Let me here add, as a concluding remark to my description of the above various robes, that not one of them has suffered from exposure to the air. Since

* See Surtees, SEALS, pl. i. 8.

their removal from the grave, the stole and maniple have been re-lined with silk of the original colour; the golden ornaments upon the more modern maniple have been prevented from falling off, and the fragments of the other robes have been laid down upon cotton, to secure them from further decay.

I next come to THE CROSS, of which a full-sized delineation is given, pl. I. 3, and which was found deeply buried among the remains of the robes which were nearest to the breast of the Saint. The cross is of gold—but the gold appears to have undergone some process, tending to deaden its lustre, for its dingy appearance can scarcely be the effect of time. There is a large garnet in the centre, one in each angle, and twelve upon each of its branches. The loop by which it has been suspended is of bright yellow gold, in its purest state. The arm which stands the lowest upon my engraving was found broken off; and upon examination, it appeared to have been broken once before, as there were evident proofs that it had been repaired by means of small rivets, some of which were remaining. The whole weighs fifteen pennyweights and twelve grains. Portions of the silken cord, twisted with gold, by which it had been suspended round the neck, were observed upon the breast of the skeleton.

I consider the above cross as a personal relic of St. Cuthbert himself. Its deep situation prevented the possibility of its being described by Reginald, as, during the operations of 1104, it must necessarily have been concealed from view; but that the Monks of Durham were acquainted with the fact, that St. Cuthbert had attached more than ordinary value to a cross of this very shape,



may be proved from the circumstance, that when once finally settled at Durham as a Convent, in 1083, they adopted for their seal a similar cross, with the circumscription,* THE SEAL OF CUDBERHT THE HOLY BISHOP. I give in the margin an engraving of this seal, of the full size, from *the original matrix*, preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter; and I must further state, in confirmation of the above-supposition, that when the other opulent Monasteries of the kingdom gradually laid aside their original plain seals, and a-

* The characters of the seal seem to warrant an earlier date; but of this I have no proof.

adopted those splendid ones, of which so many glorious impressions remain in the Treasury and elsewhere, the Monks of Durham adhered to their simple cross, and sealed with this self-same seal even to the Dissolution. About the year 1200, or perhaps a little earlier, they added a reverse, which, from its nature, deserves to be mentioned. They somewhere procured an antique, of an oval shape—an admirably cut head of Jupiter Tonans. This they let into a circular plate of brass, or some such metal, not quite so large as the obverse above described, and converted it at once into *the head of Saint Oswald the King*, by means of the following inscription* :—

+ CAPVT SANCTI OSWALDI REGIS.

We next observed divers fragments of *the finest and most pliant GOLD WIRE*, partly surrounding the skull, and partly entangled among the wrappers in which the skull had been enveloped. Judging from the position in which they were found, it appeared that they had originally been intended to bind fast the coiff in which the head of the skeleton had been clad. One portion, in particular, had evidently encircled the skull, and its ends had as evidently been twisted together at their junction, to secure the something which it surrounded. It was a portion of this wire, which, about the year 1022, Elfred Westoue, the Sacrist, was in the habit of taking out of the coffin, and exhibiting as the hair of the Saint, defying the flames.† Well might it glitter in the fire like gold, when it was gold indeed.

After this we proceeded to remove the wreck of a variety of robes, which had so far fallen in pieces, from extreme length of time, that few of their fragments were more than an inch in breadth. Still all was dry—at least, the only damp was that of mouldiness—and still there was no unpleasant smell. There were no traces whatever of a cere cloth, or any other preservative against corruption. There was nothing glutinous or fragrant; but every one who was present, was convinced that the bones had been thoroughly dry when originally clothed in their numerous habiliments.

My reader must now conceive, stretched at length before him, the skeleton

* The matrix of the reverse is lost. See it engraved in Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 91.

† That which Reginald calls a mitre.

‡ See above, p. 59.

of St. Cuthbert; the bones of which, although disjointed and detached from each other, were yet all of them perfectly *whole*,* and in their proper places, with the exception of the fingers and feet bones, which were in a state of confusion. The skeleton, when thus laid bare, measured five feet eight inches from the crown of the skull to the ankle joints (v. p. 87), and we were enabled to ascertain very satisfactorily, that, saving its bones, the only other mouldering remains were those of silk or linen. There was not the slightest particle of soil, or any other trace of human flesh in a state of decomposition. The right arm was elevated in benediction, like the right arm of the figure at p. 15 above, only it was necessarily close to the body, and the left arm was precisely in the same position as that of Bishop Sixtus,—v. p. 33.†

The skull of the Saint was easily moved from its place; and when this was done, we observed on the forehead, and apparently constituting a part of the bone itself, a distinct tinge of gold, of the breadth of an ordinary fillet. Not a thread remained in connection with this appearance. Still the place which it occupied, and the direction which it took, left no doubt that it had been occasioned by something pressing hard upon the bone, in the composition of which gold had formed a part. Now, if my reader will refer to Reginald (p. 88 above), he will there read, that in 1104 there was a fillet of gold, set with precious stones, observed upon the forehead of the Saint. No precious stones, however, came under our notice, nor any other trace of the bandage, save the yellow tint upon the skull—which, be it remembered, could never have become so imprinted if flesh and blood had at any time intervened between its cause and the bone. Again, Reginald states (p. 83 above), that the whole of Cuthbert's head and face were, in the year 1104, found to be closely covered by a cloth, so carefully put on, that it appeared glued to the parts which it concealed, that no art could separate it from the *skin and flesh* to which it was attached;‡ but that through it might be seen the nostrils and eye-lids. Now, we found adhering to the skull, pieces of the finest cloth, and so adhering to it, as most tho-

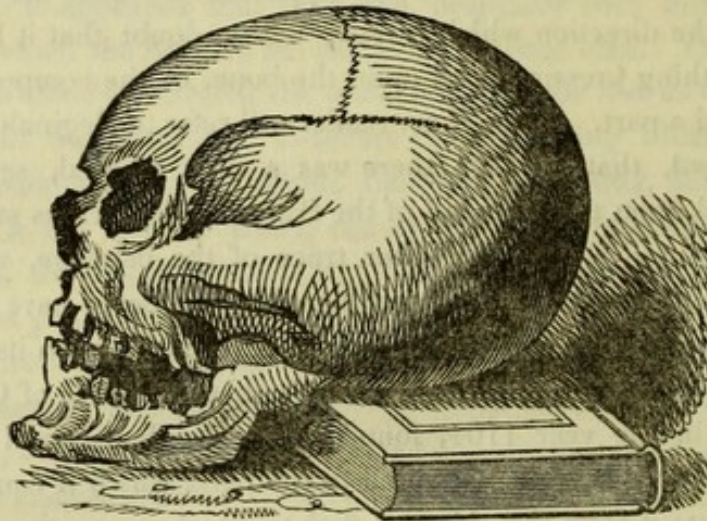
* This fact but ill accords with the statement contained in p. 174 above, that at the Dissolution the visitors broke one of the Saint's legs, which they found whole and incorrupt. Harpsfield, the Roman Catholic writer, says, that the leg was *wounded* only; but that the *flesh* gave instant proof of the injury which it had suffered (v. p. 176). Is it worth while to reason upon the degree of credit to be attached to one part of this story, when the other is so grossly false? In all probability, the blow, if a blow was given in reality, did nothing more than break a few of the upper integuments in which Cuthbert's bones were swathed.

† See p. 89 above.

‡ See also Malmsbury. "*Facies ejus tam strictè obvoluta sudario ut nullo Abbatis nisu dissociari posset.*"

roughly to convince those who saw them, that the envelope, of which they formed a part, had been put upon the skull when that skull was nothing more than a bare dry bone. What would have become of so thin a coating of cloth, if the "hairy scalp" of the Saint had remained to fall away into corruption beneath it? and how, under such circumstances, could such distinct portions of that said thin grave-cap have remained in the place and condition in which they were found? But to return from inference to fact:—Will it be believed? the eye-holes of this said skull, in order to give to the above face-cloth the projecting appearance of eyes in their respective places, had been originally, and still continued, stuffed full with a whitish composition, which admirably retained its colour and consistency; and which, upon being removed from its place, was easily pressed into a powder by the finger and thumb.

I have now come to the naked skull of St. Cuthbert. In the language of books once to be found in nurseries—*see here it is.*



Let me proceed to compare the skull of St. Cuthbert with Reginald's description of his face, as it was observed in 1104. By face, it must be understood, the bones of his face, as they were closely covered with the cloth above-mentioned. His nose, says my author, (v. p. 88 above), at its junction with his forehead, seemed to be turning somewhat rapidly outwards, and the tip of the lower bone of his chin appeared to be furrowed by a well-defined line of division, which in fact was so deep, that a finger might be almost laid in the cavity. Does not the skull given above exactly correspond with this description? There is the *obscure* nose most distinctly marked, and there is the chin bone much more deeply indented than could well be delineated in the engraving. I subjoin the

following further remarks upon this singular skull, made by a medical gentleman, who had a hasty opportunity of examining it, before Reginald had been consulted:—

Forehead flat and prominent.

Parietal bones also very flat.

Occipital bone protuberant.

Space from the angle of the eye to the base of the skull, measuring over the frontal and occipital bones, unusually long.

Very narrow across the forehead.

Orbital processes of the cheek bones very prominent.

Orbits deep.

Nasal bone *short, and turned upwards in a very singular manner.*

Upper jaw very prominent. The chin still more remarkably so.

Distance from top of frontal bone to the insertion of the teeth, remarkably short.

Eight teeth remaining in the upper jaw, and six in the lower, sound, and large; one of the *canini*, or eye teeth, of the upper jaw, peculiarly large, and projecting outwards.

The skull, upon the whole, rather small.

Of the other bones of the skeleton there is little to be said, save that the ribs, although detached from the back-bone, were in other respects still in their proper places; and that in the small cavity between them and the vertebræ or back-bones, the sole remains were minute and mouldering fragments of vestments in decay, which appeared to have fallen through the ribs from time to time. Here we observed two or three small buttons of the size of a pea, made of threads of silk, loosely fabricated, so as to admit of compression. The various bones of the Saint were, one after another, laid in the stone coffin of Earl Cospatrick, which was standing empty in the shrine; and after their removal thither we had an opportunity of examining the robes upon which they had reclined, and of ascertaining that they constituted parts of the vestments already described, as removed from the surface of the skeleton. These again were all dry, at least their only dampness proceeded from the exclusion of air. Flesh and blood had never fallen to decay in contact with them.

We had now reached the bottoms of the various coffins above described; but these it was next to an impossibility to remove one by one, or even to note their number, or the order in which they occurred. Properly speaking, there should have been four; the false bottom placed in the inner coffin in 1104 (v. p.

87), the original bottom of that same coffin, and those of the two outer ones above described—and for all these there was apparently wood enough. The only point which could be ascertained was, that one bottom had been externally ornamented with carvings (v. p. 189); but still this great decay had been caused solely by time: no trace of corruption was observable.

After those portions of the various coffin bottoms, which could be removed, had been laid aside, the whole accumulation of crumbled wood and robes was thoroughly examined, lest any thing should have escaped our notice. This was done by means of a sieve; but no further discovery was made.

The next step was to re-inter the bones of the Saint and the other relics which had been found along with him. For this purpose, a new coffin was prepared, in which they were one and all placed; and this coffin was, in the same evening, deposited in the bottom of the original grave, upon a mass of broken wood, iron rings, and iron bars, the remnants of the two outer coffins of the Saint, which had been thrown into the grave. Heswell's stone was again placed over the vault, the soil was re-laid, and the blue stone was again applied as a covering to the whole.

Those portions of the inner coffin which could be preserved, including one of its rings, with the silver altar, cross, comb, stole, two maniples, bracelets, girdle, gold wire, the fragments of the five robes above described, and some of the rings of the outer coffin made in 1542, were not restored to the grave, but were deposited in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, where they are now preserved.

I must now revert to divers relics, known to have been at one time contained in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, of which no trace was observed during the late investigation.

In the first place, when the coffin was opened in 1104, there was found in it the *CHALICE* of gold and onyx stone, described by the anonymous Monk (v. p. 81), and mentioned by Reginald (v. p. 91). There was also, according to the above authorities, a pair of scissors of silver, and a paten, probably of the same material. These, along with the *comb*, *silver altar*, and *sacramental burse*, were placed upon a small wooden tablet within the coffin, at the head of the Saint. Now, the *comb*, the *silver altar*, and the *burse*, were all of them found, but upon the breast of the skeleton, and not upon a tablet so placed. The *chalice*, the *paten*, and the *scissors*, were not found at all. Let the visitors in the time of Henry the Eighth answer for all this. Sanderson's author says, that they

spoiled St. Cuthbert's *ornaments and jewels* (v. p. 174); Alban Butler tells us, that *the King's officers carried away the plunder of his shrine* (v. p. 175); and, as a proof that the coffin was broken open for this purpose, Harpsfield distinctly states, that he had seen the ring which was taken from his finger on that occasion (v. p. 176). These facts account also for our not finding that which Sander-son calls *a metwand of gold*, placed by the side of the Saint. What this was, I know not—probably the staff of a crosier, which had been put into his hand at a period subsequent to the time of Reginald: and it also accounts for the total disappearance of Cuthbert's rich outer coffin, described by that author (v. p. 92), as it was in the time he flourished. The tablet of wood may reasonably be supposed to have fallen to decay long before the Dissolution, at which time the comb, altar, and burse must have been placed upon the breast of the skeleton. That the *two maniples, stole, and cross*, were left undisturbed, was solely owing to their deep concealment among the robes in which the body was so closely enveloped.

I have in a preceding page promised to make one or two further remarks on the reported tradition, that the real place of St. Cuthbert's sepulture in Durham Cathedral is a secret known only to three Roman Catholics at a time.* Dr. Milner, a Roman Catholic Bishop, has made the very most of this absurdity in his paper in the *ARCHÆOLOGIA*, above referred to (v. p. 78.)

"With respect to the body of St. Cuthbert having, *as we are told*, been found incorrupt contrary to the expectation of the Lord Cromwell's visitors (whose intention it was to burn the bones, had they found nothing but bones in the coffin), the said visitors wrote up to Cromwell, in London, to know what they were to do in this extraordinary case. In the mean-time, *we are informed*, that some of the Monks contrived to steal away the body, which they buried in a private place, yet so as to transmit the secret to some of their successors, to be communicated to others after them, as long as Christianity should continue to be professed at Durham. *Thus much I can say*, from my certain knowledge, that there are always *three gentlemen of the Benedictine order*, who *profess to know the identical spot* at Durham, where the body of St. Cuthbert rests, and who, as one of them dies, choose another to whom they impart the secret."†

I would here, *in limine*, ask my reader, whether in his opinion Dr. Milner

* "I have heard from a Roman Catholic, that the Saint's grave is in the church not far from the clock."—Lambe's *Flodden Field*, p. 160.

† *Archæologia*, xvi. p. 18.

himself had any faith in the tale? Do not those of his words which I have ventured to print in italics, go very far to prove, that he attached no credit whatever to the tradition? Could a more cautious set of words and phrases have been adopted? Dr. Milner is no longer alive, but to those of his brethren who believe in the legend, I must, with no other object before me than that of truth, beg leave to address the following observations:—

Who were the Monks, who are said to have stolen the body away and to have buried it privately, hoping for better times? The body, as I have proved by an unquestionable record, (the very bill for making the grave), was not buried till the feast of Epiphany in 1542. The name of a Monk had not been heard in Durham Cathedral for at least eight months previously to that event; and what is still more to the point,—the very men of all others who might have been expected to take a part in the supposed stealth, had for all those eight months been enjoying their dignities and emoluments as members of the newly founded Chapter. This fact is proved from the foundation charter of the Cathedral, dated 12th May, 1541,* which gives to Hugh Whitehead, *the late Prior*, the dignity of *Dean*, and which appoints Roger Watson, the *Terrarius* under the Monastery, to the *second stall*; Thomas Sparke, the *Chamberlain*, to the *third*; Stephen Marley, the *Subprior*, to the *sixth*; Robert Bennet, the *Bursar*, to the *eleventh*; and, which is still more worthy of consideration, William Watson, the late *Feretrar*, the very man who had had the custody of St. Cuthbert's body and shrine before the Dissolution, was made the first Prebendary of the *twelfth*. Was it under these circumstances necessary to secrete the body of St. Cuthbert, and wait for a *restoration*? But I proceed to positive testimony upon the point, afforded me by the Roman Catholics themselves.

Every Roman Catholic author who has written upon the subject of St. Cuthbert's final place of burial, from the Dissolution to the time of Alban Butler, the late Hagiographer of their Church, most expressly states, that St. Cuthbert's remains were buried *in the ground, WITHIN HIS SHRINE, under that precise part of the floor of the said shrine upon which his said remains had rested in their exalted state*, before that event took place.† The Roman Catholic who compiled the narrative printed by Sanderson, of which I have so often availed myself (a book which takes the reader at once into the Cathedral, as it existed before the Reformation, and makes him acquainted with all its pageantry);

* See Hutchinson's *Durham*, ii. 102; and Sanderson, pp. 90—98.

† See above, pp. 174, 175, 176.

and the Roman Catholic Archdeacon Harpsfield, who lived at the time when the burial took place, both state one and the same fact, that St. Cuthbert was buried *within his shrine*. I have given the bill for making St. Cuthbert's grave, and the charges with reference to the marble stone which was to cover it. I have quoted a testimony, which proves, that in the year 1655, or thereabouts, that same marble stone, the only one, be it remembered, within the shrine, was well known to cover the remains of St. Cuthbert; and, as my next link in the order of time, I must contend, that even so late as the year 1722, the story of *the three and their secret* had never been heard of. This may fairly be inferred from the fact, that Dr. Smith, the most judicious and impartial of Editors, has, *mero motu*, caused the words, THE TOMB OF ST. CUTHBERT, to be engraved upon a delineation of this blue marble stone given in a sketch of the Shrine of St. Cuthbert, in his admirable edition of Bede, published in the above-mentioned year. Dr. Smith doubtless well knew, that he was justified in so doing; that this was indeed the grave of St. Cuthbert: but if any absurd surmise or tradition had at his time existed to the contrary, it would not have been left unnoticed by one so eminently impartial, and so well acquainted with the history of the Church of Durham.

I would, in conclusion, and as the last, but by far the strongest, evidence, which can possibly be brought against this notion, recall the attention of my reader to the particulars of the late disinterment, as they are detailed in my preceding pages.

If, with the above testimony before him, any impartial observer had witnessed the discovery of human remains under the blue stone in the middle of the shrine, in whatever, even in the greatest possible state of decay—if there was nothing discernible, save the veriest dust of a coffin, and a few bones fast crumbling into earth, he ought to have had no hesitation whatever in pronouncing those remains, however few and decayed, to be those of St. Cuthbert. But when the remains there discovered were, one and all, so far in a state of perfect preservation, as to bear examination and a subsequent comparison with the test of Reginald; and when every thing, which was found, corresponded most accurately with that author's description of the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert and its contents, as they were all of them left in 1104, there ought to be an end of all further discussion upon the subject. In the face of such convincing facts, what room is there for a contradictory tradition?

But I may be asked to state, to the best of my belief, my opinion with reference to the origin of a story, which I have perhaps too laboriously combated.

I think the notion is not older than the time of Alban Butler, who published his first edition of the *Lives of the Saints* in the year 1745; and who, whilst he gives the strongest of all possible confirmations to the historical testimony of which I have above adduced, by an uncalled-for additional remark, proceeding from ignorance of the localities of Durham Cathedral, threw an apparent veil of mystery over the preceding part of his statement. These are his words:—

“After the King’s Officers had carried away the plunder of his (St. Cuthbert’s) shrine, it (the body) was privately *buried under the place where his shrine before stood*, THOUGH THE SPOT IS NOW UNKNOWN.”—(v. p. 175 above.)

Here is the very last Roman Catholic Biographer of the Saints of his Church plainly recording the fact, that, at the Reformation, *St. Cuthbert was finally buried in St. Cuthbert’s shrine*; but, from ignorance, or from motives into which I care not to enquire, further stating, that the real place of the shrine was then (in 1745) unknown. In that self-same year were fought the battles of Fontenoy and Preston Pans; and it would not be half so absurd for an historian, even at the present day, when writing of those two conflicts, to say, that although the battle of Fontenoy was fought at Fontenoy, and the battle of Preston Pans was fought at Preston Pans, yet that these two places are now totally unknown, as it was for Mr. Butler to say, that in his day no one knew the real place of the shrine of St. Cuthbert.

“QUIS TROJÆ NESCIAT URBEM?”

The only other point to which I have to solicit the attention of my readers, is the reputed INCORRUPTIBILITY of St. Cuthbert.

The body of St. Cuthbert is said to have been found in a state of incorruption in the year 698, eleven years after his death; and to have been in 1022, again in 1104, and last of all in 1538 or 1539, ascertained to be still *whole, perfect, and free from corruption*.

Any one who has carefully read my preceding pages, will have learnt what value to attach to these reputed facts. But, however needless the task, I cannot refrain from enquiring into the origin of the report, and from remarking upon the Historians who have taken such pains to record the reputed miracle.

The anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne is, I believe, the first who records the event. His book is dedicated to Bishop Eadfrid, and therefore it must have

been written between the years 698 and 721. As the year 698 was the year of St. Cuthbert's exhumation, the author was to all intents coeval with that event. His words, given below, may be thus translated :—

“ After eleven years, the Holy Spirit persuading and teaching the way, the plan being arranged by the Deacons, and the holy Bishop Eadberth having given his permission, they proposed to elevate from the grave the remains of St. Cuthbert the Bishop. But at the first opening of the sepulchre, what is wonderful to be told, they found the whole body as perfect as it had been at its burial, eleven years before. The body was not stretched out and stiff, with a skin shrivelled and pining away from old age, but the limbs were full of *vivacity*, and pliant in their joints. They (who raised him) could move the joints of his neck and knees, when elevated from the coffin, just as if he had been a living man. His shoes, and those of his robes which came in contact with his skin, were in no wise injured. The cloth in which his head was enveloped was as bright as when first made, and the new sandals which were upon his feet are to this day preserved among the relics of our Church for a testimony.”*

There is another part of the Monk's narrative, which evidently refers to the above discovery, although it is embodied in the account which he gives of Cuthbert's burial, immediately after his death :—

“ His body incorruptible, resting and as it were sleeping in a stone coffin they honourably buried in the church.”†

We shall see that these strong, and therefore easily remembered, expressions, were not lost upon future Historians.

That the Monk, from whom I have been quoting, was not present at the exhumation of the Saint, may be fairly inferred from the vagueness of the *they* throughout the whole of his narrative. If he himself had been an eye-witness

* Nam post annos undecim, Spiritu Sancto suadente et docente, consilio a Decanibus (f. Diaconibus Ed.) facto, et a Sancto Episcopo Eadbertho licentiâ datâ, reliquias ossium S. Cuthberti Episcopi totius familiæ probatissimi viri, de sepulcro proposuerunt elevare. Invenerunt itaque in prima apertione sepulcri, quod dictu mirum est, totum corpus tam integrum quam ante annos undecim deposuerunt; non marcescente et senescente cute et arescentibus nervis, corpus erectum et rigidum est, sed membra plena vivacitate in articulis notabilia requiescebant: collum enim capitis et genua crurum, sicut viventis hominis, elevatum de sepulcro ut voluerunt flectere potuerunt. Omnia autem vestimenta et calceamenta quæ pelli corporis ejus adhærebant, attrita non erant. Nam sudarium revolventes quo caput ejus cingebatur pristinæ candididatis pulcritudinem custodiens, et ficones novi, quibus calceatus est, in basilicâ nostrâ inter reliquias pro testimoniis usque hodie habentur.—Boll. Mon. Lindisf. § 14.

† — Corpus incorruptibile, requiescens & quasi dormiens in sepulcro lapideo, honorabiliter in basilicâ deposuerunt.—Ib. § 13.

of the disinterment it would have been almost impossible for him, under those circumstances, to have written in such general terms.

The chief reason which my author assigns for disturbing the dead Bishop, is one which I fear to repeat; and it is the less necessary, as it must have been already appreciated by my readers.

Bede, the next Historian whom I must mention, unwittingly lets us into the real secret of the exhumation :—

“ Divine Providence wishing to give a still further proof in what great glory this holy man lived after his death, whose heavenly life before that event was made manifest by so many miraculous proofs; eleven years after he had been laid in his grave, put it into the minds of his brethren to raise up his bones; which they, judging from the general rules of mortality, expected to find totally divested of their flesh, already fallen into dust, and perfectly dry; and further, that they should put them into a slight* coffin, and should elevate them above the payment, *for the purpose of worthy veneration*. When they had determined upon this, they laid the matter before Eadbert their Bishop, who gave his consent to their intended proceeding, and commanded them to put their plan in execution on the 20th of March, the anniversary of St. Cuthbert’s burial. They did so; and upon opening his grave they found his whole body as fresh as when alive, and from the flexibility of its joints, much more resembling a man asleep than dead. Nay, even the whole of the vestments in which he was clad were not only not injured, but of texture as perfect, and of colours as bright, as when they were new. When the brethren saw the scene, they were struck with such tremendous fear and trembling, that they could scarcely speak, they could scarcely dare to view the miracle before them, they scarcely knew what to do. Taking, however, from the body the extreme (outer) part of his robes as a proof of his incorruption, for they did not presume to touch those which were nearest to his flesh, they hastened to communicate to the Bishop the discovery which they had made.” ——— The Bishop’s commands were these,—“ Put upon him *new robes* in the stead of those which you have brought to me, and so place him in the *coffin which you have prepared*.”†

* The word is *levis*—that it is *lëvis*, and not *lêvis*, is ascertained from Bede’s poetical account of the same discovery. Can any thing be more decisive, with respect to the incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert, than this story? The Monks were told by the “divine dispensation” to take *the bones* of Cuthbert out of his grave—“they looked for bones and found *flesh*.” “*Effodiuntur opes*,” should from thenceforward have been the motto of the Monks of Lindisfarne.

† “*Aperientes sepulchrum, invenerunt corpus totum quasi adhuc viveret integrum, et flexilibus artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similius.* Sed et vestimenta omnia qui-*

* These are the very words of the Anonymous Monk.

I consider Bede as little more than a copyist of the Monk. He himself was at least 21 years of age, when the reported event took place. He resided at no great distance from Lindisfarne, a place, which he, doubtless, very frequently visited—still he says not one word as of his personal knowledge or authority. Besides, *the Bishop was absent*.

The next Author who mentions the discovery, is Symeon, but he uses the very words of Bede, with one or two trifling alterations.*

I have been hitherto speaking of the state in which the Monks of Lindisfarne are said to have discovered the body of their Bishop, eleven years after his death. If it should be asked, what prompted them to disturb his remains, Bede at once answers the question, and openly ascribes motives, upon which I have no wish to comment—they speak for themselves. But I must here mention the fact, that St. Cuthbert was not the first who was found in this enviable state of incorruptibility. Upon the authority of this same Historian, so early as the year 640 or 641, Ædilberg, a Princess of the Royal blood of Kent, was, upon investigation, ascertained to be free from all taint of corruption, was washed, clothed in other garments, and translated into the Church of St. Stephen the Martyr.† Again, in the year 695, just three years before the disinterment of St. Cuthbert, upon the same authority,‡ Ædilthrid, the virgin Queen of Ecgfrid, was found in her grave, sixteen years after her death, *like one asleep*§ I have above alluded to the practice of the Saxon Church at this early period, with respect to the disinterment and canonization of its eminent patrons,—I have given my opinion with respect to the motives which actuated the Monks of Lindisfarne

bus indutum erat non solum intemerata verum etiam prisca novitate et claritudine miranda parebant.”—Bede, cap. xlii.

I give also an extract from Bede’s poetical life of the Saint—

“Intemerata sacro promuntur membra sepulchro
Nescia quam noxæ, tam diræ immunia labis.
Nec durum ac rigidum sæva ceu morte gravatum
Sed veluti placidum capiunt dum pectora somnum,
Flexile jam tota corpus compage videtur.
Nec minor eximiæ retinebat gratia vestis
Incorrupta solo, sanctos quæ texerat artus.”—Cap. xxxviii.

* “Aperiētes sepulchrum ejus fratres invenerunt corpus totum quasi adhuc viveret integrum, et flexilibus artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similis: sed et vestimenta omnia quibus indutum erat non solum intemerata verum etiam prisca novitate et claritate miranda parebant.”—Sym. cap. xi.

† Bede’s Hist. Eccl. iii. viii.

‡ ————— iv. xix.

§ “Corpus ——— quasi dormientis simile.”—Id.

in pitching upon Bishop Cuthbert as their Patron Saint;* but still, with respect to the incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert at that early period, all is *hearsay*. No Historian mentions it as a fact, for which he himself could positively vouch.

We now come to the year 1022, or thereabouts, when Elfred the Sacrist is stated to have found it necessary to cut occasionally the still-growing hair of the Saint. This story, also, is mere *matter of report*; and the cautious manner in which Reginald tells the tale of the scissors and comb, is remarkable. But the Sacrist and his tricks have been already exposed.†

In 1072, the Conqueror, then at Durham, would fain have satisfied himself of the truth of St. Cuthbert's incorruptibility; but no opportunity was afforded him. I have not one word to write in addition to the remarks already made upon this most suspicious transaction.‡

I next arrive at the year 1104;—but before I proceed to comment upon the asserted incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert at that time, my reader shall be told of what was going on in different parts of the kingdom, with reference to the bodies of other notable Saints, who had been long in their graves. My authority is Doctor Richard Smith, President of the English College at Rome, and Bishop of Chalcedon, whose book is entitled, in Latin, “Seven Books of Flowers from the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, from which the most sweet honey of the Catholic Religion, and its admirable fruits in that nation, are most copiously collected, &c.” This Bishop Smith, it will be recollected, was the favoured personage in whose possession St. Cuthbert's ring remained in the seventeenth century.§ We cannot, therefore, have better authority. The following information is obtained from the chapter upon the miracles performed in England in the time of King Henry the First, (the period at which we have arrived),|| chiefly abstracted from Harpsfield and other Roman Catholic writers:—

“During the time of Henry the First, there was found the body of *St. Ivo*, the Bishop, which was as fresh and undecayed as if it had been buried only the day before. ‘His holy body (says Malmsbury, L. iv. Pontif. 292) being laid upon a linen cloth, there burst forth from the recesses of his grave a most copious spring. This fountain remains to this day, sweet to the taste, and accommodated to every disease: the number of those who have been healed by it is immense.’

* See p. 35, &c. above.

§ See p. 177.

† See pp. 59, 199, 212.

|| P. 254.

‡ See p. 66, &c.

(*The compiler proceeds to St. Cuthbert, but the information which he gives with respect to this our Saint, is immaterial*), "at the same time (as, says Malmesbury, L. v. Reg. 173), 'the virgin remains of *St. Etheldrith* were seen whole, to the astonishment and 'admiration of the beholders.' But I suspect that the name of *Etheldrith* is a mistake for *Withburg*: for thus writes the same Malmesbury, L. iv. Pont. p. 293—'St. Etheldrith no one dared to touch, but this one (St. Withburg) they uncovered even below 'the breast, and she appeared perfect in the whole of her body, *more resembling a person asleep than dead*,'* (&c. &c.) Of St. Milburg, thus writes Harpsfield, Sæc. 11, c. 26:—'The remains of St. Milburg were accidentally found in the year 1101, and 'they are renowned for their many miracles.' It seems, that then also was seen the body of St. Elphege, the Archbishop; for according to the said Malmesbury, L. 2. Pontif. p. 245, 'Its freshness of blood, and perfectness of flesh, were very lately observed.' Which multitude of bodies of Saints found incorrupt during the reign of this King (*Hen. I.*) brings into my mind what is written by the said Malmesbury, L. Reg. c. 13. p. 87., and after him by St. Antonine, Tit. 16. c. 6 § 4.:—'Nowhere, as I think, in the whole 'world will you find more dead bodies of holy persons in a state of incorruption than in 'England, all of them apparently ready for the day of resurrection. I myself know of 'five, but the people tell of more. The five are, Ethelred and Wilburg, the Virgins; 'King Edmund, Archbishop Elphege, and the old Father Cuthbert. All these perfect 'in skin and flesh, from their flexible joints, and lively warmth, appear to be merely 'asleep.' To the above I can add, the body of St. Ivo aforesaid, St. Edward the King and Confessor; of St. Wulstan, the Bishop; of St. Guthlac, the Hermit; and those English Saints who died in foreign lands, namely, St. Edilburg, the Virgin; St. Lullus, Archbishop of Mentz; and St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury."

The preceding quotation forms at once the best possible introduction and the best possible solution to the miraculous discovery reported to have been made at Durham in 1104. Saints were at that period found on all sides sleeping in their graves in the odour of incorruptibility, and was it to be expected that the Church of Durham should not keep pace with the times? I refer my reader to the accounts of St. Cuthbert's Translation, given by the Monk and Reginald.†

* "Visaque est toto corpore integra, dormienti similior quam mortuæ, velo et totis vestibus integra novitate enitentibus"—almost the very words originally applied to St. Cuthbert by Bede.

† See p. 75 & p. 85 above. Let me mention a fact, the result of my own personal observation. The various documents or deeds of gift granted to the Monks of Durham, from the time of the Conquest, for two centuries, run generally "To God and St. Cuthbert;" not unfrequently St. Cuthbert takes the precedence, but what is almost invariably the fact, the name of the Deity commences with a small common letter, whilst the initial C of Cuthbert towers far above the line in no accidental or unintended superiority.

The first-mentioned author proves, that previously to the investigation made in that year, or rather to the removal of St. Cuthbert's coffin into his newly erected Shrine, the Monks of Durham were themselves in great doubt with reference to the body of their Saint, not simply with respect to its incorruptibility, but whether it really rested at Durham or not; and in this state of uncertainty they called upon the Almighty to work a miracle; a pretty strong proof, that they knew one part of the story at least to be false. I pass by the other preliminaries, and come at once to the fact, that ten of their body, the Prior included, made a *midnight* examination of the coffin and its contents. One reason assigned for this step is, *that they might make it ready for removal on the day approaching, and without loss of time furnish it with things fit and becoming.** To their great joy, they found the body of their Saint reclining on its right side,† *in a perfect state; and from the flexibility of its joints, representing a person asleep rather than dead.*‡ The body, from its weight of flesh and bones, *bent in the middle* like the body of a man alive. The same men visited it again during the darkness of the following night, and having wrapped it in at least *two envelopes*, they recommitted it to its proper place.

The motives which led to this enquiry, the secret manner in which it was conducted, and the final step which was taken to prepare it for exhibition, all tend to prove that fraud was contemplated—that in fact, the Monks fearing lest from length of time the robes of the Saint should be incapable of performing their office, that of holding together his bones, did actually, to a certain extent, clothe him afresh against the day of his Translation. The Monk proceeds to detail a subsequent investigation, made in consequence of doubts reasonably entertained by the Abbot of a neighbouring Monastery; but the manner in which this second enquiry was conducted, renders remark unnecessary. Only one man was *suffered* to touch the remains, the rest were permitted to be near, but were not allowed to satisfy any other of their senses than one.

Reginald, to whose account of this same Translation I next come, assigns no reason whatever for opening the coffin of the Saint. His narrative is before

* "Ut—ad id (*sc. corpus*) die venturo transportandum quæque digna et convenientia viderentur maturius præpararent." Another copy of the same author is still stronger by having the word *necessaria* before *quæque*.

† Doubtless from the jolting it had undergone during some one of its journeys.

‡ The words are "*tota sui integritate, artuumque flexibilitate dormientem magis representabat quam mortuum.*" Decidedly the very same notion, and almost in the very words of the Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede. No new idea seems to have presented itself to the investigators. But it is scarcely possible to be grave upon the subject.

my reader—and I might leave it without note or comment, were I not anxious to point out at least one place where he clearly contradicts himself on the subject of St. Cuthbert's incorruptibility. He says, the face and head of the Saint were covered by a face cloth, which adhered so closely to the parts beneath it, that it was literally impossible to raise it up by art or device;* and he almost immediately adds, that some persons *did raise* this face cloth and saw the flesh upon the neck of the body. One thing may be ascertained from both Historians, that Bishop Flambard, although unquestionably in Durham at the time, took no part in the investigation—nay, that he was not even present. This is very marvellous. But *Bishop Eadbert was also absent in 698.*

With respect to the reported incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert's body, the facts which I have disclosed are, I think, decisive. The inner coffin, in which he was found during our late investigation, has been proved to be the inner coffin which contained his remains in the year 1104, and, upon the testimony of Reginald, the very coffin in which those remains were placed in the year 698. Now, the state of this inner coffin in 1827, most satisfactorily proved, that flesh and blood had never been its inmates. Its bottom, although in decay, was, and had always been, dry. Again, with the exception of the various relics above described, the coffin contained no other matter, save bones and robes, more or less perfect. There was no earthy substance whatever, nor the slightest trace of flesh in a state of decomposition. The state of the bones was equally remarkable. They were one and all perfectly dry and smooth,—nothing was found adhering to them, save portions of the robes in which they had been swathed, and these portions were so adhering, as to afford the most convincing proof that nothing had ever intervened between them and the skeleton upon which they were found. Now, to take the latest date, if the body was buried in the year 1542, "*whole*" and "*uncorrupt*," what has become of the flesh with which it was clothed? The fact can only have been, that from the year 698 down to the Dissolution, *that* which was exhibited as the perfect undecayed body of St. Cuthbert, was nothing more than his bones, so well and so carefully swathed in one robe after another at different times,† as to give the appearance of a body to his remains. Under this circumstance, the plianthood of the body, when

* In this statement he is confirmed by Malmsbury. See above, p. 213.

† For instance, in 698; by Elfred in 1022 or thereabouts; but most especially in 1104, in which year, according to the Monk, two robes, and according to Reginald, three were put upon his remains. Florence of Worcester speaks of an indefinite number.

it was examined at various periods, is easily accounted for. But the positive fact, that the eye-balls of the Saint were, during our late investigation, ascertained to have consisted of a mere preparation, is of itself a sufficient proof of fraud. This discovery, exclusive of all the rest, at once detects the imposition, and completely disproves that tale of centuries, invented for interested purposes in a superstitious age—the incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert.

FINIS.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- P. 10, note §. No traces of Roman work *now* remain at Walbottle.
- P. 14, l. 3. For "diverse" *r.* "divers."
- P. 19, l. 9. For "adviseable" *r.* "advisable."
- P. 33, l. 20. For "stole" *r.* "maniple."
- P. 34, l. 42. The book there described was not the book found upon the coffin of St. Cuthbert, but the copy of St. John's Gospel, described p. 78, note *.
- Ib. l. 47. I have obtained the name of at least one intermediate owner of the book of the Gospels there described, between the Dissolution and Sir Robert Cotton. In the time of Camden, who died in 1623, it belonged to Mr. Robert Bowyer.
- P. 36, l. 36. The strange word *lacissa* is synonymous with *canis*. "*Lacissa sive canis.*" Reg. elsewhere.
- P. 37, l. 28. The blue cross measures twenty-five feet in length, and twelve inches and a half in breadth. The crossing branch placed at its middle, is two feet ten inches long, and nine and a quarter broad.
- P. 38, l. 18. For "take" *r.* "pluck."
- l. 29. For "a new garment," *r.* "new garments."
- P. 44, l. 20. Fishlake. From Mr. Hunter's very admirable History of the Deanery of Doncaster, lately published, it appears that there is an effigy in stone of St. Cuthbert, holding the head of King Oswald, in the tower of Fishlake Church. Fishlake, however, was a late possession of the Convent of Durham, the Treasury of which abounds with curious information relative to this Church, in connection with Durham College in Oxford, to which it was appropriated.
- P. 44, l. 23. Edenhall. There was till lately, in the north window of the Chancel of Edenhall Church, a rich painting in glass of St. Cuthbert, giving the benediction with his right hand, and holding in his left a crosier, with the head of King Oswald upon his arm.—See Lyson's Cumberland, p. cxcii.
- P. 44, l. 23. Plumblaud. Reginald's derivation of this word is admirably correct. "*Plumplaud—a nemoris circumcinctu ita vocata.*" p. 311.
- P. 55, l. 29. It is not the case that the original wooden Cathedral of Chester-le-Street was remaining when it was deserted by the Monks. A Church of stone had been built by Bishop Ægelric, who came to the See in 1042. V. Symeon, p. 167.
- P. 55, note †. On the subject of this note, see Sanderson, pp. 65 and 67.
- P. 58, l. 15, dele *latter*.
- P. 59, l. 24. After "man," insert who did it.

P. 60, l. 20. For 29th *r.* 27th.

P. 65, l. 27. For "sythe" *r.* "scythe."

P. 73, note †. Perhaps the stone carving over the lintel of the door in the cottage by the gate at the west end of the Prebendaries' Bridge; and two others, one over the fire place of the entrance room in the house belonging to the second stall; and another in the outside wall of that belonging to the fourth, are also remains of Aldhune's Cathedral. In the garden wall belonging to the second stall, was lately found a monumental stone, detailing at length the *merits* of a College cook, who appears to have died soon after the Dissolution.

P. 74, l. 12. For "translation" *r.* "event."

P. 78, l. 23. For "laying" *r.* "lying."

P. 90, l. 5. In some copies, supply the word *a* at the beginning of the line.

P. 95, l. 13, and note †. The words "cum corpore" do not bear the meaning attached to them in the text. They imply, I think, that the donor gave a part or the whole of his possessions to the Monks, to be entered upon at his death, provided they permitted his body to be buried in their Church.

P. 95. note †. There is also a Durham Obituary in the British Museum.—MSS. Harl. 1804.

P. 97, l. 2. For the first "hail" *r.* "holy," and after the second "hail" *add* "Cuthbert."

P. 100, l. 3. For the first "precious" *r.* "valuable."

P. 101, l. 20. For "Lamesley" *r.* "Lameley,"—a small Benedictine Nunnery between Haltwhistle and Alston.

P. 104. *Add*, In 1255, "Henry the thirde beinge in theise partes, visited St. Cuthbert (as they call it), and while he was at his devotions a courtier wyspered in his eare, that dyvers byshops of his had hydden much treasure in St. Cuthbert's tombe. The kinge made shorte, and openinge the tombe, founde it to be even soe; whereupon he devised to borrow the same, least they should charge him with profanation of the holy reliques: but Paris compleneth that they were never half payd againe."—Lambard's Top. Dict. 86.

P. 105, l. 6 & 7. This is a mistake—it was not on the 20th of March, but on the 4th of September that St. Cuthbert's remains were finally removed into the new Cathedral.

P. 106, l. 9. After "cross," *add* ?.

P. 106. note †. The custom of singing anthems upon the top of the middle tower, on the 29th of May, was renewed in this present year.

P. 108. note †. See more on the subject of the Black Rood of Scotland, in Sanderson, p. 22.

P. 109 ||. I feel inclined to print the following curious mandate upon the same subject:—

"Wellbelovid I grete you well, and woll and straitly charge you, all excuses and delais sett ap-

parte, as ye intende to content and pleas me, that ye delyver or cause to be delyvered yerely unto the right reverend father in god and my right intirely belovide freynde the Priour of Duresme, oon stag of season in somer, and oon hynde of season in wynter, to be taken of my gyste within my florest of Langstroith-daill, in Craven, within the countye of Yorke, whereof ye have the keping, and that ye cause the same to be delyvered unto hym or to the bringer herof in his name yerely when he sends therefor unto you to (*till*) ye have from me otherwyse in commaundement to the contrarie, and restraint or other commaundement heretofore hadd or geven frome unto you notwithstanding. And this my writing for the delyvere of the same yerely shalbe unto you anempste me and tofore myne auditors at yo^r accompts yerely in this behalve sufficient warraunt and discharge. Wherefoir se that this be in nowise failled as ye intende to have me yo^r good lord. Given under my signet and signe manuell at my manor of Leknefeld, the xvijth daye of Novembre, in the eight yere of o^r Soveraigne Lord King Henry the VIIIth (1516).—Reg. iv. parv. f. 210. b.

The warrant is not signed, but the donor was a Percy.

- P. 110. I have mentioned London in the first paragraph of the page, as the place where the *tomb* and *altar screen* were made. I find, however, upon referring to *Chambre*, my Author, that his words will not bear that construction. He merely says, that the Prior caused them to be inclosed in chests *at London*. They might have been made elsewhere. The tradition is probably correct that they came from France.
- P. 112, l. 8. *Brattishing*. This word occurs in the contract for rebuilding the Dormitory, dated in 1401, (see p. 136 above.) "Et supra istas fenestras superiores faciet in utroque muro ailours et *bretissementa* batellata de puro achiler." Its meaning is therefore obvious.
- P. 114. In the list of Shrine Keepers, upon the authority of the lately published Catalogue of the MSS. belonging to the Library, p. 431, in the year 1391, between Thomas de Lyth and William Poklyngton, insert the name of Robert de Langchester, late Librarian, and from other sources of information, add *John Durham* as the *Associate* in 1411; and dele 1412, *Robert de Segbrok*.
- P. 115, l. 19. The Pix of St. Cuthbert stood not at the head, but at the foot of his tomb.
- P. 123, l. 10. For "stepato" *r.* "stipato."
- P. 143, l. 4. For "copper" *r.* "brass." It was, in fact, a compound of zinc and copper.
- P. 153, l. 9 from bot. For "St. James" *r.* "St. Edmund."
- P. 155, note ¶. Add the fact, that seven loads of Kendal boards (*de Kendall burd*), were purchased for the Cloisters, at the cost of 9s. 4d. There is a tradition that the oak in the cieling came from Ireland.
- P. 158, l. 41. *Exitus* would perhaps be more properly translated *offal*.
- P. 159, l. 17. For "riefied" *r.* "verified."
- P. 172. The stone figure of St. Cuthbert is above five feet in height.
- P. 177, l. 26. After *fidei*, insert *incunabulis*.
- P. 207, note ‡. Some Historians say that it was Brinstan, Frithestan's successor, who was in the habit of singing in church-yards for the benefit of the dead.

APPENDIX.

- I. *Qui de Fratribus Corpus Sancti Cuthberti levaverint vel contrectaverint, et, quantæ sanctitatis vestigia in Sancto Cuthberto fore, pignora secus illum reposita contestata sint.*—REGINALDI MONACHI DUNELM. LIBELLUS, CAP. 40. p. 91.

FACILE dinoscitur ubi vis cordis infigitur. Delectat quidem semper animum, aut desiderata perspicere, aut, de illorum investigatione, nova vel recentiora perquirere. Quapropter si de Beati Cuthberti gloriâ jocunditatis affectibus delectamur, nunquam tamen fastiditi siciamur; nec admirando succumbimus: sed neque semper recitando vel scribendo admirabilium illius finem pertingimus. Volentibus igitur nôsse de Beati Cuthberti beatitudine paucis explebimus, quæ a maturioribus ecclesiæ potuimus inquisisse. Hi illos nimirum viderant, audierant, ac quæque de illo secretiora didicerant, qui Beati Cuthberti corpus incorruptibile & manibus contrectabant, visu et contuitu explorabant, ac ulnis levabant et brachiis perstringentibus sustentabant. Quorum hæc nomina sunt. Turgotus Prior, Alduinus Subprior, Leofwinus, Wikingus, Godwinus & Osbernus Sacristæ, Henricus, et Willielmus cognomento Havegrun, utrique Archidiaconi, et Algarus postea Prior, ac Symeon. Osbernus a parte capitis Sancti Cuthberti manibus corpus sanctum corripuens de loco suæ dormitionis in sullime extulit. Alduinus vero a parte pedum idem corpus complectens vestigia sacra elevando erexit. Algarus etiam, dum corpus in medio se, more viventis, inflexit, in ulnis medium corpus flexibile complectendo comprehendit. Hic etiam cum Abbate de Sagio vestimenta circa venerandum caput explicavit, et coadjutor illius exstitit. Corpore sancto tapetiis & palliis superposito, Symeon, qui cereum cum candelabro tenuit, fluentibus lacrimis sanctis illis pedibus oscula satis dulcia semper impressit. Qui suis auditoribus Dei magnalia retulêre et quædam etiam eis secreta planius detexêre: quæ omnia tamen noluêre scriptis inserere. Nos vero ea describere dignum duximus, dulce habentes nôsse perfectius ea quæ non vidimus; ac posteris ea nota facere quæ quibusdam incerta fore cognoscimus. Elevato corpore sacro de suæ dormitionis loco, locellum, in quo ut obdormiens in latere dextro eatenus decubuit, mirâ suavi odoris dulcedine circumquaque perferbuit. Locus etiam in quo corpus illud sacratissimum jacuit cum omni

priscâ ligni ipsius novitate resplenduit et omni parte siccus apparuit. Ac fulcrum de nobilioris serici pallio quod illi substratum fuerat, quantamcunque ejus partem suis sub ministeriis habebat quasi recentius contextum nitidius relucebat. Ea vero pars illius fulcri vel panni serici quæ sub aliis Sanctorum Reliquiis secus illum substerni videbatur, tota a tineis devorata, in favillas cinerum solvebatur. Nullum tamen omnium ossium alicujus alterius Sancti arescentium quod corpori incorrupto strictim ac compactim lateraliter adheserat, de suo pulvere vel putredine ejus indumentis sacratioribus quippiam lesionis vel cineris aut humoris intulerat. Attamen ubi ea Sanctorum pignora recubuerant, pars illis permissa sepulcri inferius ex pulvere putredinis eorum denigrata coaluit, ex cineris contactu diuturno contagium non tabis experimentum sumpsit. Proinde cinis, qui more naturali ex se ipso computruit, sordes cenosi pulveris parturivit: ac sic dum tinea putredinis ossa illa naturali corruptione dissolvebat cinerescens resolutio ipsa secum aliquantulum tepida humorem aliquantulum inferiorem sibi procreaverat. Unde pars illa sepulcri ubi portio aliqua Sanctorum pignorum requieverat, cenosa, lutulenta ac aliquantulum humecta parebat. Quapropter thecam beati Cuthberti, collecto in unum pulvere toto, ab his lesionibus emundârunt, et sanctos cineres ipsos in quibusdam vasculis ligneis ad hoc opus dedolatis colligendo reposuerunt. Quæ alias in Ecclesiâ, factâ ad hoc negotium capsellâ grandiori, honorificè reservantur; et quædam de operimentis quæ reliquiis illis erant circumposita adhuc semi-incorrupta cum eis reponuntur. At quia de parte illâ cinerum fuliginem & humoris infusionem altius insidentem omnino abradere vel delere non poterant, alio artificio comperto, id prævenire curabant. Volebant quidem partem illam obscuriorem aliquantulum alteri splendidiori consimilem si possent efficere; sed his nequaquam ausi sunt diutius inservire. Proinde, novâ calliditate repertâ, tabulam ligneam componunt, quam ex omni parte fundo sepulcri et ex omni regione collateralis convenientem efficiunt: quam de mane usque ad vesperam secus torridos ignes calefactam liquentibus ceris inficiunt, et, quantum possibile erat, eam tali liquoris dulcedine infuderunt. Cujus regioni inferiori more tripodum pedes a quatuor angulis affigunt, quorum altitudo cum tabulæ ipsius latitudine trium digitorum plenitudinem effecit. Quæ in fundo sepulcri infimo loco supposita est; et sic omnis particula sepulcri quæ prius ex pulvere Sanctorum pignorum obsoleverat hujus operimento tabulæ preducta est. Ita igitur fundo thecæ inferiori supersedendo coheserat quod, videntibus, aliquid novum fore fundamentum nuper expolitum comparebat: quam pedes lignei inferius super fundamento veteri sustinebant ac omnes inferioris partis obsoletas maculas preoccupando operuerat. Hujus tabulæ parti superiori Corpus gloriosi Pontificis incorruptibile in loco quietis suæ superpositum est; et omnis collecta Reliquiarum separatim alibi locata est. Unde provenit quod corpus illud sanctissimum pene in medii sepulcri altitudine præminet, quia non in fundamento thecæ suæ, sed super hanc potius tabulam jacet.

Quibus indumentis Corpus illud sanctissimum obvolutum sit, vel qualis membrorum contractatio vel dispositio fuerit.—CAP. 41. p. 93.

Et quia, qui ex parte cognoscit, plenitudinis scientiam potius adipisci contendit, nunc, quæ adhuc desunt, prosequamur, et a sancto illius corpore subsequenter exordiamur. Corpus illud, tantis virtutum meritis permirabile, proceræ et virilis staturæ videtur existere. Quæ tamen proceritas nec nimis ex producto distenditur, sed nec plurimum ex correpto restringitur. Membra vero omnia solida, flexuosa, & integra, qualia virum perfectum decent; nervis sinuosa, venis roriferis plicabilia, carnis mollitie suavia, qualia potius viventem in carne quam defunctum in corpore exhibent. Caro ipsius interius lini sindone subtilissimâ undique circumvoluta est, cujus integumento nullius alterius generis operimentum interius est. Hanc revera sindonem ipsi viventi Abbatissa Verca contulit, quam ipse semper sibi ad hoc negotium conservavit. Post hac albâ sacerdotali induitur, et amictus in collo vel humeris esse videtur. Cujus genas ac faciem, omnemque undique totius venerandi Capitis superficiem, pannus subtilissimus operiendo obtegit, qui ita omnibus membris subpositis districtissimâ sollicitudinis arte cohesit, quasi cesariei, pelli, temporibus, ac barbæ, conglutinatus sit. Qui ex nullâ parte alicujus arte altius aliquantulum a cute vel carne elevari divelli vel subrigi potuit. Sed nec etiam præacutissimâ extremitate unguium in aliquo loco elici expingi vel saltem sensu quovis perceptibili diduci prevaluit. Unde nares et oculorum palpebræ interius satis perspicuè patebant; sed tamen pellis inferior vel caro tenerior desubtus preclarè patentes videri non poterant. Sic usque ad colli compages omnia capitis officia et sensus hominis officinæ eodem modo opertæ erant, nec ad earum visus perceptibiles aliquo conamine quilibet aditus fuisse patebant. Nasus ejus in supremo cardine aliquantulum videbatur obcurvus, et mentum illius quasi osse inferiori bicipiti divisione valliculatum erat videntibus. In quâ valliculâ sic alterutrim geminatâ, pene digiti transversa quantitas infundi potuit; eo quod menti ipsius extrema summitas ita infossa sit. Supra hæc omnia sudarium purpureum exstitit quod mitram in capite totam interius celat et contegit. Quæ cujus fili genere intexta sit non facile patet, eo quod hujus temporis talis intextura non sit. In fronte Sancti Pontificis auri lamina non textilis fabrica, tantummodo forinsecus deaurata, preminet, quæ diversi generis lapidibus preciosis, minutissimis tamen, undique conspersa renitet. Devoti tamen magis quam curiosi qui ejus sancta interiora conspexerant, volentes carnem illius nudam videre, sudarium quod prædiximus altius elevabant, et sic, inter colli spondilia & humerorum confinia, carnis mollitiem conspicientes manibus pertractabant. Viderunt, digito et manibus palpaverunt, et sic in universi corporis finibus consistere compererunt. Stola super albam & fanone coronatus est, cujus fines posteriores a pedum parte aliquantulum patent, nec tamen suæ texturæ genus discretile cuiquam prebent. Siquidem

earum interiora a tunicâ ac dalmaticâ superioribus operiuntur, sed extremi fines orarum preciosissimi operis esse visuntur.

De ejus Pontificalibus insigniis et ejus precii eadem sint, coloris, gratiæ, venustatis, vel quantæ pulcritudinis atque texturæ permirabilis.—CAP. 42.

CHRISTIANORUM more pontificum, post hæc tunicâ et dalmaticâ indutus est; quarum utrarumque genus ex precioso purpuræ colore et textili varietate satis venustum et permirabile est. Nempe dalmatica, quæ superius evidentius apparet, subrufi coloris purpuram satis hoc tempore incognitam cunctis experientioris viris scientiæ prebet. Quæ primævæ adhuc novitatis & decoris gratiam in omnibus servat, et sub tangentibus palplantium articulis pro solidæ venustatis opere & textili virtutis plenitudine quodam crepitûs genere personat. In quâ fabrica intextilis est subtilissima & tam florum quam bestiolarum inserta effigies opere simul ac discretionem minutissima. Cujus speciem ob decoris pulcritudinem frequenti varietatis respersione immutat color alius, qui creditur et probatur esse citrinus. Quæ varietatis gratia perpulchrè in panno purpureo emicat et respergentibus maculis intermixtim diversitatis quædam nova moderamina format. Hæc coloris citrini infusio respersa utpote guttatim insidere dinoscitur; cujus virtute vel decore purpuræ subrufa species vehementius atque preclarius relucere compellitur. Cujus dalmatiæ fines extremos limbus deauratus instar aurifraxii alicujus undique perambiando circumluit, qui præ auri copiâ quæ in ejus fabrilis texturâ inseritur non facile, et tunc quidem cum aliquo stridore, reflectitur. Ita est volubilis ac replicabilis at tamen pro spissitudine suâ, sine alicujus adjutorio, iterum ad rigorem pristinum per se reductibilis. Qui ad mensuram palmæ virilis latitudine distenditur; cujus operis industria satis artificiosa fuisse videtur. Simili modo in utriusque manicæ finibus postremis, de quibus prodeunt manus vel brachia gloriosi pontificis. Circa collum vero ubi caput emittitur limbus aureus priore latior, opere et precio etiam incomparatiores esse videtur. Qui per maximam humeri utriusque partem tam posteriorem quam anteriorem obtegit, eo quod ex alterutrâ regione palmi ac pene dimidii plenitudine latior sit. Manus autem illi secus ventris superiora jacentes videntur ad cælum digitos erectos extendere, et pro devoto sibi populo semper Domini misericordiam postulare. Qui enim eas in horâ mortis suæ ad orationem pro seipso in altum extulit jam post carnis exitum pro nostrorum expiatione scelerum nunquam eas deponere novit. Possunt tamen a contingentibus in partem quamlibet reflecti, et articuli singuli more viventis in carne movendo plicari, incurvando relevari, et quovis dirigendo promoveri. Brachia similiter in alto erigi et demitti, et sic omnia membra ejus cetera pro voto palplantis diduci et remitti. Casula, quæ ei post undecim sepulturæ suæ annos sublata

est, nunquam ei postea restituta est. In pedibus calciamenta pontificalia gerit quæ vulgus vocare sandalia consuevit. Quæ, ex regione superiori, multis foraminibus minimis patere videntur; quorum operamina artificiosa ex industriâ taliter confecta comprobantur. Ceterum utrum interulam molliorem seu aliquam cucullam monachilem interius habuerit nemo novit, quia quæ carni illius vicinius adhærent nemo contingere seu explorare præsumpsit. Proinde de vestibis ipsius aliis, lineis vel forte laneis, cunctis in ambiguo est quia id nulli planius pervestigasse permissum est. Supra dalmaticæ amictum corpus sanctum aliis palliis preciosis ac sericis operitur quorum genus non adeo perfectè dinoscitur. Quibus superius lodex novem prope cubitorum dimensionem in longitudine tenens, tres autem et semis in sui latitudine protendens, erat circumpositus; cujus operimenti integumento omnis sanctarum reliquiarum cetus decentissimè fuerat obvolutus. Qui villos de filo lineo ad mensuram digiti unius longos ex alterâ regione habuit: nam idem lodex lineus proculdubio fuit. In omni vero lodicis ipsius circumitu quadrangulari ipsius textoris prudentiâ artificiali, quibus limbus erat in margine, qui pollicis unius probatur latitudinem habere. In quâ texturâ videtur quædam de ipsius fili stamine sculptura subtilissima aliquanto altius prominere; quæ avium ac bestiarum formas probatur utpote insertas in margine gerere. Semper tamen in duo avium vel bestiarum paria formabilis quædam intextura instar cujusdam frondosæ arboris emergit, quæ hac & illac illarum ymages disseparando, dirimit & distinguendo disjungit. Figura etiam arboris sic formabiliter effigiata ex alterutrâ parte videtur suas frondes quamvis minutas effundere. Sub quibus statim in continenti collateralis scemate animalium sculptiles texturæ donantur exsurgere; quæ utraque similiter in panni illius postremis finibus altius visuntur prominere. Pannus iste de sacro corpore tempore translationis suæ sublatus est, qui ob reliquiarum donaria quæ cotidie fidelibus præstantur diu integer in ecclesiâ conservatus est. Supra quem lodicem alius adhuc pannus grossior qui triplicis texturæ fore dicitur locabatur quo tota lodicis ipsius superficies et omnis reliquiarum inferius locata congeries velabatur. Cui adhuc pannus tertius, totus undique cerâ infusus, præminebat, qui thecam interiorem sancti corporis una cum omnibus sacris reliquiis exterius circumdederat. Qui non ad interiora sanctuaria pertigisse probabatur, sed potius quasi pro excipiendâ importunâ fæditate pulveris superadditus fuisse conjicitur. Tres igitur panni isti a sacri pontificis corpore sublati sunt, pro quibus alii satis venustiores et multo preciosiores subpositi sunt. Quorum primus, qui indumentis prioribus supponitur, sericus, subtilis est et delicatissimus. Secundus vero de incomparandi pallii purpurâ preciosus. Tercius autem de sindone subtilissimâ quæ omnium operimentorum sacratissimi corporis exterior est atque novissima. Preterea habet secum in sepulcro altare argenteum et corporalia, calicem aureum cum patenâ, forcipes adhuc priscae novitatis gratiam retinentes, de quibus fama celebrior est illius quondam detonsos fuisse crines. Qui ad caput ipsius

super tabulam ex transverso sepulcri positam collocantur, ubi cum pectine ejus eburneo hactenus conservantur; quod in medio perforatur, ita ut tres pene digiti in eo possint leviter infundi, cujus magnitudo cum consimili latitudine videtur decenter extendi. Nam longitudo latitudini pene coæquatur, nisi quod pro ornatu, altera alteri in aliquo dissimilatur. Quod præ vetustatis gratiâ rubicundo colore suffunditur, ac candentis ossis habitus quod, naturâ ordinante tribuitur ex senio longitudinis subfuso rubore permutatur. Sic cum hujusmodi indumentis Beati Cuthberti pontificis theca firmata est, in quâ de reliquiis sanctis solummodo caput gloriosi Regis et Martyris Christi Oswaldi honorificè locatum est.



De illius Thecâ intimâ, quam mirandi generis diversitate sit composita ac celata.

CAP. 43.

PERORAVIMUS hactenus qualiter gloriosus pontifex Christi Cuthbertus in sepulcro suo locatus sit; nunc vero explicabimus qualis illius theca interior sit. In thecâ interiori apud Insulam Lindisfarnensem elatus de tumulo sepulcri primum positus est in quâ semper hactenus corpus illius incorruptibile conservatum est. Hæc ut archa est quadrangula, nihil altius a lateribus habens ostiola prominentiora. Sed suis laterum parietibus in supremo vertice per omnia est coequata, suum gerens cooperculum ut archa superius lata atque planissima. Cujus tecti operimentum tabula est quæ illi pro portâ patenti tota superius reserabilis facta est. In qua duo circuli ut annulli inseruntur, quorum unus a parte pedum, alter vero a parte capitis in ejus medio concluduntur. Quibus tabula illa elevatur sive dimittitur, eo quod alia clausura serratilis in thecâ eâdem non habetur. Quæ tota de quercu nigro compacta est, super quâ hesitatur an ex senio diuturno seu alio artificio aliquo vel donante sic naturâ color illius nigredinis contrahatur. Hæc tota exterius premirabili celaturâ desculpitur quæ adeo est minuti ac subtilissimi operis ut plus stupori quam scientiæ aut possibilitati sculptoris convenire credatur. Tractus equidem singuli pertenuis sunt ac permodici, quibus diversa bestiarum florum sive ymaginum in ligno ipso videntur inseri percelari vel exarari. Quæ archa in aliam exteriorem includitur quæ omni parte corio obducta clavis ferreis ac ligaminibus ejusdem generis fortius circumcingitur et conligatur. Tercia vero quæ auro et gemmis redimitur his adjecta supponitur, quæ denticulatis trabium valliculis ad invicem de illâ prodeuncium ac de istâ progredientium clavis ferreis productis consuitur et cunitur. Quæ nullâ arte potest a reliquis separari, quia clavi illi abinde nullo possunt exercitio sine fracturâ divelli.

II.—*H. Elyens. conferentibus ad fabricam ix altarium xl dies per septem annos. Anno M.CC.XXXV.—*ORIG. IN LOCELLO OBLONG. INTER CARTAS DE COLDINGHAM. TREAS. DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM.

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris H. Dei gratiâ Eliensis Episcopus salutem in Domino. Inter præclaros Christi confessores quorum præsentia corporalis Anglicanæ patrocinator Ecclesiæ Beatus Cuthbertus non mediocre sanctitatis preconium dinoscitur optinere. Nec immerito laudibus humanis attollitur cujus meritis infirmi sanitatis gratiam consequuntur. Cujus caro carie carens et prorsus integrè perseverans dormientem potiusquam mortuum representare videtur. Membra namque beati viri manere penitus incorrupta non solum venerabilis Bedæ presbiteri scriptura testatur verum etiam probavit ipsius sanctissimi corporis translatio sub hoc novissimo tempore celebrata. Hic itaque thesaurus super aurum et topazion preciosus apud Dunelmensem requiescit Ecclesiam ubi supra sacrum illius sepulchrum devocio veterum lapideas erexit testudines quæ jam nunc plenæ fissuris et rimis dissolutionem sui indicant imminere, adeoque propinquam minatur ruinam ut quicumque molem illam tam suspecte pendentem aspexerit veraciter dicere possit, quoniam terribilis et tremendus est locus ille. Cum autem Venerabilis Frater Dominus R. Dunelmensis Episcopus tam manifesto desiderans obviare periculo disponat auxiliante Domino apud orientalem supradictæ Ecclesiæ partem novum opus extruere in quo ipsius sancti Confessoris corpus valeat tutius pariter et honestius collocari universitatem vestram monemus et hortamur in Domino ut ad prefati operis fabricam celerius consummandam de bonis vobis a Deo collatis aliqua caritatis subsidia velitis misericorditer erogare, quatenus per hæc et alia bona quæ feceritis eterna possitis gaudia promereri. Nos vero de Dei misericordia et de gloriosæ Virginis necnon et Sancti Cuthberti omniumque sanctorum meritis confidentes omnibus qui fabricæ memoratæ pias elemosinarum largitiones impenderint seu predictum locum per hoc septennium proxime futurum causâ orationis adierint et quorum Diocesani hanc indulgentiam nostram ratam habuerint, si de peccatis suis vero contriti fuerint et confessi triginta dies de injuncta sibi penitentiâ relaxamus. Data London. anno gratiæ Millesimo Ducentesimo tricesimo quinto. Septimo Id. Julii.

Perfect Seal.

III.—*Indulgentiæ concessæ omnibus conferentibus de bonis suis ad Fabricam Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis.*—FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE FINCHALE BOX IN THE TREASURY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM.

UNIVERSIS has literas inspecturis vel audituris Thomas Prior et Conventus Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ salutem in Domino. Quamvis ad opera misericordiæ diligenter in

hac vitâ seminandâ Christiani populi tam ex Catholicâ fidei professione quam ex evangelicâ pariter et apostolicâ exhortacione teneantur astricti, ut, diem visitacionis extremæ pietatis operibus præveniendò, eternorum intuitu præmiorum seminare studeant in terris quod reddente Domino cum multiplicato fructu recolligere mereantur in cœlis; volentes tamen fidelium populorum animos spiritualibus beneficiis ac cœlestibus promissis specialiter incitare ut ad fabricam Ecclesiæ nostræ promovendam de bonis sibi a summo largitore collatis largas cum devotione dextras extendant; quod quidem opus esse pietatis eximium et insigne cunctis fissuras et fracturas ipsius Ecclesiæ ex orientali sui parte prominentes ac terribilem ruinam minantes intuentibus veraciter apparet numerositatem dierum quos quidem summus pontifex ac quidem Episcopi tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ omnibus illis auctoritate pontificali ex injunctâ sibi penitentiâ relaxaverunt qui pias elemosinas ad opus dictæ Ecclesiæ erogare curaverint, numerum quoque missarum ac psalteriorum quæ viri religiosi omnibus fabricam supradictæ Ecclesiæ ex suis elemosinis promovere volentibus liberali magnificentiâ concesserunt ad universorum noticiam presenti scripto inserere decrevimus. Noverit igitur universitas vestra a Domino Papa XL dies, ab Archiepiscopo Ebor. XL dies, de Hugone Episcopo Dunelm. LXXX dies, de Nicholao Episcopo Dunelm. XL dies, ab Episcopo Karliolensi XL dies, ab Episcopo Lincoln. XL dies, de Episcopo Galwathiæ XL dies, de Episcopo Sancti Andreæ XL dies, de Episcopo Duncheldens. XL dies, de Episcopo Glascuens. xxx dies, omnibus predictæ ecclesiæ benefactoribus de injunctâ sibi penitentiâ misericorditer esse indultos. Et est summa dierum cccc et xxx^{ta} dies. Preterea noveritis ab Abbate et Conventu Novi Monasterii DC missas et M psalteria, ab Abbate et Conventu de Alba Landa ccc missas et ccc psalteria, a Priore et Conventu Augustaldens. ccc missas et ccc psalteria, a Priore et Conventu de Brenkeburne ccc missas cum omnibus psalteriis in ecclesiâ suâ dicendis, a Priore et Conventu de Tynemuth ccc missas et cc psalteria, a Priore et Conventu de Coldingham cccc missas et cccc psalteria, a Priore et Conventu de Boulton LXXX missas, a Priore et Conventu de Finchall cccc missas et cccc psalteria, a Priore et Fratribus de Insula ccc missas et cc psalteria, a Fratribus de Banburgh c missas, a Fratribus de Jarwe ccc missas, a Fatribus de Were-muth cc missas, a Fatribus de Farn c missas et c psalteria, a Priorissâ et Conventu de Nesham ccc psalteria, a Priorissa et Conventu de Lamely ccc psalteria, a Priorissa et Conventu de Berewich LX missas & ccc psalteria, a Priorissa et Conventu de Halistan LII missas et ccc psalteria, a Priorissa et Conventu de Novo Castro ccc psalteria cum ceteris bonis quæ in singulis ecclesiis prenotatis fient privatim et publicè, benefactoribus omnibus prenominationis liberaliter esse concessa. Summa vero psalteriorum IV. M. Nos autem præter missas suprascriptas facimus singulis diebus sex missas pro predictis benefactoribus in monasterio nostro celebrari. Et est summa missarum VII^m ccc et XXXII. Et in hujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus literis fecimus apponi.

IV.—*Antonius Patriarcha visitantibus feretrum vel reliquias* XL d. *Item idem Antonius Dunelm.* XL d. A°. M°. CCC decimo.—ORIG. 2. 13. PONT. TREASURY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM.

VNIVERSIS Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis presentes litteras inspecturis Antonius permissione divinâ sanctæ Jerosolimitanæ Ecclesiæ Patriarcha et Episcopus Dunolmens. salutem in eo qui pro redemptione humani generis Jerosolimis voluit crucifigi. Gratum deo impendere credimus obsequium ipsumque creatorem et dominum omnium precipuè veneramur dum sanctos suos devotæ Christianorum memoriæ recommendamus, eoque prestantius quo per allectiva indulgentiarum et remissionum munera ad orationis devotionem et elemosinarum largicionem animos fidelium excitamus. De dei igitur omnipotentis misericordiâ, gloriosæ virginis Mariæ matris eius, sanctorum apostolorum Petri & Pauli, et beatissimi Cuthberti Confessoris omniumque sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes; omnibus Christi fidelibus de peccatis suis vere penitentibus et confessis, qui causâ devocionis et oracionis ad Cathedralem Ecclesiam nostram Dunolmensem accesserint, et feretrum beatissimi Cuthberti Confessoris aliasque Reliquias ibidem in quacunque parte dictæ Ecclesiæ existentes visitaverint, seu de bonis sibi a deo collatis aliquid eidem Ecclesiæ offerendo, seu alio modo largiendo caritativè contulerint, quadraginta dies auctoritate nostrâ patriarchali et rursum quadraginta dies jure nostro Episcopali de injunctâ sibi penitentiâ misericorditer in Domino relaxamus. Ratificantes insuper per presentes omnes Indulgencias a confratribus nostris Archiepiscopis et Episcopis quibuscumque ex causis premissis concessas et imposterum concedendas. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Data apud Eltham Roffens' Dioces' quinto die mensis Junij. Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo, Patriarchatûs nostri quinto, et Consecracionis nostræ vicesimo septimo.*

* Seal engraved in Surtees's History of Durham,—Seals, Plate v. No. 1.‡

V.—*Decretum Regis RICARDI II. de uno Jocali offerendo ad valorem quingentarum Librarum per Willielmum le Scrope.*—EX ORIG. 2. 4. REG. B. 1. TREASURY OF THE DEAN & CHAPTER OF DURHAM.

RICARDUS Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, Omnibus—salutem. Quia in quadam debatâ inter venerabilem patrem Walterum Dunolmensem Episcopum ex unâ parte et Willielmum Lescrop Chivaler ex alterâ parte pendente, per assensum dictarum partium fuerat compromissum in certas personas notabiles per eas-

‡ This is the only document in the Treasury to which is attached an impression of the above splendid seal. The ordinary oval Episcopal Seal of the Bishop is impressed upon the reverse.

dem ambas partes electas qui quidem compromissarii de toto facto plenè informati per communem assensum ordinaverunt quod predictus Willielmus pro certis transgressionibus et mesprisionibus quas ipse et gentes suæ infra libertatem dicti Episcopi contra ipsum et aliquos officiariorum et servientium suorum intulerunt pro et in nomine penitentiæ publicæ dicti Willielmi et omnium gencium suarum quoddam jocale notabile ad feretrum Sancti Cuthberti Dunolmiæ offerre, et id in propriâ personâ suâ illuc portare et ibidem offerre debuisset ex causâ supradictâ, cujus quidem jocalis valor per ordinationem dictorum Commissariorum et per communem assensum parcium predictarum voluntati et ordinationi nostris simpliciter commissus fuerat prout intelleximus et postmodum per ordinationem et assensum dictorum commissariorum et parcium predictarum destinati fuerant penes nos in manerio nostro de Haveryng tunc temporis existentes dilecti & fideles milites Cameræ nostræ Johannes Clauvowe et Nicholaus de Sharneffeld, ad finem quod nos vellemus finaliter declarare nostram intencionem quoad valorem dicti Jocalis—super quo nos debitam consideracionem—habentes, et quod commissioni et perpetracioni ejusdem facti grandis numerus gencium in commitivâ dicti Willielmi interfuerat—limitavimus—quod dictum jocale de valore quingentarum librarum ad minus existat —. Et hoc omnibus quorum interest innotescimus per presentes. In cujus —. T. me ipso apud Westm. XXIII die Januarii anno regni nostri terciodecimo. Per breve de privato Sigillo. Garton.

Great Seal of England.

VI.—*Acquietancia facta de jocalibus receptis ad feretrum Beati Cuthberti.*

PATEAT universis per presentes nos Johannem Priorem Eccles. Cath. Dunelm. recepissee de Hugone Evewood uno executorum testamenti Ricardi Pudsay armigeri nuper defuncti jocalia infra scripta super pheratrum Sancti Cuthberti secundum voluntatem dicti Ricardi pendenda videlicet unam crucem auri pendentem per unam catenam auri, unum monile auri cum diversis reliquiis eadem cruce inclusis, unum par precularum auri cum uno monili auri facto ad similitudinem cordis, unum cultellum cum manubrio & vaginâ de argento & deauratâ, sex moletts argenti deaurat' & catenam auri, quæ quidem jocalia fatemur nos recepissee & inde dictum Hugonem & coexecutores suos acquietamus &c. Data in manerio nostro de Beurepair quinto die Octobr. anno Domini M.CCCC.XXX quarto.—REGR. II. PARVO. F. 81, DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM.

VII.—THE KING OF THE PICTS AND ST. CUTHBERT.

The King has doffed his harness bright,
His shield is hung on high ;
He shuns the gladsome beams of day,
The tear stands in his eye ;

And gloomy, gloomy is his brow ;—
Say, is it mortal pain,
Or is it sorrow's deadly pang
That cleaves his heart in twain ?

" Oh ! daughter, woe betide this hour
" That I have lived to see ;
" The fairest jewel in my crown
" Were dim compared to thee.

" But, ah ! too sure thy hollow eye
" And faded cheek proclaim,
" That guilt has withered thy virgin flower,
" And brought my pride to shame.

" Speak, then ; or thou a father's wrath
" And vengeful sword shalt feel ;
" Declare thy faithless paramour,—
" The traitor's name reveal.

" Ere yonder sun that flames aloft
" Hath sunk in ocean bed,
" The wretch who wronged my child shall pay
" The forfeit of his head.

" Stand he the nearest to my throne,
" A lord of high degree,
" His arm had need be strong in fight,
" Or swift his foot to flee."

" Oh ! father, father, look not so,
" Nor doom to death thy child,
" From virtue's path by wily words
" And cruel art beguiled.

" He stands not near thy royal throne
" A lord of high degree,
" Nor strong his arm in bloody fight,
" Nor swift his foot to flee ;

" But coarsely clad in hermit weeds—
" Oh, grief ! oh, shame to tell !
" Hard by he lives, a lovely youth,
" In lone sequestered cell."

The monarch marked her quivering frame,
Her tears that downward stole ;
They fell, but fell like sparks of fire,
And kindled all his soul.

And he has sworn by Him who saved
Our souls upon the rood,
That, weal or woe, his sword shall drink
The holy traitor's blood.

Now has he left the castle gate,
His daughter by his side ;
And thrice ten knights, a warlike train,
Behind in order ride.

They climb the mountain's heathy van,
The rugged steep descend ;
The grey mist settles on their path,
But onward still they wend.

Under the yew trees' awful shade
They plunge into the glen,—
Meet place were this for murder foul,
And haunt of lawless men.

They list the raven's boding voice
Perched on the blasted oak ;
But never a word or whisper-breath
The solemn silence broke.

Yet oft the King with wistful eye
Turned to the much-loved maid ;
And now he wrings his hands in grief,
Now grasps his iron blade.

The damsel droops her wimpled head,
Sore heaves her breast the while ;
Nor dare she meet that angry face
Was wont on her to smile.

Ere long, with winding course they reach
The valley's shadowy bound,
Where moss-grown rocks together crushed
A mighty rampart frowned.

No living hand the barrier built ;—
He who beyond would go
Must soar upon the eagle's wing,
Or baffled rest below.

A mountain burn rushed boiling forth
Beneath the hoary pile,
Encircling with divided stream
The hermit's tufted isle.

No stop, no stay, the stream they cross
That laves the hallow'd ground—
Now hide thee, Cuthbert, in thy cell,
Thine enemies close thee round !

He flies not from their searching gaze
As nearer still they draw ;
In sooth, he wist not what to think,
But feared not what he saw.

Albeit unused to clank of arms,
Or blaze of courtly pride,
No pallid hue, nor passing blush,
His guileless forehead dyed.

A shaggy vesture's russet folds
His graceful limbs confined ;
Loose on his shoulders flowed his hair,
And glitter'd in the wind.

Most like to him whose voice of old
Was heard in desert air*,
"Make straight the path for Christ the Lord,
"Prepare the way, prepare !"

The King, unmoved as rock of stone,
Surveys the saintly form ;
Awhile his bosom swells with rage,
Then burst the gathered storm.

"Oh ! slave to lust, and child of sin !
"Who in this calm retreat
"Hast made thy lonely house of prayer
"A trap for female feet.

"Accursed of Him to whom thy vows
"Dissembling homage paid,
"Behold the victim of thy arts,
"A wretched, ruined maid !

"Yet deem not prayer or muttered spell
"Can hope of safety bring ;
"No unprotected damsel she—
"The daughter of a King.

"Short is the time thy fate allows
"For grace divine to call ;
"Shrieve thee, ere yet the lifted sword
"Of speedy justice fall !"

The Princess hears the thrilling words,
And lost to maiden shame,
With malice foul and fiendlike breath
She fans the rising flame :

"A fearless votary came I here,
"Nor dreamed of pious wiles ;
"I spied no danger in his looks,
"No ambush in his smiles.

"Oh ! would to Heaven this fatal spot
"That I had never seen !
"What, though he bears an angel's face,
"Yet Satan lurks within."

The patient hermit deeply sighs,
And kneels the King before ;
Think not he kneels to sooth his rage,
Or mercy to implore.

Inspired he seems ; his faithful hopes
Are fixed on God above ;
His arms are crossed upon his breast,
His lips begin to move.

* See the picture by Guido of John the Baptist when young.

"O source supreme of light and truth!

"Thou God, to whom alone

"The evil treasure of the heart

"And all its thoughts are known!

"The cry of death that hunts me down

"Has reached thy throne on high;

"Thou knowest thy servant all too weak

"To strive with treachery.

"Forget me not in this my need,

"Nor heavenly aid delay;

"Rise in thy strength, Almighty Power,

"Thy red right arm display."

He spoke, the fervent prayer prevailed,

Nature the influence owned;

Trembled the earth, and loured the sky,

The rooted forest groaned.

The sacred island's rocky base

Is cleft from shore to shore;

The guilty Princess shrieks aloud,

She sinks—to rise no more.

Yet, ere the cavern's horrid jaws

Were seen again to close,

Forth issuing from the depths of hell

A cloud sulphureous rose.

Whilst all the world in brightness lay,

There thickest gloom was spread;

Woe to the King, and to his train!

Their bosoms shook with dread.

Soft blows the wind, the murky cloud

Is rolled in flakes away:

Who then is seen on bended knee?

Who then is heard to pray?

He who beheld the yawning chasm

His perjured daughter's grave,

Now seeks, with tears and piteous plaint,

His forfeit life to save.

And much he rues his hasty threats,

And fears the wrath of Heaven;

"One boon I crave," the hermit cries,

"And thou shalt be forgiven."

Light boon it was, and easy price,

Such pardon to obtain,—

That none of womankind should e'er

The chaste retreat profane.

So it fell out in after-time

(For true the voice of fame),

When many a church was dedicate

To holy Cuthbert's name,—

That never maid nor matron dared

This privilege to slight;

Apart they stood, an outlawed band,

Nor mixed in mystic rite.

Ye who believe this legend wild,

A fabling poet's dream,

If chance your wandering footsteps lead

To Wear's romantic stream;

Would ye the distant days recall

Of superstition's reign?—

Go, search the storied pavement round,

In Durham's massy fane.

Where lifts the blessed font on high

Its rich embroidered cone,

Between the northern cloister-port

And holy water stone;

There still is traced the bounding line

Monastic rigour drew,—

Weak barrier now 'gainst female foot,—

A cross of marble blue.

VIII.—AN ANTHEM FOR ST. CUTHBERT,

*Exscribed out of a Manuscript of a Monk of Durham.**

Splendor Christi Sacerdotis,
 Et vicinis et remotis
 Preeminet cum gloria.
 Lux Cuthberti fulget late,
 Corporis integritate,
 Nec est transitoria.

Incorrupta vernat Caro,
 Quam decore Rex preclaro
 Celestis magnificat.
 Cujus Festum Celum plaudit,
 Cujus Terra laudes audit,
 Aspicit, et predicat.

Parvuli triennis ore
 Pontificali decore
 Ornandus asseritur.
 Angelo docente Dei,
 Celo missa salus ei,
 In genu edocetur.

Pene mersos in profundo,
 Prece sancta, corde mundo,
 Littori restituit.
 Animam ad Celos vehi
 Aidani, Viri Dei,
 Cernere promeruit.

Panes nivei candoris,
 De supernis dedit oris
 Tribus allatoribus celitus,
 Quos per Angelum de Celis,
 Ministrari vir fidelis,
 Applaudit meditullitus.

Bellue dum de profundis,
 Gradiuntur maris undis,
 Illi dant obsequia.
 Futuri diem sereni,
 Predicit sermone leni,
 Vi precludens noxia.

Lympham sibi Deus dedit,
 Heremita quo resedit,
 Ex humi durtia.
 Regem cito moriturum,
 Seque Presulem futurum
 Certa dat indicia.

Quem ab arbore cadentem,
 Celos vidit ascendentem
 Ejus narrant premia.
 Christi mysticis refectus
 Sacramentis, et protectus,
 Transit ad celestia.

* Hegg's Legend of St. Cuthbert.—Ed. Allan. See above, p. 96, note *.

Sunt miracula perplura,
 Obsistente que Natura
 Per hunc fiunt inclyta.
 Hec ad laudem Dei crescunt,
 Ablati nec delitescunt
 Sancti Viri merita.

Integris in Urna pannis,
 Quadringentis decem annis
 Et octo dormierunt:
 Nec putredo, nec vetustas,
 Imo splendor, et venustas
 Illum circum diderunt.

Caput tuum, Rex Oswalde!
 (Vir dilecte Deo valde)
 Hec Theca servaverat;
 Et Bede sancti Doctoris,
 Qui celestis est odoris,
 Ossa recondiderat.

Fragrans odor Balsamorum
 Hos perfundit supernorum
 Qui presentes aderant:
 Qui in carne Dei virum
 Incorruptum (dictu mirum!)
 Cernere meruerant.

Odor ergo nos celestis
 Comat moribus honestis;
 Ut fruamur Celi festis
 In Sanctorum Gloria.

AMEN.

For those who believe
That the world is a stage
And that we are but players
In a play that is never the same
And that the curtain is never drawn
And that the audience is never the same
And that the play is never the same
And that the play is never the same

Other eyes are looking
At the world as it is
And at the world as it was
And at the world as it will be
And at the world as it is now
And at the world as it is then
And at the world as it is now
And at the world as it is then

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* For this Index, I have to thank my young friend, Mr. Richard Hodgson, of Whelpington. It gives no notice of relics, jewels, rosaries, and similar matters of trifling importance; but in other respects it affords a sufficiently accurate *conspectus* of my book.

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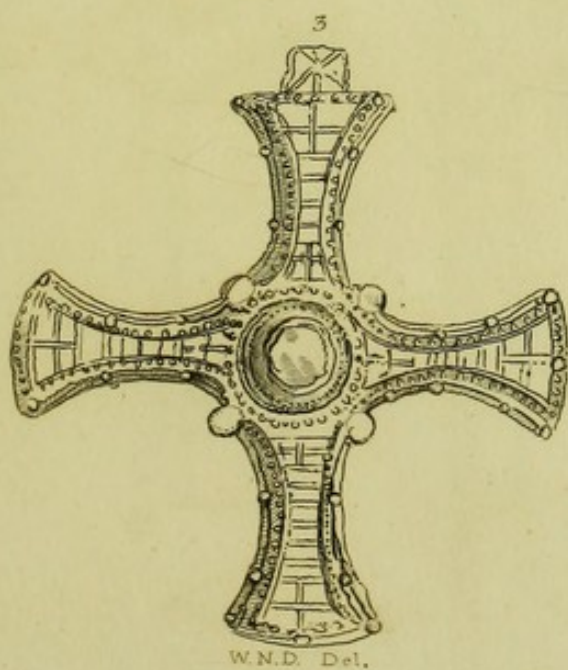
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1.2.4. Parts of Stole and Maniple. 3. Gold Cross.

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ANDREAS THOMAS



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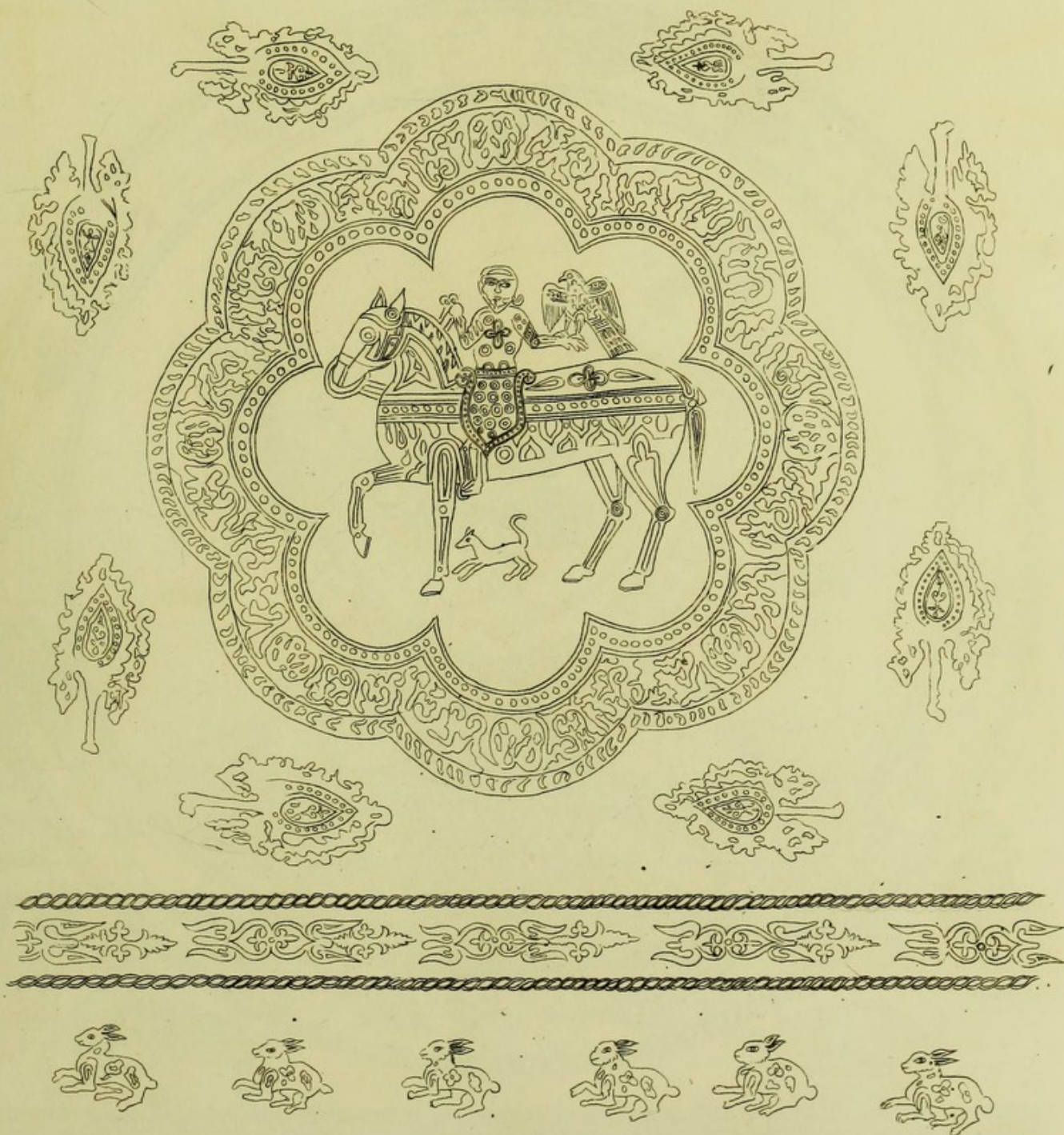
1. Part of the Stole. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Inscriptions upon the Coffin.



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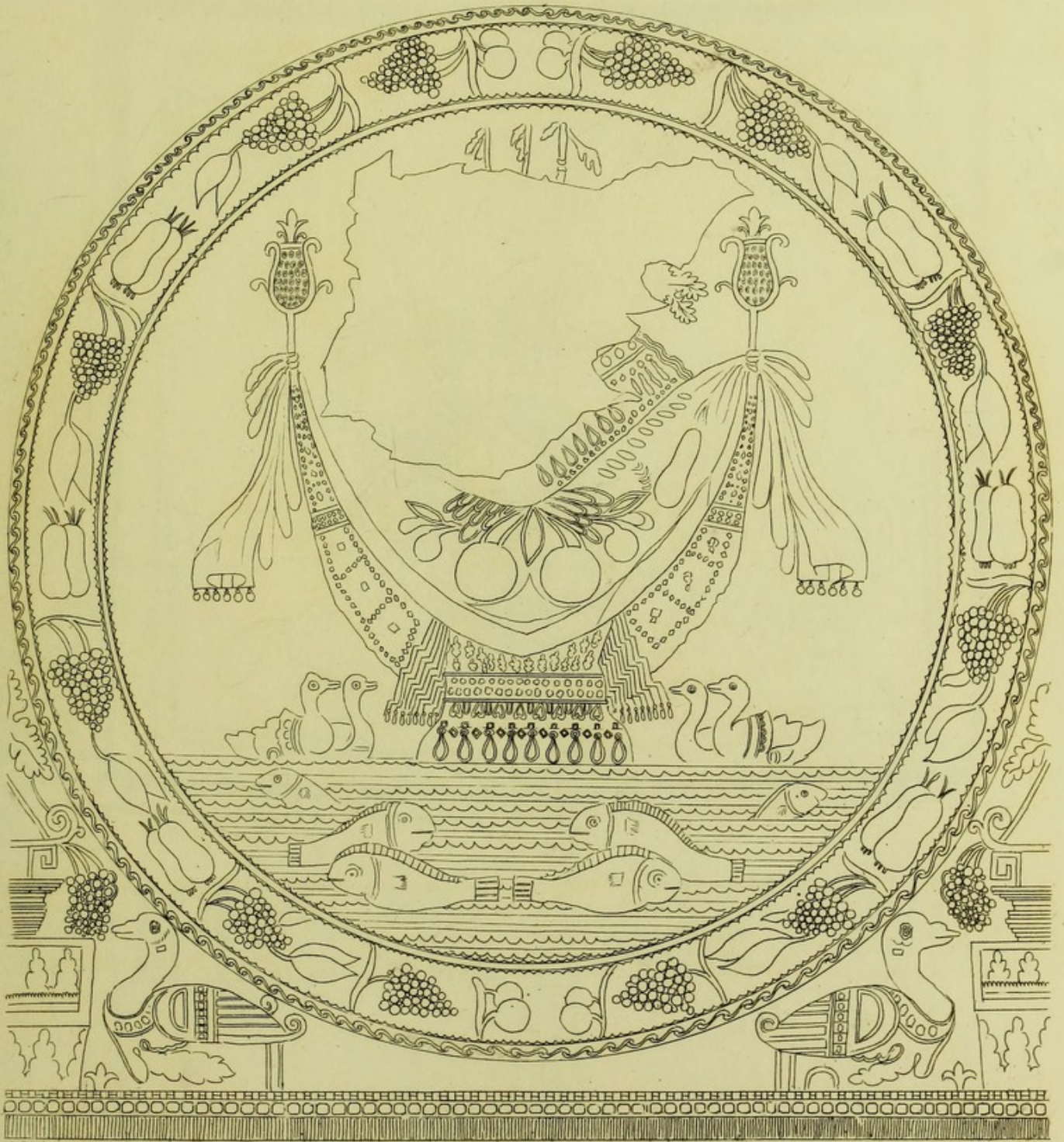
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1. Part of the Maniple. 2. Banner of S^t Cuthbert. 3. 4. 5. 6. Inscriptions upon the Coffin.



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Pattern of one of the Robes.



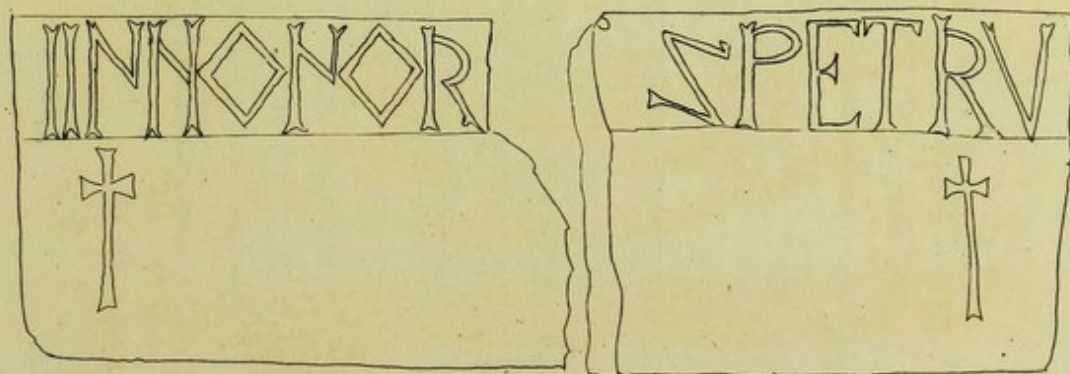
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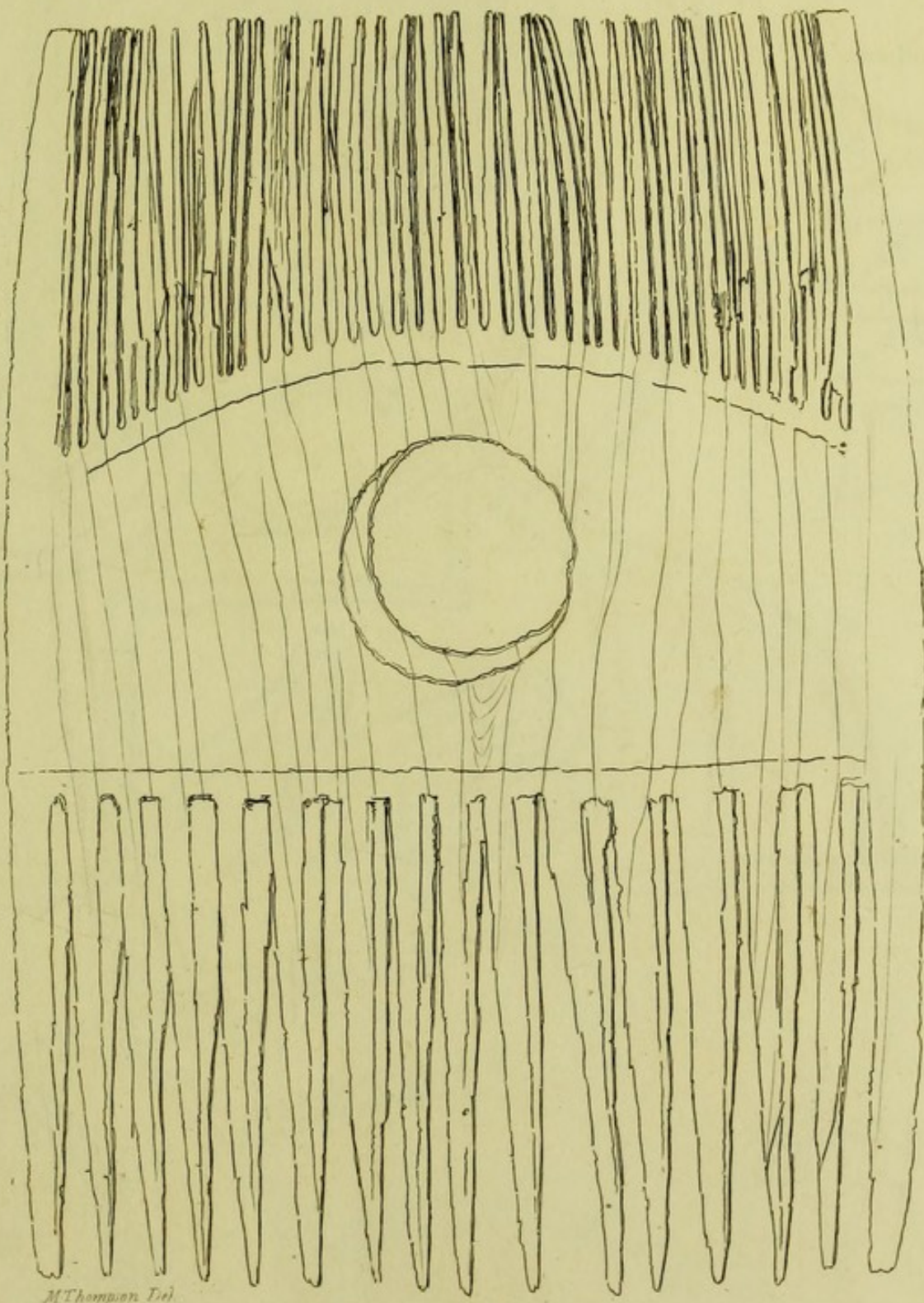
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1 Fragments of the Silver Altar. 2 Inscriptions upon the Wood beneath.



Comb found upon the Breast of St Cuthbert.

IOHANNES





Portion of the Coffin.



