

TWO *LIVES*
OF
SAINT CUTHBERT

TWO LIVES
of
SAINT CUTHBERT

*A Life by an
Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne
and
Bede's Prose Life*

TEXTS, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

by
BERTRAM COLGRAVE

Reader in English of the
University of Durham



GREENWOOD PRESS, PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

Reprinted with the permission of the Cambridge University Press

Reprinted from a copy in the collections of
The New York Public Library,
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

First Greenwood Reprinting, 1969

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 69-13862

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

C O N T E N T S

	page
Preface	vii
List of Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	I
Manuscripts	
A. The Anonymous Life	17
B. Bede's Prose Life	20
Lost Manuscripts	39
The Relationships of the Manuscripts	
A. The Anonymous Life	4
B. Bede's Prose Life	45
Previous Editions	
A. The Anonymous Life	5I
B. Bede's Prose Life	5I
Translations	55
Scriptural Quotations	56
<i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo</i>	59
<i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda</i>	14I
Notes	
Anonymous Life	310
Bede's Prose Life	34I
Index	36I
Concordance of the three Lives	375
Addendum	375

P R E F A C E

To edit the two most important Lives of St Cuthbert is almost a pious duty for one who lives under the shadow of Durham Cathedral. But it is something more than that. These Lives of St Cuthbert throw considerable light on the secular history of the golden age of Northumbria. They also illustrate one of the most important periods in the history of the English Church, when, after having passed through its infancy, it was faced with the alternative of clinging to the attractive, but undoubtedly moribund, Celtic forms, or accepting the doctrines and practices of the youthful and progressive Roman Church. At the Synod of Whitby, Oswiu and his councillors chose the latter alternative. Cuthbert, like very many more, accepted the changes, but remained Celtic at heart to the end, in spite of the words which Bede puts into his mouth on his death-bed (p. 284 below). It would be difficult to find two more typical representatives of the Roman and Celtic outlook respectively than Wilfrid and Cuthbert: the one proud, capable, determined, a born fighter, a magnificent organiser, patron of the arts, rivalling the king himself in his pomp and ceremony—and Cuthbert, humble, simple, spiritual, ascetic, beloved by all both high and low, but looking always to the past rather than to the future.

If any further apology is required for editing these Lives of St Cuthbert, let it be that probably the greatest lack in the whole field of English ecclesiastical history is a critical edition of the works of Bede. This great need can only be supplied by the co-operation of many scholars, and if this present volume helps to fill a portion of the gap, it will have fulfilled its purpose. The juxtaposition of the two Lives provides an example of Bede's attitude towards his sources and how he made use of them. It is, for instance, an interesting comment on his methods, that although it is quite clear that Bede has followed the Anonymous Life closely throughout, the verbal likenesses between the two are so small as to be negligible.

The editing of these Lives has been a work of considerable labour, but of much interest. Every editor of any part of Bede's work is faced first of all by an extraordinary wealth of MSS, scattered through all the libraries of western Europe. Hardy (*Catal.* 1, 300) mentions twenty-six MSS of Bede's Prose Life and one of the Anonymous Life. But a search through the libraries of Great Britain and the Continent has produced thirty-eight MSS of the former and seven of the latter. All these I have collated and, with the exception of six (M, Bn, Go, W, Bo, Va), I have seen the originals myself. But this study, though at times laborious, has brought its own reward. It has brought to light a number of particularly interesting MSS which have not received the notice they deserve, particularly Go (Gotha, 1.81) with its unedited Lives of Celtic Saints, Du (Durham A.iv.35) which has since been acquired by the Durham Chapter Library and restored to its original home, and Bn (Berne, Stadtbibliothek 392) with the marks of the editor of the *editio princeps* of Bede's Prose Life still upon it. The study has also provided Ad₂ (B.M. Add. 39943), one of the greatest treasures in the British Museum, with a much fuller history, and has incidentally shown the source of the Cuthbert paintings on the stalls in Carlisle Cathedral. And finally the seven MSS of the Anonymous Life have provided some interesting early variations of place-name forms for the north of England. Two of these MSS (O₁ and T) had been used by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*, but the place and personal name-forms were very carelessly transcribed. Though Cadwallader Bates took the trouble in the summer of 1892 to go to Trier and Arras to see two of the MSS of the Anonymous Life (T and A) and to give the correct form of most of the place-names (see *Arch. Ael.* N.S. XVI, 1894, pp. 81 ff.), the errors of the Bollandist edition have been widely copied. The other five MSS of the Anonymous Life add a certain amount of fresh material in this respect.

Needless to say, in the course of my work, I have incurred a very heavy debt of obligation to many, which I gladly and gratefully acknowledge: to the Librarians and staffs of the various libraries in which MSS of the Lives are found, and particularly to the Librarians and staffs of the Durham Cathedral Chapter Library, the Durham University Library, the Cam-

bridge University Library, the Libraries of Trinity College and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the Bodley Library, Oxford, the MS Department of the British Museum, the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. I am very grateful to Professor Bruce Dickins of Leeds University, Dr C. E. Wright of the MS Department of the British Museum, and Mr R. A. B. Mynors of Balliol College, Oxford, who have all read some part of the introduction or notes and have made many valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due for help of various kinds given by Mr H. W. Acomb, Durham University Librarian; Professor H. M. Chadwick, Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge; Sir Allen Mawer, Provost of University College, London; the Rev. Dr W. Telfer, Dean of Clare College, Cambridge; and Dom André Wilmart, Farnborough.

But above all my thanks are due to P. Paul Grosjean, S.J., Bollandiste, Brussels, who has seen the proofs and made many helpful suggestions; to my colleague, the Rev. Dr Edward Pace, Reader in Divinity of the University of Durham, who has taken endless trouble over the translation, advising on difficult points and thoroughly revising it and often giving timely encouragement when it was most needed; and to Dr W. Levison, late Professor of Mediaeval and Modern History in the University of Bonn, now Honorary Fellow of the University of Durham, who has read the proofs, has given in generous measure from his vast stores of learning, and has taken the greatest interest in my work on St Cuthbert almost since it began. I have been fortunate in my helpers. If I have not always taken their advice it was because I had committed myself to certain principles to which I felt bound to adhere. For the mistakes I have made the responsibility must be mine alone.

And finally my thanks are due to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for undertaking the publication of this volume and to the staff for its unflinching patience and vigilance.

BERTRAM COLGRAVE

Hatfield College, Durham
St Cuthbert's Day, 1939

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.E.E. G. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*. 6 vols. London, 1903-37.
- AA.SS. *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bollandus and others. Antwerp, Brussels, 1643, etc.
- A.S.C. *Two Saxon Chronicles parallel*, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1892-9.
- Anal. Boll.* *Analecta Bollandiana*. Brussels, 1882, etc.
- Arch. Ael.* *Archaeologia Aeliana*: or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Newcastle, 1822, etc.
- Archiv.* *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*. Frankfort-on-Main and Hanover, 1820, etc.
- B.H.L. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Socii Bollandiani. Vols. 1, 2 and supp. Brussels, 1898-1911.
- Bede, L.T.W.* *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings*, ed. by A. Hamilton Thompson. Oxford, 1935.
- Bede, Opp.* *Venerabilis Bedae Opera*, ed. J. Giles. 12 vols. London, 1843-4.
- Bright. W. Bright, *Chapters on Early English Church History*. 3rd ed. Oxford, 1897.
- Cabrol. F. Cabrol et H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*. Paris, 1924, etc.
- Cat. Gén.* *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. Paris, 1849, etc.
- Cath. Enc.* *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. 15 vols., index and supp. New York, 1907-14.
- Catt. Vett.* *Catalogi veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm.*, Surtees Soc. vol. VII, 1837.
- D.C.B. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. W. Smith and H. Wace. 4 vols. London, 1877-87.
- D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen. 63 vols. and 10 supps. London, 1885, etc.
- Du Cange. C. Dufresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. L. Favre. 10 vols. Niort, 1883-7.
- E.H.R. *English Historical Review*. London, 1886, etc.
- E.R.E. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings. 13 vols. Edinburgh, 1908-26.
- Eddius.* *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*: text, translation and notes, by B. Colgrave. Cambridge, 1927.
- Eyre, St Cuthbert.* C. Eyre, *The History of St Cuthbert*. Second ed. London, 1858.

- Gougaud, C.C.L. L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*. London, 1932.
- Greg. Dial. *Gregorii Magni Dialogi*, ed. U. Moricca. *Fonti per la storia d' Italia*. Rome, 1924.
- Haa. *Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, ed. Plummer. See H.E.
- Hab. *Historia abbatum auctore Beda*, ed. Plummer. See H.E.
- H.E. *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum: Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, ed. C. Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1896.
- H.L. *Palladii Historia Lausiaca*, ed. D. Cuthbert Butler. Cambridge, 1898.
- H. and S. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. 3 vols. (4 parts). Oxford, 1869-78.
- H.Y. *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine. *Rolls Series*. 3 vols. 1879-94.
- Halm. *Sulpicii Severi Opera*, ed. C. Halm, *Vienna Corpus*, vol. 1. 1866.
- Hardy. *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS relating to the History of Great Britain*, ed. T. D. Hardy. *Rolls Series*. 3 vols. in 4. 1862-71.
- Jaeger. *Bedas Metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, ed. W. Jaeger. Palaestra, 198. Leipzig, 1935.
- Kurz. B. P. Kurz, *From St Antony to St Guthlac*. *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, vol. XII, no. 2, 1926, pp. 104-46.
- L.I.S. *Lives of Irish Saints*, ed. C. Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1922.
- Liber Vitae. *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Stevenson. *Surtees Soc.* vol. XIII, 1841, and facsimile, *Surtees Soc.* vol. CXXXVI, 1923.
- M.G. *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, etc. 1826, etc.
- Mab. AA.SS. *Acta Sanctorum ord. S. Benedicti*. 6 saecula in 9 vols., ed. J. Mabillon. Venice, 1733-8.
- Mawer. A. Mawer, *The Place-names of Northumberland and Durham*. Cambridge, 1920.
- Met. Life. *The Life of St Cuthbert in English Verse*, ed. J. T. Fowler, *Surtees Soc.* vol. LXXXVII, 1891.
- Migne. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Patrologia latina*. 221 vols. 1844-64.
- N.E.D. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, etc. Oxford, 1888-1935.

- Neues Archiv.* *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.* Hannover, 1876, etc.
- O.E.N. H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation.* Cambridge, 1907.
- Opp. Min.* *Venerabilis Bedae opera historica minora,* English Historical Society, ed. J. Stevenson. London, 1841.
- Redin. Mats Redin, *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English.* Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, Uppsala, 1919.
- Reg. Benedict.* *Sancti Benedicti regula monasteriorum,* ed. D. Cuthbert Butler. Editio Altera. Freiburg, 1927.
- Ryan, *Monast.* John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism.* London, 1931.
- St Ciaran, Irish Life.* *The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran,* translated and annotated by R. A. S. Macalister. London, 1927.
- St Samson of Dol.* *Life of St Samson of Dol,* translated by T. Taylor. London, 1925.
- Schenkl. H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca patrum Latinorum Britannica.* Vienna, 1890-1905. [Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil.-hist. Kl.), vols. CXXI-CXXVII, CXXXI, CXXXIII, CXXXVI, CXXXVII, CXXXIX, CXLIII, CL.]
- Script. rerum Merov.* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum.* 7 vols. 1885, etc.
- Stevenson, C.H. *The Church Historians of England,* ed. J. Stevenson, vol. 1, pt 2. London, 1853.
- Stubbs, *Dunstan.* *Memorials of St Dunstan,* ed. Wm Stubbs. Rolls Series. 1874.
- Surtees Soc. Surtees Society Publications. Durham, 1834, etc.
- Symeon, H.D.E. Symeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae,* ed. T. Arnold. Rolls Series. 2 vols. 1882-5.
- V.A. *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo.*
- V.M. *Vita sancti Cuthberti metrica auctore Beda.*
- V.P. *Vita sancti Cuthberti prosaica auctore Beda.*
- V.S.H. *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae,* ed. C. Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1910.
- Vit. Col.* *Vita sancti Columbae auctore Adamnano.*
- Vit. Col. Fowler.* *Adamnani Vita sancti Columbae,* ed. J. T. Fowler. Oxford, 1894.
- Vit. Col. Reeves.* *Vita sancti Columbae Auctore Adamnano,* ed. W. Reeves. Dublin, 1857.
- Vit. Tr.* *The Tripartite Life of St Patrick,* ed. Whitley Stokes. Rolls Series. 2 vols. London, 1887.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

OF all the English saints none figures more prominently in the history of the north of England than St Cuthbert. Reginald of Durham says¹ that the three most popular saints of his day were Cuthbert of Durham, Edmund of Bury, and Aethilthryth of Ely; and he goes on to prove that Cuthbert was the greatest of the three. The saint's incorruptible body became the centre of a cult which, within a few centuries, had reached all parts of England and many parts of western Europe. Bede in his Prose Life puts into the mouth of the dying saint (c. 39) prophetic words which, though they seem peculiarly out of place on the lips of the humble-minded Cuthbert, were nevertheless destined to come true: "For I know that, although I seemed contemptible to some while I lived, yet, after my death, you will see more clearly what I was and how my teaching is not to be despised."

Undoubtedly Bede's reputation had something to do with the widespread respect in which St Cuthbert was held, for the writings of the Jarrow monk, including his two Lives of St Cuthbert, were in constant demand from the eighth century onwards, not only in England but on the continent. Cuthbert, the disciple of Bede, who afterwards became abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, writes to Lull, bishop of Mainz (754-86), to say that he is sending him copies of the Life of St Cuthbert in prose and verse.² There are fourteen MSS of the Prose Life still preserved in continental libraries, the majority of which were written abroad; besides these there are several recorded in mediaeval catalogues and elsewhere and since lost,³ while eight of the Metrical Life also remain on the continent.⁴ That this popularity abroad was not entirely due to Bede seems to be evidenced by the fact that of the seven MSS of the Anonymous Life which still remain, it is almost

1 *Libellus*, c. 19, Surtees Soc. 1, 1835, pp. 37ff.

2 *M.G. Epistolae selectae*, I, Berlin, 1916, p. 250, no. 116.

3 See pp. 39ff.

4 Jaager, pp. 25ff.

certain that every one was written on the continent. In the ninth century his name appears in the Martyrologies of Florus of Lyons, of Wandalbert, of Rhabanus Maurus, of Ado of Vienne, of Usuard, in Notker's Martyrology of Saint-Gall and in the Codex Epternacensis of the Hieronymian Martyrology.¹ Alcuin in the same century could also say of him in an epigram:

Laudibus ac celebrat quem tota Britannia crebris,
Et precibus rogitat se auxiliare piis.²

When in Fulda the Church of the Saviour was consecrated in 819, "in absida occidentali, ubi martyr Bonifacius quiescit", amongst other saints venerated "in crypta eiusdem absidæ" were Cuthbert and Bede.³

In England many churches were dedicated to St Cuthbert, not only in the northern counties, but also as far afield as Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire and Cornwall.⁴ In the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* an anonymous author relates how Cuthbert appeared to King Alfred at Glastonbury and tells how the same king's dying commands to his son Edward were to love God and St Cuthbert.⁵ Aethelstan on his way to Scotland, probably in 934, came to Chester-le-Street in order to bestow lands upon the saint and also treasures, some of which still survive. These are merely a few examples of the widespread cult which finally led to the building of the noblest of the English cathedrals and the establishment of a see at Durham more powerful in temporal authority and richer in estates than any other in the country.

The chief authorities for the life of the saint are the two works that follow, the Life written by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, and Bede's Prose Life. The latter was not Bede's first attempt at writing a Life of St Cuthbert, for he had previously written a metrical version which was, as he explained

¹ AA.SS. Nov. II, p. 154.

² *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii*, ll. 177-8: Dümmler, *M.G. Poetae Latini*, I, p. 233.

³ Hrabani Mauri *carmin.* 41, 11, l. 4: Dümmler, *loc. cit.* II, p. 208.

⁴ A. Hamilton Thompson, "Churches dedicated to St Cuthbert", *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 1936, pp. 151 ff.

⁵ Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, p. 207.

in the Prologue to the Prose Life, "somewhat shorter indeed, but similarly arranged" (p. 147). The models for this twofold treatment of the subject were Sedulius' *Carmen* and *Opus paschale*, both of which were very familiar to Bede.¹ Both Bede's versions are based upon the Anonymous Life, but both, in addition to filling out the concise account of the anonymous writer, have extra information to give.

Many, perhaps most, lives of the saints written in the traditional form give a brief account of the birth of the saint and of portents connected therewith and with his early years; then follow a series of miracles associated with his life, his death natural or violent, and the miracles which took place at his tomb. The story is diversified by a list of his virtues, by an account of his triumphant resistance to the assaults of devils and temptations of various kinds; usually there is a model sermon and a farewell oration from the saint's deathbed. But though all three of the Cuthbert Lives follow in outline the regular development of the typical saint's life, there is something fresh about them, something which makes us realise that Cuthbert is a human being and not merely a wonder-worker.

This fact is true of both the Lives that follow, for, though the author of the Anonymous Life confines himself to the shortest possible space in his description of an event, he often achieves a conciseness and clarity in relating an incident which compares favourably with Bede's more diffuse account.²

The Anonymous Life gradually builds up a complete picture of the saint. While a youth he is good-natured and thoughtful, as his dealings with the precocious and not very attractive infant described in the first miracle show (I, 3); he is polite to strangers (I, 4), kind to animals (I, 6), and pursues the ordinary avocations of the youth of his day (I, 5, 6); in later life he is devoted to his foster-mother (II, 7), kind and cheerful towards all, as for instance to his friend Hildmer when the latter is in distress (II, 8); even in his life on Farne, there are human touches

¹ Cf. Levison, *Bede, L.T.W.* p. 126. E. R. Curtius, "Dichtung und Rhetorik im Mittelalter," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, xvi, 1938, pp. 439 ff.

² Cf. for instance, *V.P.* cc. 5, 34, 41, with *V.A.* I, 6, IV, 10, IV, 15. See also below, p. 15.

in his attitude towards the birds (III, 5), in the way in which he provides for his own simple requirements, and even in the miracle by which he obtains the necessary timber for the humblest of his buildings (III, 4). The list of Cuthbert's virtues, borrowed almost wholesale from the description of another saint, nevertheless reflects his personality in a most interesting way in at least one instance; for in one of these passages (III, 7) the writer, borrowing from the Evagrian *Life of Antony*, has made a significant change. Evagrius, translating Athanasius, says of Antony (c. 13) that he "never through an excess of hilarity burst into laughter"; but the anonymous author, omitting this phrase, substitutes the statement that "at all hours he was happy and joyful".

In such ways an impression of reality is obtained which is generally missing from the typical saint's life. Still another reason for this impression of reality is the constant reference to places and people known to his original readers or hearers and also well known to us to-day. Chester-le-Street and Carlisle, Iona, Coldingham, Coquet Island and Whitby, Melrose and Farne, the rivers Leader, Teviot and Tweed, can all be visited to-day; while Trumwine, Eata and Eadberht, Boisil and Aidan, Aldfrith and Ecgfrith, all of whom are mentioned, are familiar historical characters. All this is true, though to a less extent, of Bede's Prose Life, for Bede often deliberately omits the name of a person or place which he thinks may not be familiar to the wider circle of readers for whom his Life was probably intended. But in both, the careful documentation adds an air of verisimilitude to even the most remarkable of the miracles.

We get details in each of them of the daily life of the monk, much slighter it is true than we could have wished, but sufficient to enable us to construct some sort of a picture of the daily round of worship and work, the chapter meetings, the midday rest, the simple meals, the dress, the constant evangelistic journeys, the visits of guests, the hermit life to which occasionally the more saintly ones aspired, the burial rites and the elevation of the relics.) In the fuller account of the Prose Life the picture is correspondingly more complete, and Bede's gift of picturesque writing is seen at its best in such incidents as the scene by the

river Tyne (c. 3), Cuthbert's entry into Melrose (c. 6), the angelic visitor at Ripon (c. 7), the death of Boisil (c. 8) and particularly the long account of Cuthbert's death which, though attributed to Herefrith, bears the unmistakable stamp of Bede's own style. In both Lives the appeal to witnesses, many of them still living when the Lives were written, helps to give the impression of veracity, though, as we shall see later, this method of vouching for the truth of a story was in the regular tradition and did not necessarily mean much.

This is not the place to give more than the briefest outline of the period in which Cuthbert lived. But it is clear that he belongs to the Celtic rather than to the Roman tradition, and that, in spite of his dying attacks upon the Celtic "heretics",¹ he lived and died after the manner of the typical Irish monk. The date of his birth is uncertain, but it must have been within a year or so of 634, just about the time of that dark period in Northumbrian history, when Edwin was slain by Cadwallon, king of the Britons, and when, with the help of Penda and his Mercians, the Northumbrian army was completely destroyed at Heathfield. This was in October 633, six years after Edwin's conversion. For "one hateful year" Cadwallon "occupied the provinces of the Northumbrians, not ruling them like a victorious king but ravaging them like a furious tyrant".² Paulinus fled to Kent taking with him Edwin's widow Aethilburg and her little daughter Eanfled who was afterwards to marry Oswiu, king of Northumbria. In 634 Oswald with his little force defeated a great British army under Cadwallon at Heavenfield. It was symbolical that a vision of St Columba appeared to him on the night before the battle³ bidding him be of good courage. When the great victory had been won and Oswald was established as king over all Northumbria, he applied to Iona for a Christian teacher.

So while Cuthbert was an infant, Aidan in 635 established a monastery at Lindisfarne near Oswald's royal city of Bamburgh and became bishop of Northumbria. It was natural that he should have chosen an island see in the Iona tradition rather than York with its memories of Paulinus. Aidan travelled over

1 *V.P.* c. 39.

2 *H.E.* III, 1.

3 *Vit. Col.* I, 1.

the countryside on foot, preaching the gospel and reconverting those who had lapsed into heathenism. It is possible that Cuthbert may have heard the great preacher while he was still an infant in the charge of his parents. When the child was eight years old, he was given over to the care of his foster-mother, Kenswith, or Coenswith, in the village of *Hruringaham*. This was just about the time when the seven happy years of Oswald's reign were ended by the attack of the heathen Penda of Mercia who defeated and slew Oswald at the battle of Maserfield in 642. Oswald had been king over all Northumbria, both Deira and Bernicia, but his death led to the dividing up of the two kingdoms, Deira reverting to the house of Aelle and refusing to acknowledge Oswald's younger brother Oswiu. So Oswini became king of Deira while Oswiu ruled Bernicia only. This division of the two kingdoms of course prevented any really efficient opposition to Penda and until 655 the latter repeatedly harried both kingdoms; we read of his devastations as far north as Bamburgh,¹ and it was perhaps during one of these raids that Cuthbert was engaged on the military service mentioned in the *Anonymous Life* (I, 7). In 651 Oswini, king of Deira, was murdered with the connivance, if not by the definite orders, of Oswiu, and twelve days afterwards Aidan also died. This was the year too when Cuthbert entered Melrose. Four years afterwards, in 655, Penda vowed to destroy the nation of the Northumbrians, but Oswiu, with a small army, defeated and slew him near the river Winwaed. From 655 to 658 Northumbrian authority reached to the Severn and the Thames. Oswiu was a Christian like his brother Oswald, and the period of his supremacy gave Christianity time to settle down and take root once more all over the north and midlands. In 658 Mercian power was re-established under Wulfhere, Penda's son.

Meanwhile, Oswiu's son, Alhfrith, who was now ruling with his father as under-king of Deira, had come under the sway of Agilberht and the young priest Wilfrid recently returned from Rome. He seems to have been converted by them to an enthusiasm for the Roman form of Christianity.

¹ *H.E.* III, 16.

Before this he had given some land to Eata, abbot of Melrose, to found a monastery at Ripon. The latter had gone there taking Cuthbert with him as guest master,¹ but when Wilfrid returned from Rome and had won Alhfrith's heart somewhere about 660, Alhfrith drove out Eata and his Celtic monks and gave the monastery to Wilfrid. In 664 the famous Synod of Whitby was held when Oswiu and his counsellors accepted the Roman form of the faith. For the time Wilfrid and his party had conquered and in the same year Wilfrid became bishop of all Northumbria and went to Gaul to be consecrated. Eata, who had apparently in the meantime accepted the Roman Easter and the outward forms, at any rate, of the Roman practice, became abbot of Lindisfarne in place of Colman who, unable to accept the Roman customs, had retired to Iona. Cuthbert accompanied Eata to Lindisfarne. But Wilfrid delayed in Gaul, and when he returned home in 666 he found that Chad, one of Aidan's twelve pupils, had meanwhile been consecrated to the vacant see. For three years Chad remained bishop while Wilfrid lived in retirement, until Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury in 669 restored Wilfrid to his see, and sent Chad to be bishop of Mercia at Lichfield. Wilfrid remained in charge of the diocese and occupied himself in building and rebuilding churches at York and Ripon and elsewhere, living in great state and prosperity, in striking contrast to the simple ascetic monks of the island of Lindisfarne. In 671 Oswiu died and was succeeded by Ecgfrith, not by Alhfrith, for the latter had rebelled against his father some time after 664 and disappears from history. During all these events Cuthbert was living quietly at Lindisfarne as prior.

In the second year of Ecgfrith's reign (673) Bede was born, and three years² afterwards Cuthbert retired to Farne Island. In 678 Theodore in accordance with his policy of dividing up the great dioceses obtained the consent of Ecgfrith, but not of Wilfrid himself, to the division of the great Northumbrian diocese. It was decided to construct three new dioceses, one to consist of Bernicia with an episcopal seat either at Lindisfarne or Hexham; another in Deira with a seat at York; and another

¹ *V.P.* c. 7. ² Symeon, *H.D.E.* II, p. 27; but see Bright, p. 302, n. 6.

in Lindsey which had been lately wrested by Ecgfrith from Wulfhere of Mercia. Wilfrid went to Rome to complain of this treatment and laid a petition before Pope Agatho. Bosa, one of Hilda's pupils, was thereupon appointed bishop of Deira; Eata, Cuthbert's friend and abbot, superintended Bernicia; while Eadhaeth, a friend and companion of Chad, became first bishop of Lindsey.

Wilfrid returned from Rome in 680 bearing the decision of the pope, on the whole favourable to himself; his great diocese was to be divided up, but the recently appointed bishops were to be deposed, and Wilfrid was to choose his own assistants. Ecgfrith however refused to accept the pope's decision and put the outraged Wilfrid into prison, releasing him in the following year and sending him into an exile which lasted for the rest of Ecgfrith's life.

In 680 Hilda of Whitby died, and in the following year the monastery at Jarrow was founded and soon after Bede went there as a monk. In this year too Eata gave up Hexham to Tunberht, a kinsman of Bede's beloved abbot, Ceolfrith, and went to Lindisfarne. Thus the great diocese was divided up still further. Tunberht, for some reason which Bede does not explain, was deposed in 684 and Cuthbert consecrated in his place at Easter 685. No one in all these arrangements seems to have paid the slightest heed to Pope Agatho's decision of 679. In order that Cuthbert might stay in Lindisfarne, Eata went back to Hexham. Only a few weeks later, while Cuthbert was making his first episcopal visitation, Ecgfrith was killed at the battle of Nechtansmere, and Northumbria by this defeat lost its supremacy beyond the Forth, and for a time in Strathclyde too. Ecgfrith's illegitimate brother Aldfrith came to the throne in his place, a man of scholarly interests, himself a writer and learned in all the learning of the Irish. But Cuthbert, worn out by his asceticism, soon realised that he was no longer able to perform the arduous labours of constant preaching and visitation which were the duty of a bishop, and, shortly after the Christmas of 686, he returned to his island where he died on March 20th, 687.

Meanwhile Wilfrid, after an exile of over five years, returned to the north through the influence of Archbishop Theodore

and was received in a friendly way by Aldfrith, who was evidently prepared to make a fresh start. Nothing further was heard of Pope Agatho's decision, and Wilfrid was content to accept the see of Hexham made vacant by the death of Eata. Shortly afterwards Bosa seems to have been expelled from York to make way for Wilfrid, while Eadhaeth, who had been at Ripon possibly as bishop, left that too. All this was during Cuthbert's episcopacy at Lindisfarne, and it looks very much as though Wilfrid, in the early days of his reconciliation, had been trying to rush the king into gradually giving into his charge once more the whole of the Northumbrian diocese. And chance played into Wilfrid's hands. For having obtained Hexham by the death of Eata, and York and Ripon by the departure of Bosa and Eadhaeth, Cuthbert's retirement in 686 enabled him to obtain the see of Lindisfarne. Now in the *Prose Life* (c. 40) we learn how serious troubles arose at Lindisfarne after the death of Cuthbert, which ceased on the election of Eadberht to the bishopric; it is difficult not to associate this with Wilfrid's government of the see; Wilfrid can hardly have loved the monastery which was the centre whence the Celtic "heresy" had spread over the north and over which had ruled Colman, his chief antagonist at the Synod of Whitby, whom he had succeeded in driving out of England. From Lindisfarne, too, had come at least three of the bishops who had usurped part or the whole of his diocese, namely, Chad, Eata and Cuthbert, and possibly Eadhaeth, the friend of Chad.¹ It seems likely, therefore, from what we know of the character of Wilfrid, that he would not have dealt very gently with his old foes. But Aldfrith, though he may have been carried off his feet at first by the overwhelming personality of Wilfrid, soon saw his mistake, even if he had ever intended to make Wilfrid's appointment permanent. At the end of 687 John of Beverley was appointed to Hexham, and, in the following year, Eadberht, a man of the same pious simplicity as Cuthbert, was appointed to the see of Lindisfarne. Needless to say the old trouble blazed up again between Wilfrid and the king of Northumbria, and in 691-2 still another quarrel arose and

¹ *H.E.* III, 28.

Wilfrid departed for a third period of exile. But with his later history we are not here concerned.

The reign of Aldfrith (685-705) seems to have covered the two most brilliant decades of what has rightly been called "the golden age of Northumbria". This golden age is the period covered by the life of Bede (673-735). It was a time of great activity, when literature and the arts flourished. To this period, above and beyond the works of Bede and the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert, belong other Latin works, such as Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, the anonymous monk of Wearmouth's biography of his abbot Ceolfrith, and the oldest legend of Gregory the Great, which probably came from Whitby. To this period also belong such wonderful works of art as the Lindisfarne gospels now in the British Museum. This codex is probably only one survivor of many others of the same kind. For we read also of the gospel book presented to Ripon by Wilfrid¹ and of the two gospels dating from Wilfrid's time which were still preserved in York cathedral in the sixteenth century.² Another form of art which developed at this time, and in all probability reached its highest point during the period, was the construction of tall sculptured stone crosses of which the most famous are those still standing at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, and the Acca cross once more in its ancient home, at Hexham. A closely connected art is seen in the carved coffin in which the body of St Cuthbert was placed, now preserved in the Chapter Library at Durham, and the Franks' casket in the British Museum. Church building went on apace, as the remains still to be seen at Hexham, Ripon, Corbridge, Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, Escomb and elsewhere, all show; and the theory has even been put forward with some plausibility that the greatest poem of our pre-conquest literature, *Beowulf*, emanated from the court of Aldfrith.³ But, however great may have been the artistic, literary, and general cultural outlook of the time, it is the great men and women who have left the most impressive mark on the history of this period, and of these St Cuthbert rightly takes his place in the very forefront.

1 *Eddius*, c. 17.

2 *H.Y.* III, p. 387.

3 See p. 329.

SOURCES, DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The main source of the Anonymous Life, so far as the actual facts of Cuthbert's life are concerned, is the tradition at Lindisfarne, the saga which grew up around the name of the saint, much of it probably during his lifetime or very soon after his death. The author or authors of the Life simply put into writing the floating tradition. As Delehaye has pointed out, there are two main sources in all hagiographical literature. The first is the people, whose imagination perpetually creates fresh products of its fancy, and attaches wonders drawn from the most diverse sources to the name of its favourite saints; while the second source is the writer, whose duty it is to put the floating traditions into literary shape; he takes the material given him, but his ideas and standards determine its permanent form.¹ In this determination our writer, like the average writer of saints' lives of this period, was much influenced by earlier models such as Evagrius' translation of Athanasius' *Life of St Antony*, Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin* or the *Actus Silvestri*.

Who this author was is unknown. Bede in his introduction to the *Ecclesiastical History* says: "What I have written concerning the most holy father and bishop Cuthbert, whether in this volume or in my little book concerning his acts, I took in part from what I have previously found written about him by the brethren of the church at Lindisfarne, yielding simple faith to the story I read; and in parts I ventured to add with care such facts as I myself had learned from the unimpeachable testimony of faithful men." From this statement it looks as though Bede himself was not aware of the author's name or perhaps considered it to be a composite work; but, in any case, it is clear that the author or authors belonged to Lindisfarne. Thus Aidan is referred to as "our bishop" (I, 5), and Lindisfarne is "our island" (III, 1; IV, 15), or "our monastery" (IV, 7, 16, 17), or "our church" (I, 3; II, 8; IV, 1). If the work is the composite effort of the Lindisfarne brethren, nevertheless the first person singular is constantly used. The theory, first propounded by

¹ Cf. H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques*, Brussels, 3rd ed. 1927, pp. 11 f.

Heinrich Hahn,¹ that Herefrith was the author is scarcely tenable. In the first place it is highly improbable that Herefrith who was apparently at Melrose with Boisil² should have been under the impression that Cuthbert received the tonsure at Ripon,³ that he should not have mentioned the death of Boisil and his prophecy of Cuthbert's future bishopric,⁴ nor the story of how Cuthbert cured Aelfflaed,⁵ both of which incidents are peculiar to Bede and based on Herefrith's testimony. But to my mind the most convincing proof of all is that the man who gave Bede such an affecting account of Cuthbert's last days, if he was the author of the other Life was there content to describe the saint's passing in a few perfunctory sentences. Hahn's argument that Herefrith's account in Bede has verbal borrowings from the account in the Anonymous Life, is easily answered by pointing out that Herefrith's account is over twelve times as long and contains only seven words borrowed from the Anonymous Life; while in the very sentence in which these verbal borrowings occur⁶, is a phrase of seven words borrowed (scarcely by Herefrith) from Gregory's *Dialogues*. The most specious of Hahn's arguments, that Herefrith's name is never mentioned in the Anonymous Life, might be made the basis of an argument that the Life was written by Baldhelm or Cynimund,⁷ both of whom are mentioned by name as witnesses in the Prose Life but not in the Anonymous Life.

The authorship of the earlier Lindisfarne Life must probably always be a matter of conjecture. The writer was a monk at Lindisfarne and was apparently a well-read, well-educated man. He was familiar with the *Epistola Victorii Aquitani ad Hilarium*, with the Evagrian *Life of Antony*, with Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin*, with the *Actus Silvestri*, with some of the works of Ambrose, probably with Gregory's *Dialogues*, and above all with the Scriptures. For the information about the miracles performed by the saint, he was indebted to the general body of tradition preserved in the church and particularly to certain people whom he quotes by name, such as Plecgils, Tydi,

1 *Bonifaz und Lul.* Leipzig, 1883, pp. 175ff.

2 *V.P.* c. 8.

3 *V.A.* II, 2.

4 *V.P.* c. 8 and note.

5 *V.P.* c. 23 and note.

6 *V.P.* c. 39 *ad fin.*

7 *V.P.* cc. 25, 36.

Aethilwald, Aelfflaed, and Walhstod, as well as various other priests, deacons, trustworthy men and faithful witnesses whom he does not mention by name. But this quoting of authorities is only part of the regular routine of the writing of mediaeval saints' lives. This feature goes back to Athanasius' *Life of Antony*, in the preface to which the writer declares that he is writing only what he has learned on the authority of Antony himself. But many of the stories which follow of fights with devils, of visions, and miracles of healing are to say the least of a highly imaginative order. In the same way Adamnan mentions eyewitnesses in his *Life of St Columba* to various miracles as in the marvellous story of the pestiferous rain.¹ Günter quotes many other instances of this constant appeal to witnesses in the lives of saints, even when the events witnessed to are incredible in the highest degree.² It is therefore clear that too much emphasis must not be placed upon this appeal to credible witnesses.

The date of the Anonymous Life is fixed within a few years. It must have been written at least a year after the Translation. The miracle recorded in iv, 17 is related as taking place in "this present year", which would seem to imply that the other miracles recorded as taking place after the Translation (iv, 15, 16) did not take place in the same year but at least a year before. Now the Translation took place in 698, so we may take the earliest date for the composition of the Life as 699. The latest date is given by the reference in iii, 6 to "Aldfrith who is now reigning peacefully". Aldfrith died in 705. It therefore narrows down the date of composition to between 699 and 705.

There is no question as to the authorship of the Prose Life, and even if we did not possess Bede's own Prologue in which he proclaims himself as the author, it could easily be recognised as an authentic work of Bede. In the Preface to the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede explains that his chief source is the Anonymous Life, but in the Prologue to the Prose Life he does not mention it. He explains instead the elaborate precautions he took to

1 *Vit. Col.* II, 4.

2 H. Günter, *Die Christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 175 ff.

make the Life an authentic account of the saint, which included showing his notes to the brethren at Lindisfarne, and particularly to Herefrith (a delicate position indeed for Herefrith, if he were really the author of the Anonymous Life). But the real source of the work is the Anonymous Life itself. Of the forty miracles recorded in the Prose Life, only eight are peculiar to Bede (cc. 3, 8, 19, 23, 31, 35, 36, 46), and of these eight, two (cc. 31, 35) are mentioned by the earlier writer but passed over (IV, 18). Generally speaking he omits the names of witnesses given by the Lindisfarne monk. The only exceptions are Bishop Trumwine (c. 1) and Aethilwald, late bishop of Lindisfarne (c. 30). On two other occasions he mentions the name of a witness when the Lindisfarne monk does not give one. On both occasions he has heard the account of the miracle at first hand (cc. 5, 27). But when he tells a fresh miracle not related in the other Life, he refers to his witnesses, though not in every case by name (cf. cc. 3, 19, 46). He also distinguishes between eyewitnesses and those who had heard the details from others, just as he does in the *Ecclesiastical History* (cf. cc. 5, 6, 23).

The arrangement of the work follows the Anonymous Life almost exactly for the first three books, but in the long fourth book Bede changes the order of the miracles considerably (the order of Bede's chapters as compared with the fourth book of the *V.A.* is 24, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33, 25, 27, 28, 34, 36, 38, 39, 42, 41, 44, 45). The resulting change of order is an improvement, and this, together with the addition of various incidents such as his entry into the monastery at Melrose, adds clarity to the work. But the chief addition in the Life is the long and vivid account of the death of Cuthbert supplied from information given by Herefrith. The whole story is alleged to be in the very words of Herefrith, but the verbal reminiscences from Possidius' *Life of St Augustine*, Gregory's *Dialogues* (a favourite work of Bede), and also from the Anonymous Life, prove that Bede has at any rate worked carefully over Herefrith's account.

A comparison between the two accounts of almost any of the miracles common to both, illustrates how closely Bede follows his original. But it is amusing to notice how carefully he avoids using the same words and phrases. Jaeger has col-

lected the few verbal borrowings that exist¹ but they are almost negligible. It did not seem worth while to note them in the text and I have not done so. Occasionally Bede changes an incident considerably, sometimes by no means for the better. Compare for instance the two accounts of how Cuthbert was divinely provided for when he was travelling over the deserted country near Chester-le-Street; the simple account in the Anonymous Life (i, 6) compares very favourably with Bede's account (c. 5) where the whole motivation of the story has been changed. Or again, the story of his announcement of his coming death to the anchorite Herbert of Derwentwater (c. 28) where Bede has enlarged the simpler account of the Anonymous Life by mere unnecessary verbiage. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of Plummer's statement in which, comparing the two Lives of Cuthbert, he says: "He seems to take delight in altering the language for the mere sake of alteration...he amplifies the narrative with rhetorical matter which can only be called padding."² Another incident in which Bede has completely missed the point of the story is the account of the revelation which Cuthbert had of Hadwald's death (c. 34). Bede also suppresses many interesting proper names of persons and places, perhaps, as has been suggested, in order to make the account more easy to read in the services of the church or the refectory. In fact, even in the Anonymous Life, certain MSS (notably B and H) have omitted many of the proper names for the same reason.¹ But probably Bede's account was written in the first instance for a wider circle of readers than the Anonymous Life and was therefore intended to be somewhat less personal. He has however added one place-name, Derwentwater, the home of the anchorite Herbert (c. 28). Besides this the historical interest of some of Bede's additions is considerable. We have already mentioned the long account of the death of Cuthbert; to Bede we owe also the interesting description of the attitude of the simple people of Northumbria to the new religion (c. 3), the story of the entry of Cuthbert to Melrose, and of the death of Boisil (cc. 6, 8), and the vivid and interesting story of the brethren who forgot

¹ Jaeger, pp. 135-6.

² *H.E.* I, p. xlvi.

to cook and eat the goose on Farne (c. 36), the death and burial of Bishop Eadberht (c. 43), and the account of Cuthbert's successors on Farne (c. 46). Plummer has declared that "it cannot be said that Bede has bettered his original",¹ but it is only fair to Bede to note the improvement in lucidity and arrangement, in vivid and picturesque writing and in his attempts to make what Levison calls an "aretalogy" into a reliable and trustworthy account of the saint.²

In addition to the use made of the Anonymous Life, Bede was also indebted, as the text and the notes will show, to Gregory's *Dialogues*, to Possidius' *Life of St Augustine*, and to the Evagrian *Life of Antony* as well as to the Scriptures for many quotations.

The date of the Life is apparently somewhere about 721. It is dedicated to Bishop Eadfrith who died in that year. In the book usually called *De temporum ratione* which he wrote in 725, he speaks of it as having been written "some years ago".³ One would therefore gather that it cannot have been written much before 721.⁴

1 *H.E.* I, p. xlvi.

2 Levison, *Bede, L.T.W.* p. 129.

3 *Opp.* VI, p. 329. Cf. also T. Mommsen, *Chronica Maiora*, § 570: M.G. Auctores antiquissimi, XIII, pp. 316-17.

4 Cf. Plummer, *H.E.* I, p. cxlviii.

MANUSCRIPTS

A. THE ANONYMOUS LIFE

1. O₁. St Omer 267.¹ 9¼ × 6 in. 83 ff. 25 lines to the page. Single column. This MS is in an insular hand of the late ninth or early tenth century and, like O₂, belonged to and was probably written at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin. It contains more than one hand. It is bound in calf and has on it the arms of Benoît Ier de Béthune, that is, Benoît de Béthune des Plancques, the abbot who, about the year 1677, had many of the monastery MSS rebound. It contains works by St Augustine, St Jerome and St Cyprian, and hymns to St Bertin and St Martin, the latter with music. The Anonymous Life occupies ff. 67b-83b.

2. O₂. St Omer 715. Tom. 1.² 20 × 14 in. 187 ff. 48 lines to the page. Double columns. This volume forms part of a twelfth-century legendary once belonging to and probably written at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin. It originally contained at least 208 ff. It was adorned with many illuminated initials for the sake of which some 20 ff. have been removed, while many other initials have been cut out. The fifty-seven saints' lives cover most days from December 31st to April 9th. The Anonymous Life occupies ff. 164-168b, but two folios have been lost between 165 and 166. The other three volumes which are also numbered 715 form a quite separate legendary which originally belonged to the cathedral library of St Omer.

3. A. Arras 812 (1029).³ 7¼ × 5 in. 154 ff. 18 lines to the page. Single column. This late tenth-century MS originally belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St Vaast at Arras, and is mentioned in the eleventh-century catalogue of the

¹ *Anal. Boll.* XLVII, Brussels, 1929, p. 246. *Cat. Gén.* (4^o), III, Paris, 1861, p. 135.

² *Anal. Boll.* XLVII, pp. 254 ff. *Cat. Gén.* (4^o), III, p. 316. *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, p. 672. *Archiv.* VIII, 1843, p. 414.

³ *Cat. Gén.* (4^o), IV, Paris, 1872, p. 322. It is numbered 1029 in the catalogue made by Caron in 1860, and 812 in the General Catalogue. Stubbs, *Dunstan*, p. xxxviii. *Script. rerum Merov.* V, p. 575 and n. 2; VII, p. 556.

monastery.¹ It now contains part of the Anonymous Life (ff. 1-22*b*, 25-26*b*, 23*b*-24*b*), some nine chapters being missing, and some of the later chapters being out of order; it is followed by a Life of St Guthlac of which the first part is missing. This is followed by an imperfect Life of St Dunstan, and a Life of St Filibert, abbot of Jumièges, of which the end is missing. It originally also contained the Life of St Aichard, another abbot of Jumièges. Apparently this Life was still at St Vaast in the seventeenth century, for it is mentioned in the seventeenth-century list of contents on the first folio and was used by the Bollandists for their text of the Life of St Aichard in *AA.SS. Sept.* v. pp. 85-100. Since that time several folios have been lost and some of the remaining folios have been rebound in the wrong order.

4. H. British Museum, Harleian MS 2800.² $18\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in. 262 ff. 50 lines to the page. Double columns. The three Harleian MSS numbered 2800-2802 together form a great legendary from the Premonstratensian monastery at Arnstein in Nassau. The first volume dates from about 1200 and is beautifully written with many elaborately illuminated initials. It consists of 128 items, being lives of saints from the beginning of January to June 8th, the Anonymous Life appearing on ff. 248-251*b*. Harl. 2800-2802 and Brussels 207-208, 98-100, and 206 together formed two copies of a great legendary which was written in the diocese of Trier. Of the 128 items in Harl. 2800 there are only five which are not found in one of the Brussels volumes.

5. B. Brussels, Royal Library 207-208.³ $19\frac{3}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in. 284 ff. 44 lines to the page. Double columns. This forms the first of three volumes corresponding with the three volumes

1 G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, p. 143.

2 *A Catalogue of the Harleian MSS in the Brit. Mus.* II, London, 1808, pp. 712f. *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, pp. 537ff. and 603ff. Frieda Hoddick, *Das Münstermaifelder Legendar*, Dissertation, Bonn, 1928, pp. 36ff. W. R. Tymms and M. D. Wyatt, *The Art of Illuminating*, London, 1860, Saec. XII, Tab. I and 3. H. Shaw, *A Handbook of the Art of Illumination*, London, 1866, pp. 15ff.

3 *Cat. Cod. Hag. Bibl. Reg. Brux.* pars I, tom. I, Brussels, 1886, 135ff. *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, pp. 537ff. and 563. Hoddick, *op. cit.* pp. 36ff. J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, v, Brussels, 1905, pp. 60ff. (no. 3132, tom. I).

in the Harley collection above. All three volumes are at Brussels, 207-208 (January-June 8th), 98-100 (June 8th-Sept.), and 206 (Oct.-Dec.). B contains altogether 125 items; a few Lives are missing from the Harley volume which are present in the Brussels volume, and the later lives of this volume are in a somewhat different order. The MS is beautifully written in a thirteenth-century hand, and the initial letters of each life are large and often ornate, worked in various colours, even in gold. The second and last folios have the red stamp of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and on the first folio is stamped "Bibliothèque de Bourgogne". The Anonymous Life occupies ff. 158-163.

6. T. Trier, Public Library 1151 (Kentenich 422, tom. 1).¹ 13 × 9⁵/₈ in. 223 ff. 40 lines to the page. Double columns. This is one of four volumes of a legendary preserved in the public library at Trier. This legendary originally consisted of nine volumes, and together they form the most comprehensive of all the legends written on German soil. Of these nine volumes the first (January) and the fifth (August) are preserved in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale; the second volume (February, March and April), the third (May), the fourth (June and July), and the seventh (October) are in the Trier public library; the sixth (September) and the eighth (November) are in the priests' seminary at Trier. The ninth volume has been lost. According to Levison,² the legendary was composed, if not in the Benedictine monastery of St Maximin at Trier, at any rate for the monks, about the year 1235. The first volume contains seventy-one lives and passions and other kindred items of which the Anonymous Life occupies ff. 135-142.

7. P. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 5289.³ 16⁷/₈ × 11⁷/₈ in. 76 ff. 40 lines to the page. Double columns. This MS, which consists of a series of lives and passions of the saints, is in a fourteenth-century hand. It begins with the Lives

¹ M. Keuffer and G. Kentenich, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Trier*, VIII, Trier, 1914, pp. 221 ff. B. Krusch, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, pp. 618 ff. M. Coens, *Anal. Boll.* III, 1934, pp. 193 ff.

² *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, pp. 536 f. and 685 ff.

³ *Cat. Cod. Hag. Lat. Paris*, I, Brussels, 1889, p. 538. *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, p. 636.

of St Vaast and St Amantius of Rodez and consists altogether of thirty different items of which all except two are found in both B and H. It is carelessly written. The MS has been wrongly bound at some time, and at present the Anonymous Life begins on f. 55*b*, then continues on ff. 49*b*–52*b* and ends on ff. 56–58*b*.

B. BEDE'S PROSE LIFE

1. C₁. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 183.¹ 11½ × 7⅞ in. 96 ff. 26 lines to the page. Single column. This MS, written in a very beautiful English hand, contains the Prose Life (ff. 1*b*–56), followed by two chapters from the *H.E.* (iv, 31 and 32), the Metrical Life, a list of English bishops and kings, the Mass and Office of St Cuthbert, together with a list of difficult words in the Metrical Life with interpretations partly in Anglo-Saxon. The work of two scribes is distinguishable. On the reverse side of the first folio is a full-page picture, now badly oxidised, which is said to represent Aethelstan presenting the book to St Cuthbert. In the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* we learn that Aethelstan travelling to Scotland gave to the see which was then at Chester-le-Street “unam sancti Cuthberti uitam, metricè et prosaicè scriptam”.² It is quite possible that it may have been this very MS. James declares that it can hardly be doubted that the book is from Durham Priory. That it belonged to the priory at some time is possible, though it is not mentioned in the 1391 or 1415 catalogues of the priory, but it was almost certainly not written in the north, nor can James be correct when he attributes it to the ninth century. If this were so, then the picture could hardly represent Aethelstan unless it were added some years afterwards, which seems unlikely. But furthermore, as Armitage Robinson has

¹ For further discussion of the date and origin of this MS, cf. Plummer, *H.E.* i, p. cxlvii, note 1; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 1, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 426ff.; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Saxon Bishops of Wells*, London, 1918, pp. 7, 12ff., and *The Times of St Dunstan*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 53f.; E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, pp. 3, 71 and plate 3*a*. Judging by the dates of the latest bishops mentioned, the book must have been written between 934 (the accession of Aethelgar of Crediton) and 937 or 938 (the death of Aelfheah of Wells).

² *Symeon of Durham*, ed. Hinde, Surtees Soc. LI, 1867, p. 149.

pointed out, several tenth-century bishops are mentioned in the list of bishops at the beginning of the MS. As the only lists of bishops brought up to date are those of Wells, Sherborne, Crediton, and Dorchester, and as the last bishop of Wells mentioned is Aelfheah who died in 937 or 938, Robinson suggests that the book was promised in 934 when Aethelstan was in the north, was then ordered at Glastonbury and presented to St Cuthbert's shrine in 937. The list of bishops is in the same handwriting throughout and presumably by the same scribe as the earlier part of the MS. At any rate the hands are contemporary. The MS must therefore be dated as early tenth.

2. C₂. Trinity College, Cambridge, O.1.64.¹ 6¼ × 4¼ in. 88 ff. 24 lines to the page. Single column. This MS is written in a beautiful twelfth-century hand. It once belonged to the cathedral church of Coventry and contains only the Prose Life (ff. 2-87*b*) with the same two chapters from Bede's *H.E.* as C₁. The MS was meant to be copiously illustrated, a space for a picture and for ornate initials being left at the beginning of each chapter. But no sketches have been begun except for the two full-page drawings on ff. 9*b* and 10 both illustrating chapter II, the healing of Cuthbert's knee by an angel.

3. C₃. Trinity College, Cambridge, O.3.55.² 9½ × 6 in. 69 ff. 37 lines to the page. Single column. This MS is written in a fine hand of the mid-twelfth century. It comes from Durham Priory and is noted in the 1391 catalogue,³ identifiable by the catchword of the second folio "sime ea quae paruuli" (but see Cl, p. 31 below). It contains a list of relics⁴ formerly in Durham Priory; a list of bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham down to William (1143-53), with Hugo⁵ (d. 1195) in a slightly later hand; the preface to Bede's Metrical Life; the Prose Life

¹ M. R. James, *The Western MSS in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, III, Cambridge, 1902, p. 66. Schenkl, no. 2382.

² See M. R. James, *loc. cit.* III, p. 241, and *Symeon of Durham*, ed. Hinde, Surtees Soc. LI, 1867, pp. lxxviii ff. and Schenkl, no. 2415. See also pp. 34-5 below.

³ *Catt. Vett.* p. 30.

⁴ A list of relics occurs in Dj₂ which is almost identical with the list here except that *Caput Ceolwulfi* in C₃ appears as *Caput Edwoldi* in Dj₂, and the last three items in C₃ (*Dens Sancti Blasii*, *Ossa Gereonis*, *Ossa sanctarum virginum XI milium Coloniae*) are missing in Dj₂. The office of St Cuthbert is substantially the same in both and the music almost identical.

⁵ For similar lists of bishops cf. O₈, Ad₁, Dj₂ and Go.

(ff. 5b-25b), followed by the usual two chapters from the *H.E.* (IV, 31 and 32), 23 miracles¹ and a part of the *Brevis Relatio*. The codex also contains the office for the deposition of St Cuthbert with music, the office and hymn to St Oswald, and the life of St Aidan. The name of Symon Garstell in a sixteenth-century hand appears on folio 4. Other names which occur in this MS are those of W. Ellvyt in a fifteenth-century hand, and Thomas Hersley, Henry Dalton and Humfrey Radcliff, all in sixteenth-century hands.

4. O₁. Digby 175 (1776), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. 46 ff. 34 lines to the page. Single column. A nicely written MS of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. There is more than one hand, though that in which the Prose Life is written is the same throughout. The MS apparently derives from the same scriptorium as Bodley 596 (O₄) and may well be a Durham book. It belonged once to Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall.³ It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1-23, later foliation), but the first quire is missing and the Life actually begins towards the end of chapter 8: then follow the usual two chapters from the *H.E.* and one other miracle; the Metrical Life; and Bede's Lives of St Aidan and St Oswald from the third book of the *H.E.* Each of these three last pieces is imperfect.

1 These posthumous miracles which gradually came to be attributed to the saint are found in varying numbers attached usually to MSS of Bede's Prose Life of St Cuthbert though occasionally occurring by themselves (as in B.M. Cotton. Nero A. ii or York Dean and Chapter Library, xvi.i.12; see also Hardy, I, p. 303). These miracles probably formed part of an oral saga tradition which arose apparently in the tenth century and was written down about the twelfth. None of these miracles is found in MSS dating before the twelfth century, though occasionally the two chapters from the *H.E.* are present. The earlier twelfth-century MSS, such as O₁, O₅, or O₉, contain only six or seven, together with the two chapters from Bede, while in the latter part of the century we find up to twenty-five miracles often followed by the *Brevis Relatio* (B.H.L. 2031), a collection varying in length but at its longest consisting of thirty-eight chapters partly historical and partly miraculous. These miracle stories seem to have been used considerably by Symeon of Durham and less obviously by Reginald. See further Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, pp. 229-61; II, pp. 333-62; also *Symeon of Durham*, ed. Hinde, Surtees Soc. II, 1867, pp. xxxixff. and 158-201.

2 Cf. W. D. Macray, *Cat. codicum manuscriptorum. Bibl. Bodl. pars IX*, Oxford, 1883, p. 187.

3 Allen left his MSS to Kenelm Digby who afterwards left them to the Bodleian (cf. O₆). See *D.N.B. s.v.* Thomas Allen.

5. O₂. Bodley 109 (1962), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹ 8½ × 5½ in. 80 ff. 21 lines to the page. Single column. A MS perhaps of the eleventh century. It has a few feebly coloured capitals, but most of the capital letters and chapter headings are missing. It contains the Metrical and Prose Life of St Cuthbert (the latter only as far as chapter 29, ff. 28–77). The handwriting is peculiar and unpleasing, varying a good deal in size, and certainly the work of more than one scribe. The MS originally belonged to Sir Henry Savile and was presented by him to Bodley in 1620.

6. O₃. Fairfax 6 (3886), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² 13½ × 8½ in. 299 ff. 47 lines to the page. Double columns. This MS, belonging to the second half of the fourteenth century, was written at Durham. The scribe up to page 159b was Petrus "plenus amoris".³ It is mentioned in the 1391 Durham catalogue⁴ and can be identified by the catchword of the second folio ("ramine et prudencia"). It consists of three main parts. The first part contains four different Lives of St Cuthbert, the first being the so-called Irish Life;⁵ the second Bede's Metrical Life; the third the Prose Life (ff. 13–29b) with the usual

1 Madan and Craster, *A Summary Cat. of Western MSS in the Bodl. Library*, II, i, Oxford, 1922, p. 134.

2 *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 773 ff. (new edition of the 1697 catalogue). Schenkl, no. 289.

3 Cf. Plummer, *H.E.* I, p. cxxxviii. The name "plenus amoris" if it is the name of a scribe (Fullelove?) occurs at least half a dozen times and always in the hexameter "Nomen scriptoris est... plenus amoris". It may be just padding to fill the line and to rhyme with "scriptoris".

4 Cf. *Catt. Vett.* p. 55.

5 The so-called Irish Life of St Cuthbert or, more accurately, *Libellus de Ortu Sancti Cuthberti* professes to give an account of the early years of the saint's life of which nothing is said in Bede, nor in the Anonymous Life. It contains twenty-nine chapters and seems to have been written in the late twelfth century and, in all probability, at Melrose. The main part of the Life is apparently a reproduction of the early life and miracles of a certain St Lugaid of Lismore (d. 592) or Mlucc, as he is called in the *Libellus*. St Cuthbert is identified with this saint, and the miracles related of the Irish saint are there attributed to him. After chapter 23, the writer, having reached the end of his Irish source, identifies Cuthbert with St Adamnan of Hy (d. 704), the biographer of St Columba. The writer also devotes three chapters to explaining why women were not allowed in St Cuthbert's churches. For a full account of this work see Miss M. Hope Dodds' article entitled "The Little Book of the Birth of St Cuthbert", in *Arch. Ael.* fourth series, VI, Newcastle, 1929, pp. 52 ff. and H. H. E. Craster, *E.H.R.* XI, 1925, p. 507.

chapters from the *H.E.*, and twenty-two miracles, followed by the Life¹ by Reginald, a twelfth-century monk of Durham (*B.H.L.* 2032). The second part consists of lives of other saints: the Lives of Eata and Oswald by Reginald of Durham; the Life of Aidan and the abbots of Wearmouth by Bede; an anonymous Life of Bede;² the Life of Ebba by Reginald of Durham; and the Lives of Godric and Bartholomew by Galfridus (probably Geoffrey of Coldingham). The third part consists of various historical pieces relating to Durham, including Symeon of Durham's chronicle of the church of Durham with the continuations by Geoffrey of Coldingham, Robert de Greystanes, and others. It ends with a passage concerning Richard de Bury in a fifteenth-century hand. See also under *H*₂, pp. 28 f.

7. O₄. Bodley 596 (2376), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 7 in. 214 ff. 38 lines to the page. Single column. This is a composite volume and consists of three parts, of which the first is connected with Westminster Abbey and consists of English and Latin pieces of the early fifteenth century. The second part is John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady, of the fifteenth century. The third part (ff. 175–214) contains the Prose Life of St Cuthbert with the exception of part of the last chapter; four leaves are lost between ff. 200*b* and 201; then follows part of the Metrical Life. All this part is in one hand and is followed by part of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*³ in a second hand, one leaf of the latter being lost. Each of the hands is of the early twelfth century, and this section of the MS is written in single column with about 38 lines to the page. The third part of the volume up to this point was probably written in Durham. Then follows the Life of St Julian, bishop of Le Mans (*B.H.L.* 4544), together with an Office of St Julian, both in a later hand.⁴

1 Printed in the Surtees Soc. I, 1835, pp. 1–292.

2 Madan and Craster, *A Summary Cat. of Western MSS in the Bodl. Library*, Oxford, II, I, pp. 335 ff. and information received from Mr R. A. B. Mynors.

3 The last paragraph of this piece occurs only here (see H. H. E. Craster, "The Red Book of Durham", *E.H.R.* XL, 1925, pp. 504 ff.) and in Paris, Fonds Latins 5362 (P1); see below, p. 35.

4 W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-liturgica*, Lambeth and Oxford, vol. I, 1901, pl. 6. 3 *B.H.L.* 1070.

The third part formed a volume in the library of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and is mentioned in the fourteenth-century catalogue.¹ The library shelf mark occurs on f. 175. Dr Craster suggests that this is from the same scriptorium as O₁.

8. O₅. Digby 20 (1621), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. 227 ff. 36 lines to the page. Single column. This MS consists of three separate books bound together, written in seven or eight different hands. The other contents are various astronomical and theological tracts. All three of these originally belonged to T. Allen.³ The Prose Life (ff. 194–222*b*), which forms the third part of the volume, is followed by the usual chapters from the *H.E.* together with five other miracles. This part is written in a small but well-formed hand of the early twelfth century, in single column with 36 lines to the page. After the preface one folio is missing and two other folios are missing between ff. 224 and 225. The first initial of the Prose Life contains a miniature of a scribe at work. It represents a monk in a green robe seated on a pile of large books dipping his pen into an ink-horn behind him, while the other hand is on the sheet of parchment before him which rests on a stand. There are other initials in green, red and purple with some ornamentation. Judging by its appearance it seems very probable that this part of the volume was written in Durham.

9. O₆. Digby 59 (1660), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁴ $7\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ in. 153 ff. 27 lines to the page. Single column. A nicely written MS in a hand of the late twelfth century. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1–45*b*), the usual two chapters from the *H.E.*, and seven other miracles, followed by ten chapters from the *Brevis Relatio*. It also contains an anonymous Life of Bede,⁶ Ailred of Rievaulx's Life of Edward the Confessor; and four visions extracted from the *H.E.* This MS once belonged to T. Allen.⁵

¹ M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 238 and 517.

² W. D. Macray, *Cat. cod. man. Bibl. Bodl. pars ix*, Oxford, 1883, p. 15.

³ See note 3, p. 22 above.

⁴ W. D. Macray, *op. cit.* p. 63.

⁵ See note 3, p. 22 above.

⁶ *B.H.L.* 1070.

10. O₇. Fell 3, from the Bodleian Library, Oxford. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. 115 ff. This MS, in a late eleventh-century or early twelfth-century hand, is written in single column with about 40 lines to the page up to f. 101*b*. Then it continues in double column with 48 lines to the page. It consists of a series of lives and passions of the saints, thirty in all, including Eddius Stephanus' Life of St Wilfrid. The Prose Life (ff. 57-76) is followed by the usual two chapters from the *H.E.* The MS once belonged to Salisbury, whence it was borrowed by Archbishop Usher in 1640 and afterwards deposited in the Bodleian Library. This, together with five other MSS, was subsequently borrowed by Dr Fell, Bishop of Oxford (*d.* 1686), and on his death returned to the library in the form of a bequest.¹

11. O₈. Laud Misc. 491 (1093), from the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. 173 ff. 21-22 lines to the page. Single column. A well-written MS dating from some time between 1153 and 1195. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1-66*b*), followed by the two chapters from the *H.E.*; a series of twenty-four miracles; and part of the *Brevis Relatio*. In addition to this there is the Preface to the Metrical Life; the Lives of St Oswald and St Aidan from Bede; a metrical prayer to St Cuthbert;³ and a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham as far as Hugo (*d.* 1195) (*cf.* p. 21 n. 5). Hugh Puiset's name is entered in the original hand and the years of his episcopate are added in a second hand. It has some very elaborate initials including some peculiar capital I's. The MS was probably written at Durham though it is not mentioned in the old catalogues. It once belonged to Leonard Pylkington, fourth prebendary of the seventh stall at Durham from 1567 to 1592.⁴

12. O₉. University College, Oxford, 165.⁵ 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 in. 202 ff. 24 lines to the page. Single column. An excellently written

¹ *Eddius*, p. xiv.

² H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS Bibl. Bodl.* II, 1858-85, cols. 352 ff.

³ Jaeger, p. 32.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*, *s.v.* and *Rites of Durham*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Surtees Soc. CVII, 1903, pp. 100 and 281.

⁵ H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie asservantur*, pt. I, Oxford, 1852, p. 45.

MS of the first half of the twelfth century, now kept in the Bodleian Library. It consists of 202 ff. and contains the Prose Life (ff. 1-130*b*), followed by the usual two chapters from the *H.E.*, seven miracles, and a Hymn to St Cuthbert.¹ This MS is beautifully illustrated throughout by delicate pen drawings in coloured ink, without washes of colour. These illustrations bear some resemblance to the miniatures in *Ad*₂ and it is quite possible that they derive from the same source. It is very likely that the MS came originally from the Durham Scriptorium,² though it is not mentioned in the old catalogues, and there may well have been a tradition of pictorial illustration of Cuthbert books at Durham. It possesses several marks of ownership³ but was finally, in 1666, in the possession of William Rogers of Painswick, Gloucestershire, who gave it to University College, Oxford.⁴

13. V. British Museum, Cotton. Vitellius A.xix.⁵ 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 114 ff. 22 lines to the page. Single column. A carefully written MS of the tenth century. On f. 8*b* is a purple panel on which is roughly scratched a figure, presumably St Cuthbert, with halo and ecclesiastical robes, in the act of blessing. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1*b*-7, 9-84*b*), followed by two chapters from the *H.E.* On ff. 7*b* and 8 are two poems in an eleventh-century hand. Cotton has written his name on f. 9. The MS also contains the Metrical Life. There is a gloss in a contemporary hand throughout, a few words being in Anglo-Saxon. There is also a gloss which adds various proper names, given in the Anonymous Life, but omitted by Bede in the Prose Life. These names seem to be eleventh-century additions. There are also marginal notes throughout in a hand of the seventeenth century.

¹ Printed from this MS by J. Raine in *Miscellanea Biographica*, Surtees Soc. viii, 1838, pp. 91-117.

² E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, pp. 37 and 87 and pl. 54*a*.

³ Namely, M. Lelonde; Joh. Theyer de Cowpers Hill iuxta Glouc.; Fulconis Wallwyn, ex dono John Daniell, Bachelor of Musick; Willielmi et Thomae Leigh.

⁴ Rev. J. T. Fowler, "On the St Cuthbert Window in York Minster", *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, iv, 1877, pp. 249 ff.

⁵ *A Cat. of the MSS in the Cott. Lib. in the Brit. Mus.* London, 1802, p. 381.

14. H. British Museum, Harleian MS 1117.¹ 10 × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 66 ff. 22 lines to the page. Single column. An eleventh-century MS of which the glosses are probably contemporary. There are several different hands in the course of the MS, but the Prose Life is in the same hand throughout and is probably copied from V (see p. 46 below). The contents include verses on the death and translation of St Edward of Shaftesbury; the Prose Life (ff. 2-40*b*), with the usual two chapters from the *H.E.*; the antiphonae for St Cuthbert's, St Benedict's, and St Guthlac's days; and the Metrical Life of St Cuthbert. The music for the office of St Benedict is marked in the Chartres notation, a form of notation found specially in MSS from the south of England.² It contains the name of John Antis on f. 1*b*.³

15. H₁. British Museum, Harleian MS 1924.⁴ 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 71 ff. 27 lines to the page. Single column. A twelfth-century MS, almost certainly originally a Durham book, though it is not apparently mentioned in any of the older catalogues. It contains part of the Prose Life only. Chapters 41 and 42 and 44-46 are missing. The Life occupies ff. 1-48*b*. The rest of the contents are eight miracles belonging to the post-humous miracles of the saint. According to a reference in the Harleian Catalogue, the book was annotated by Richard Bell, prior of Durham and afterwards bishop of Carlisle from 1478 to 1495. There seems to be no verifiable reason for this attribution, but the mark at the head of several folios ∴ *IHC* ∴ *maria* ∴ is the unmistakable sign of Thomas Gascoigne and most of the notes are certainly his.⁵

16. H₂. British Museum, Harleian MS 4843.⁶ 13 × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

1 *A Cat. of the Harl. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* I, London, 1808, p. 556.

2 H. Sunyol, *Introducció a la Paleografia musical*, Montserrat, 1925, p. 179 and pl. 62.

3 John Antis was a seventeenth- to eighteenth-century heraldic writer and Garter King at Arms. See *D.N.B.* s.v.

4 *A Cat. of the Harl. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* II, London, 1808, p. 349.

5 See *D.N.B.* s.v. I owe this information to Mr R. A. B. Mynors. Mr N. P. Ker has discovered that four odd leaves in MS Digby 41, ff. 91, 91*, 92, 101, containing a list of Durham relics and notes in Thomas Gascoigne's handwriting, originally belonged to this MS. See *British Museum Quarterly*, XII, 1938, p. 133.

6 *A Cat. of the Harl. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* III, London, 1808, p. 211. Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, p. xix. *Reginald of Durham*, ed. J. Raine, *Surtees Soc.* I, 1835, pp. xvii ff. H. H. E. Craster, "The Red Book of Durham", *E.H.R.* XI, 1925, p. 506.

276 ff. 44-46 lines to the page. Single column. A paper MS of the early sixteenth century, much of which seems to be a transcript from O₃. On f. 276*b* is the inscription "*Calamo Dompni Willelmi Tode Pingitur [?] iste libellus*", and near the end of the MS is a sermon on death which ends with the words "*Amen. dompnus Willelmus Tode anno Christi 1528*" (f. 262). William Tode or Tod was the first prebendary of the fifth stall in Durham in 1541.¹ The MS contains the Prose Life (ff. 13*b*-30), followed by the two chapters from the *H.E.*; twenty-two other miracles and the *Brevis Relatio*; the Metrical Life; the *Libellus* of Reginald of Durham; twelve miracles connected with Farne Island, apparently not found elsewhere;² the so-called Irish Life; the Life of William Carilef; and of Bartholomew (as in O₃); a list of churches in England dedicated to St Cuthbert;³ inscriptions beneath the figures of kings and bishops in front of the entrance to the choir;⁴ a poem on the life of St Cuthbert, and the history of Durham down to the battle of Neville's Cross; and some verses on St Cuthbert by Johannes Alt dedicated to Prior Castell of Durham (1494-1519).⁵ On the last folio of the MS occur the names of William Hacfurth and Johannes Eyrson in sixteenth-century handwriting.

17. AR₁. Arundel 222 in the British Museum.⁶ 9 × 6½ in. 166 ff. About 28 lines to the page. Double columns. This is a nicely written thirteenth-century MS. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1-34*b*) and the usual two miracles from the *H.E.*, William of Malmesbury's *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, and the miracles of St Andrew by Gregory of Tours.

18. AR₂. Arundel 332 in the British Museum.⁷ 7½ × 4¼ in. 234 ff. 40 lines to the page. Double columns. This MS is in

1 Cf. *Wills and Inventories*, Surtees Soc. II, 1835, p. 269 and note. *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Soc. CVII, 1903, pp. 99 and 280.

2 See Craster, *loc. cit.* p. 506, n. 2.

3 See *Transactions of Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Association*, VII, pt. II, Durham, 1936, pp. 169 ff., for a longer Durham version.

4 Other versions of this are found in MS Harl. 367, f. 76, and in Durham Cosin's Library, B.II.2, printed in the *Rites of Durham*, *op. cit.* pp. 137 ff.

5 For an account of both these sets of verses see Jaeger, pp. 11 and 13.

6 *Cat. of MSS in the Brit. Mus.* New Series, I, pt. I (Arundel MSS), London, 1834, p. 64. W. Stubbs, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Gesta regum*, I, Rolls Series, 1887, pp. cxxf. and *Neues Archiv*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 249 f.

7 *Cat. of MSS in the Brit. Mus.* New Series, I, pt. I (Arundel MSS), London, 1834, pp. 97 f.

a hand of the thirteenth century and contains various theological and mathematical tracts, including some by Johannes de Sacro Bosco (John Holywood).¹ Then comes the Prose Life (ff. 74-101*b*), followed by the usual two chapters from the *H.E.*, twenty-two miracles of St Cuthbert and the *Brevis Relatio*. The first few lines of the Prose Life are missing as a result of certain folios containing the "Irish" Life having been cut out. Then follow Bonaventura's *Summa de fide Christiana*, and various verses on theological and medical subjects. There is a note preceding the Prose Life in a seventeenth-century hand to the effect that the "Irish" Life has been cut out. The book once belonged to William Hertypulle, a Durham monk, and afterwards to the Durham Library. It probably comes from the Durham Scriptorium, and with the exception of the fly-leaves of the codex is in the same hand throughout. It does not seem to be mentioned in the old Durham catalogues.

19. Oth. British Museum Cotton. Otho D.viii.² 9 × 5½ in. Approx. 269 ff. 38 lines to the page. Double columns. This is a late twelfth-century legendary which was almost destroyed in the great fire of 1731. The scraps preserved, which were carefully backed and pasted together, show a table of contents and a calendar followed by the legendary consisting of twenty-four lives and passions of saints. The Life appears on ff. 148-168*b*. Certain other items in a later hand appear after the legendary, including the Annals of Nicholas Trivet to the year 1307, a catalogue of English kings and the Ramsey Chronicle from 1341 to the death of Richard II, and a "cronicon lyrice a Bruto ad annum Domini 1388", all now in a fragmentary condition.

20. Cl. British Museum, Cotton. Claudius A.i.³ 9 × 7 in. 152 ff. 34 lines to the page. Single column. This is a mixed codex containing pieces of various dates. It once contained 154 ff., though two of these are now missing. The first piece is Fridegoda's Life of St Wilfrid followed by thirteenth- and

¹ See *D.N.B. s.v.*

² *A Cat. of the MSS in the Cott. Lib. in the Brit. Mus.* London, 1802, p. 369, where the codex is described as "The remains of a MS on vellum in small folio, which once consisted of 267 [actually 269] leaves, now burnt to a crust and preserved in a case". See also W. Levison, *Script. rerum Merov.* vii, p. 602.

³ *A Cat. of the MSS in the Cott. Lib. in the Brit. Mus.* p. 188.

fourteenth-century letters. The second part consists of lives of saints, eleven items in all, followed by the Prose Life (ff. 123 b–152 b) together with the two chapters from the *H.E.* written in a twelfth-century hand. It is headed by a title in Joscelyn's hand and has notes by him throughout. It is a curious coincidence that the catchword of the second folio of the life (f. 126) is "sime ea quae paruuli", the same as C₃ (see p. 21 above), but it is not likely that this was ever the second folio of the MS. There is indeed no doubt that C₃ and not this MS is the one mentioned in the 1391 Durham catalogue.

21. Ad₁. British Museum, Add. 35110.¹ 11½ × 7½ in. 187 ff. 32 lines to the page. Double columns. This MS of the late twelfth century is described on f. 2 b as "Liber fratrum heremitarum ord. Sci. Augustini de Novo Castro" (Newcastle-upon-Tyne), and was probably written at Durham. It contains a Life of St Augustine from various sources, the Prose Life (ff. 30 b–61), followed by twenty-two miracles and the *Brevis Relatio*. Then comes a list of bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham ending with Hugo (*d.* 1195), the Life of St Columba by Adamnan,² Bede's Lives of King Oswald and St Aidan, and Ailred of Rievaulx's Life of Edward the Confessor. The MS once belonged to Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton, and afterwards to Sir Thomas Phillipps (no. 26075); and was acquired by the British Museum in 1897.

22. Ad₂. British Museum, Add. 39943.³ 5¾ × 3¾ in. 150 ff. originally. 23 lines to the page. Single column. This exquisite MS of the late twelfth century has been very often described and its miniatures reproduced. It possesses forty-five full-page miniatures and the remains of one other, out of a probable

¹ *Cat. of Additions to the MSS in the Brit. Mus. in the years 1894–1899*, London, 1901, pp. 160 ff. Cf. also p. 21 n. 5 above.

² Gertrud Brüning, "Adamnans Vita Columbae und ihre Ableitungen", Dissertation, Bonn, 1916, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, xi, pp. 219 f. Neither Reeves nor Fowler seems to have known of the existence of this MS.

³ *Cat. of Additions to the Brit. Mus. 1916–20*, London, 1933, pp. 262 ff. See also James Raine, *St Cuthbert*, Durham, 1828, p. iv. Rev. J. T. Fowler, *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, iv, 1877, pp. 249 ff. W. Forbes-Leith, *The Life of St Cuthbert*, Edinburgh, 1888 (reproductions of some of the miniatures). J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated MSS*, London, 1911, p. 140. E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated MSS*, Paris-Brussels, 1926, pp. 36 f. and 87, and pl. 52. Schenkl, no. 4757.

total of fifty-five. The removal of some of the miniatures has led of course to gaps in the text as well. The MS was doubtless executed in the Durham Scriptorium and is mentioned in the old Durham catalogues of 1391 and 1416, where it is described as "Vita Sancti Cuthberti et miracula eiusdem curiose illuminata. ii fo. dubiorum".¹ The 1416 catalogue notes that it had been in the possession of Richard le Scrope, archbishop of York, who was executed in 1405. It is usually supposed that the miniatures were intended to serve the artist who was commissioned to design the famous Cuthbert windows in York Minster, but there is little evidence of his having used them. On the other hand, the paintings illustrating the life of St Cuthbert on the backs of the stalls of Carlisle Cathedral show very clear and obvious signs of the influence of the miniatures from this MS. There is no doubt in my mind that the artist had the MS before him when he was painting the stalls.² In the early eighteenth century it was in the possession of John Forcer of Harbour House, Durham (see p. 54 below). It afterwards came into the possession of the Lawson family of Brough Hall who were related by marriage to the Durham Forcers; it was bought by Mr H. Yates Thompson in 1906 in the sale of Sir John Lawson's library and was acquired by the British Museum in 1920. The MS contains the Prose Life (ff. 2b-82b); the usual two miracles from the *H.E.*; and twenty-five other miracles followed by the *Brevis Relatio*. It also contains an account of the early provosts of Hexham.³

23. Du. Durham Cathedral Chapter Library, A.iv.35.⁴ 6 x 4 in. 158 ff. 24 lines to the page. Single column. This MS of the late twelfth century is beautifully written and almost certainly comes from the Durham Scriptorium. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 3-65b), twenty-one miracles and the *Brevis Relatio*, as well as the Lives of St Oswald and St Aidan. The book is mentioned in the 1391 and 1416 Durham cata-

¹ *Catt. Vett.* pp. 29, 107.

² For further details see: B. Colgrave, "The St Cuthbert Paintings on the Carlisle Cathedral Stalls", *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII, 1938, pp. 17ff., and "The history of MS. B.M. Add. 39,943". *E.H.R.* LIV, 1939, Oct.

³ Printed by J. Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, 1, Surtees Soc. XLIV, 1864, App. p. vii.

⁴ *Durham University Journal*, XXX, 1936, pp. 1 ff.

logues,¹ where it is described as "Liber de Vita Sancti Cuthberti, Sancti Oswaldi et Sancti Aydani, ii fo. gacionis. Est liber specialis et preciosus cum singnaculo deaurato". It has several beautifully designed and illuminated initials in the text. A remarkable feature of this MS is that its edges are decorated with paintings of St Oswald, crowned and bearing his sceptre, on the top edge; St Cuthbert in his robes on the fore-edge; and St Aidan on the bottom edge. The painting of the edges is of doubtful date but possibly fourteenth-century and doubtless some of the earliest fore-edge painting known. The MS was bought for the Durham Chapter Library in 1936 and has recently been rebound, though the older sixteenth-century binding has been preserved in the Library.

24. Li. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, B.1.9.² 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 11 in. 181 ff. 47 lines to the page. Double columns. This is a well-written MS of the thirteenth century, one of two volumes of lives and passions of the saints, which together cover the whole year. Both volumes once belonged to Michael Honeywood, dean of Lincoln from 1660 to 1681,³ and are mentioned in the catalogue of his own books, where they are described as "*Vitae Sanctorum per Aurelianum*,⁴ 2 vols. Fol. H II.12". The MS has Honeywood's initials on f. 1. It consists of fifty-eight items in all, including a number of English and British saints. The Prose Life occurs on ff. 106-114. It is not complete, various chapters having been omitted to shorten it while preserving the main thread of the Life.⁵

25. Cm. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Publique 816(721).⁶ 11 × 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. 443 ff. 36-39 lines to the page. Double columns. A paper MS of the fifteenth century. It bears the mark of the library of the Abbey of the Holy Sepulchre of Cambrai where

¹ *Catt. Vett.* pp. 30, 107.

² R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the MSS of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Oxford, 1927, pp. xix, 102 ff. *Script. rerum Merov.* vii, pp. 598 f.

³ See *D.N.B.* s.v.

⁴ Possibly the description *per Aurelianum* is due to the second Life of St Martialis written by the Pseudo-Aurelianus (*B.H.L.* vol. II, no. 5552) which is found in the second volume of the legendary, Lincoln, B.1.16 (Woolley, *op. cit.* p. 111).

⁵ The missing chapters are 5, 7, 8, 11-15, 21, 26-28, 30-33, 35, 43, 45, 46.

⁶ *Cat. Gén.* xvii, Paris, 1891, xi, pp. 301 ff. *Script. rerum Merov.* vii, pp. 570 f.

the compilation was probably made during the fifteenth century, a period when studies seem to have flourished greatly in the monastery. It is a compilation of lives, passions and translations of saints, ninety-five in number, the first seven being lives of saints of the name of William. The Prose Life (ff. 153-175) is followed by an account of the translation of St Cuthbert in 1104 and the *Brevis Commemoratio* of Bede (*B.H.L.* 1071). There is more than one handwriting, a distinct change taking place after f. 224*b*.

26. Dj₁. Dijon, Bibliothèque Publique 574(334).¹ 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. 116 ff. 36 lines to the page. Double columns. A MS of the twelfth century (before 1171). It is bound in calf and bears the arms of the Abbey of Cîteaux. It contains Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the Prose Life (ff. 81-99*b*) followed by the usual two miracles from the *H.E.*, nine other miracles and seventeen chapters from the *Brevis Relatio*. The last three items are concerned with Thomas à Becket and are written in single column in a slightly later hand.

27. Dj₂. Dijon, Bibliothèque Publique 657(396).² 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 in. 66 ff. 47 lines to the page. Double columns. A MS of the early thirteenth century. The handwriting is English in appearance and the MS possibly came from the Durham Scriptorium, though it does not seem to be mentioned in the old catalogues. The book bears the arms of the Abbey of Cîteaux, and in the catalogue drawn up in 1480 by the well-known Abbot Jean de Cirey this MS is mentioned, though Dj₁ is not. It contains the Prose Life of St Cuthbert (ff. 1*b*-17*b*), the usual chapters from the *H.E.*, and twenty-two other miracles followed by the *Brevis Relatio*. It also contains the Lives of St Aidan and St Oswald from Bede, as well as the offices for the feasts of St Cuthbert and St Oswald; a catalogue of relics in the church at Durham; a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham down to Philip (*d.* 1208); a Life of St Godric and a Life of St Bartholomew, both by Galfridus.³ The catalogue

¹ *Cat. Gén.* v, Paris, 1889, p. 142. ² *Ibid.* v, pp. 191 f., and p. 21 n. 5 above.

³ The name is no longer legible in the MS but it is clearly legible in the other MSS (O₃ and H₂) where the latter Life occurs. For further particulars concerning this Galfridus see Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, p. xl. It was this MS which was used by the Bollandists for those Lives.

of relics and the offices for the feasts of St Oswald and St Cuthbert bear a close relationship to those in C₃ (see p. 21 above).

28. La. Laon, Bibliothèque Publique 163 *bis*.¹ 12¼ × 8¾ in. 193 ff. 30 lines to the page. Double columns. A twelfth-century MS. The codex bears the stamp of the Abbey of Vauclair. It contains four books of the Dialogues of Gregory; the Prose Life (ff. 91–123 *b*) followed by the usual chapters from the *H.E.*; and twenty-six chapters of miracles, consisting of the same seventeen chapters from the *Brevis Relatio* and nine other miracles as the rest of the Bz group; a *Brevis Commemoratio* of Bede; Bede's Lives of St Aidan and St Oswald; and Eadmer's Life and Miracles of St Dunstan (*B.H.L.* 2346).

29. P₁. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 5362.² 9 × 6 in. 126 ff. 26 lines to the page. Single column. A twelfth-century MS. The first three folios are badly discoloured and illegible in places. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1–51 *b*) followed by the usual chapters from the *H.E.*; and another miracle which forms the last part of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* of which the last paragraph occurs only here and in O₄. It also contains the Lives of Edmund, Oswald, Birinus, Aethelwold, Aethilthryth; the Translation of St Swithin and the Lives of St John, abbot of Reome, St Margaret and St Austreberta. It will be seen that the majority of these are English saints and the handwriting too is English, so that it is probable that the MS is from England.

30. P₂. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 2475.³ 12¾ × 9 in. 208 ff. 32 lines to the page. Double columns. A thirteenth-century MS. It contains some writings of Anselm followed by his Life; a Life and Miracles of St Dunstan; the Prose Life (ff. 142–167) followed by the Life and Translation of St Aelfheah; Eadmer's Life of St Odo and Abbo of Fleury's Life of St Edmund; lections for the feast of St Alban; a Life of Bede (*B.H.L.* 1070); and the Metrical Life of St Mary of Egypt. The MS is probably of English origin.

1 *Cat. Gén.* (4°), I, Paris, 1849, p. 122.

2 *Cat. Cod. Hag. Lat. Paris*, II, Brussels, 1890, pp. 354 ff.

3 *Ibid.* I, Brussels, 1889, pp. 127 f.

31. P₃. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 5348.¹ 14 × 10 in. 151 ff. 36 lines to the page. Double columns. A thirteenth-century MS. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 32–57) followed by the usual two chapters from the *H.E.*; the Life and Miracles of St Leonard and St Brendan, St Dunstan and St Anselm, together with various extracts from Bede's *H.E.* concerning other saints, as for example St Germanus of Auxerre. The MS is probably of English origin.

32. M. Montpellier, Library of the School of Medicine, Codex 1, Tomus quintus.² 20 × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. 183 ff. 46 lines to the page. Double columns. This is the second volume of a great Clairvaux legendary which consisted of eight volumes written in the late twelfth century. When the Clairvaux library was broken up at the end of the eighteenth century, the first volume of this great legendary was lost, the third left at Troyes and the rest deposited in the Library of the School of Medicine, and inscribed in the catalogue in the wrong order. Thus this volume was originally volume II and consisted of lives of saints whose festivals fell in February and March. This legendary is far and away the most outstanding of those written in France. The Prose Life appears on ff. 142–167, followed by twenty-eight chapters of miracles identical with the rest of the Bz group of MSS, and the *Brevis Commemoratio* of Bede. The thirty-four other items are all concerned with the lives, passions and miracles of saints whose feasts occur in February and March.

33. Bn. Berne, Stadtbibliothek 392.³ 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 in. 52 ff. 30–37 lines to the page. Single column. This is a twelfth-century codex. It once belonged to the Abbey of St Victor in Paris and contains the shelf number BBB7 on the first folio. It came later on into the possession of Jacques Bongars (1554–1613), and so through the hands of Jacques Gravisset to the University Library at Berne in 1631. Only part of the St Cuthbert Life is contained in it. The Prose Life originally occupied from

¹ *Cat. Cod. Hag. Lat. Paris*, II, Brussels, 1890, p. 295.

² *Anal. Boll.* xxxiv/v, 1915/16, pp. 237f. *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, pp. 547ff., 626ff.

³ H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium*, Berne, 1875, p. 360. See also p. 52 below and B. Colgrave and I. Masson, "The Editio Princeps of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, and its Printer's XII Century 'Copy.'" *The Library*, XIX, 1938, pp. 289ff.

ff. 2-35*b* as shown by the fifteenth-century index on f. 16, but now ff. 24-35 are missing. It must have been complete in 1563, for it was this MS which Hervagius used in that year for printing the first edition (see p. 51 below). The Life now reaches only as far as c. 28 and is very carelessly written. It is followed by the account of the Translation, after which come some extracts from Augustine's *City of God*. From the index we learn that there were originally 97 folios, the rest of the codex being devoted to a "hystoria regum britanniae maioris ab eorum exordio".

34. Go. Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek I.81.¹ 12½ × 9¼ in. 230 ff. 48 lines to the page. Double columns. This codex, written in a clear hand of the second half of the fourteenth century, consists of 43 lives of saints, all of them, except two, being of English or Celtic extraction. The Prose Life occupies ff. 64-80*b*. It is followed by four miracles, four chapters from the *Brevis Relatio* and a list of bishops of Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street and Durham. The lives are roughly grouped as follows: first of all is a series of kings, then a series of bishops, followed by a group of saints connected with south-west England and south Wales, and lastly a series of women, queens and abbesses. A few of the lives have got out of order. The separate group devoted to the south-west suggests that the MS itself derives from somewhere in that district.

The MS is a very remarkable one and contains the lives of a number of English, Welsh and Cornish saints which do not occur elsewhere and which, until attention was called to this MS, were only known by the epitomes in John Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae*.²

35. W. Wolfenbüttel, Herzogliche Bibliothek 2738 (76, 14 Aug. fol.).³ 11¼ × 7¾ in. 184 ff. 71 lines to the page. Double

¹ Fr. Jacobs and F. A. Ukert, *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur*, III, 2, Leipzig, 1843, pp. 271-2, where there is only a summary and somewhat inaccurate account of the MS. I have not seen this MS myself but I am greatly indebted to Professor Max Förster of Munich for a description on which the above account is based. Cf. also p. 21 n. 5 above.

² As this MS is at present (June 1938) being examined by the Bollandists I refrain from giving a list of contents. The Bollandists intend in due course to publish such a list together with a selection of the more important texts.

³ O. v. Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Abt. II, Augusteische Handschriften, III, Wolfenbüttel, 1898, pp. 396ff. Cc. 2, 8-40 and the beginnings of cc. 41 and 42 are missing.

columns. This codex consists of two parts bound together; the first part on parchment is twelfth century, while the second part on paper dates from the fifteenth century. The first part is written in a very small hand. It contains a number of important historical pieces concerned chiefly with Metz and Cologne.¹ Only a few fragments of the Prose Life are found in this codex, on ff. 34*b*-36. The two parts of the codex seem to have been first united in the seventeenth century when they received their present binding.

36. Bo. Bollandist Library, Brussels, 353.² $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. 169 ff. 32 lines to the page. Single column. The earlier part of this codex is in a hand of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. It contains the Prose Life (ff. 1-34) followed by the same set of miracles as in the rest of the Bz group. The latter part of the codex contains a Life of Bishop Odo of Cambrai, and extracts from patristic writings in a contemporary hand. There is also a Life of St Rombaut (ff. 105-111) in a late fourteenth-century hand. The codex was presented to the Bollandists in 1844 by Charles, Comte de l'Escalopier.

37. Vn. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 9394.³ $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. 264 ff. 42-44 lines to the page. Double columns. This codex of the fifteenth century is partly on vellum and partly on paper. It formerly belonged to the private library of the Emperor of Austria, to whom it was given along with other MSS in 1803. It is written by various hands. It is a legendary containing altogether fifty items of which the Prose Life occupies ff. 95-97. Only a small part of the Life is found in this codex, sufficient extracts from chapters 36-40 to form a summary account of the death and burial of the saint. The legendary comes from the monastery of Rouge-Cloître near Brussels, and is probably the one mentioned in a catalogue of the library of that house still preserved in the Emperor of Austria's collection, MS 9373.

38. Va. Vatican Library, Codices Reginae Sueciae 483.⁴ $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ in. 180 ff. 27 lines to the page. Single column. This codex, written in a beautifully clear hand of the thirteenth

¹ Cf. *M.G. Script.* iv, 1841, p. 253. Many of the pieces referred to above are printed in this volume.

² *Anal. Boll.* xxiv, 1905, p. 452.

³ *Ibid.* xiv, 1895, pp. 257ff.

⁴ A. Poncellet, *Cat. Cod. Hag. Lat. Bibl. Vat.* Brussels, 1910, p. 330.

century, contains a Life and Miracles of St Dunstan; the Prose Life (ff. 59–99b) followed by the same selection of miracles as in the rest of the Bz group; the *Brevis Commemoratio* of Bede; the Lives of St Aidan and St Oswald from Bede; the prayer of St Anselm; finishing up with an altercation between a Jew and a Christian concerning the Catholic faith, dedicated to Alexander Bishop of Lincoln. This MS once belonged to Paul Petau (1568–1614),¹ a counsellor in the Parliament of Paris (1588), who possessed a large number of MSS which had originally belonged to French churches and monasteries.²

LOST MANUSCRIPTS

1. In the 1561 catalogue of MSS from Fulda, of which the most important copy is still at Fulda, there is an entry under IV.2.14: "Idem (Beda) de s. Gutberto." This may possibly be the Prose Life. The other Life of St Cuthbert entered under IV.4.14 is the Metrical Life (Karl Christ, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrh.* Beiheft LXIV zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Leipzig, 1933, pp. 257, 258; cf. pp. 143, 301).

2. In the 1461 catalogue of the Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen appears the entry under R.14, "Beda de vita Cudeberti". This is probably the Prose Life, as in the same catalogue a Metrical Life of St Cuthbert is distinguished by the addition of "metrum" (P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 1, Munich, 1918, p. 114). In a catalogue of the middle of the ninth century of the library of St Gallen occurs, "Item de miraculis Gudberti episcopi et Althelmi de laude uirginum liber 1". But this is probably the same book as the one described in the 1461 catalogue (Gottlieb, 1387), where it is clearly the Metrical Life that is referred to (P. Lehmann, *op. cit.* pp. 74, 108).

3. In a tenth-century catalogue at Bobbio occurs the entry "296. libros de vita patrum. . . ex his habetur vita Gutbercti" (G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, p. 68).

1 I am indebted to Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., for this information.

2 On the MSS of Paul Petau see L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 1, Paris, 1868, pp. 287ff.

4. In the same catalogue, in the "Breve de libris Theodori presbyteri"¹: "572. de vita sancti Gutberti liber" (G. Becker, *op. cit.* p. 72).

5. In a tenth-century catalogue at Lorsch appears, under item 38, "item regula sancti Benedicti et vita sancti Chutberti et hymni et annales (*sic*) in uno codice". And again item 280, "item vita sancti Cuthberti et regula sancti Benedicti et annalis in uno codice". The same MS appears also in another catalogue of the same monastery and apparently of the same date (G. Becker, *op. cit.* pp. 82, 100, 121).

6. A late twelfth-century catalogue of Whitby gives a "vita Cuthberti" among its items. This catalogue is contained in the Whitby register and quoted by Young in his history of Whitby (G. Young, *A History of Whitby and Streonshalh Abbey*, II, Whitby, 1817, pp. 918-920 and G. Becker, *op. cit.* p. 227).

7 and 8. In a twelfth-century catalogue of Durham books occur two "Vitae Sancti Cuthberti", one under the heading of "Libri Willelmi de Nunnewick", the other under the heading of "Libri Thomae Prioris" (*Catt. Vett.* pp. 8, 9).

9. In the Durham catalogue of 1391 under "Vitae Sanctorum" appears the entry: "E. Liber de Vita et miraculis Beati Cuthberti. Tractatus ex quatuor libris historiae gentis Anglorum. ii. fo. de vita et virtutibus" (*op. cit.* p. 30).

10. In the 1395 catalogue under "Legendae seu Vitae Sanctorum" appears the entry: "M. Vita Sancti Cuthberti. Vita Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martiris. Vita Sancti Aydani, cum quibusdam Miraculis ejusdem Sancti Patris Cuthberti. ii. fo. facere quia" (*op. cit.* p. 55). The same entry occurs also in an undated fourteenth-century list of books used in the refectory (*op. cit.* p. 80).

11. In the same catalogue is a list of books belonging to Henry Helaugh, sent to Stamford in 1422, of which one of the items is: "Vita Sancti Cuthberti. ii. fo. principium" (*op. cit.* p. 116).

12. On a fly-leaf of one of the MSS in the Durham Chapter Library (A.iii.16) is the entry: "Hii sunt libri magistri Roberti

¹ See Giov. Mercati, "Prolegomena de fatis bibliothecae monasterii S. Columbani Bobiensis", *Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi*, xxiii, Rome, 1934, pp. 34 ff.

de Aedingtona repositi apud Sanctum Victorem... Liber de vita et miraculis sancti Cuthberti." The date of this entry is probably about 1200.

13. In a catalogue of books of Durham College, Oxford (ca. 1400), preserved in the Durham Muniments (Durham, Repertorium Magnum, 2^a, 6^{ae}, Ebor. No. 5) occurs the entry: "Vita Sancti Cuthberti".

14 and 15. John Boston, a fifteenth-century monk of Bury, in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae* records two copies of the Prose Life, one at Bury St Edmunds and one at Exeter. He got the latter from the *Registrum Librorum Angliae*, an early Franciscan Bibliography of the English monastic houses, which is still extant in Bodley Tanner 165 and Peterhouse (Cambridge) 163, and in which the Exeter copy is the only MS of the Life recorded. To this, as his custom was, he added a reference to his own library at Bury (John Boston, *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae*, partially published in D. Wilkins' edition of Thomas Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. xxix. I am also indebted to Mr R. A. B. Mynors for further information).

16. In a catalogue dating from the thirteenth century of an anonymous English library in B.M. Harl. 50, f. 48^b occurs as item 54, "Vita Cuitberti", possibly the Prose Life (H. Omont, "Anciens catalogues de Bibliothèques anglaises", *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IX, 1892, p. 204).

17. In a catalogue of MSS from Corbie dating from about 1200 occurs the entry: "264, sancti Cu(t)berti et alia passio Sebastiani. vita Alexis. passio Blasii. vita Thebaldi. passio Viti, Modesti, Crescentie, Cirici et Iulite" (G. Becker, *op. cit.* p. 284).

18. In a fourteenth-century MS catalogue of the library of the monastery of Rievaulx occurs: "I. Beda de vita sancti Cuthberti et Cuthbertus de transitu sancti Bede in uno volumine" (Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, London, 1859, p. 337).

19. Montfaucon gives a list of books of Alexander Petau in the Vatican Library which includes "Cutberti episcopi miracula", 1285, 113, 115, 118 (B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, I, Paris, 1739, pp. 42, 75).

Only one now remains in the Vatican Library (presumably the first of these). It is MS Reg. Succ. 483 (Va), cf. Montfaucon, *op. cit.* p. 42.

20. Montfaucon quotes a MS catalogue in the Royal Library, Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), no. 10284, which gives a list of MSS in the monastery of St Victor at Paris. In this is the entry: "Cuthberti vita et miracula". It is possible that this may be Bn, which was once in this monastery (see p. 36 above. Montfaucon, *op. cit.* II, p. 1370).

21. In a catalogue of the cathedral library of Cologne dated 833 occurs the entry 88: "Vita sancti Chutberti in quaternione uno" (Anton Decker, *Die Hildebold'sche Manuskriptensammlung des Kölner Domes*, Festschrift der 43. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner dargeboten von den höheren Lehranstalten Kölns, Bonn, 1895, p. 227. As to the date of the catalogue, see Paul Lehmann, "Erzbischof Hildebold und die Dombibliothek von Köln", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxv, 1908, pp. 153-8).

22. In a fourteenth-century catalogue of Melsa (Meaux Abbey near Beverley) (Brit. Mus. Cotton. Vit. C. 6) occurs the entry: "vita beati Gregorii Papae in quo vitae sanctorum Silvestri, Cuthberti, Martini, Albani, Germani, Leonardi et Hugonis Lincolniensis" (*Chronica Monasteria de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, Rolls Series, III, 1868, p. xcvi).

23 and 24. A catalogue of MSS of the monastery at Glastonbury dated 1247 contains on folio 103: "Vita sancti Cutberti". And below: "Item vita sancti Cutberti" (*Johannis Glastoniensis Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1726, p. 437).

25 to 27. In the edition of the Prose Life published by the Bollandists the editor states that three MSS have been used all of which have apparently since been lost (see p. 53); these are a very ancient MS belonging to themselves, a MS from Bonnefontaine and a third from Utrecht, which is described as being "contractus" (*AA.SS. Mart.* III, p. 95. Cf. also Levison in *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, pp. 539ff.; but see Addenda below).

28. Mabillon in his edition used a MS from Compiègne which has also apparently now disappeared (Mab. *AA.SS. Saec.* II, p. 841. Cf. also Levison, *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, p. 543).

THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

A. THE ANONYMOUS LIFE

The seven MSS of the Anonymous Life divide themselves into three main groups, consisting of O₁, O₂ and A (group X) on the one hand, and H and B (group Y) on the other. Midway between these two groups stand T and P. The distinction between groups X and Y is very strongly marked. H and B both go back to a common ancestor, a legendary composed apparently some time in the twelfth century in the diocese of Trier.¹ The compiler of this parent legendary treated his exemplar in a summary manner, occasionally missing out a whole sentence, particularly in order to avoid the name of a person or place which he presumes will be of no interest to his hearers or readers. Thus in II, 3, p. 78, he omits the sentence giving the name of Plecgils as a witness to a miracle. And again in IV, 3, p. 114, the name of Aldfrith's *gesith* and the region where he lived are both omitted, and also the name *Bedesfeld*, IV, 4, p. 116; *Medilwong*, IV, 6, p. 118; and the name of his foster-mother Kenswith and the village of *Hruringaham* in II, 7, pp. 88, 90. In IV, 12, p. 128 the name of *Walhstod* is omitted in both MSS; and the name of the river *Tweed* near which *Sibba*, thane of *Ecgrith*, lived in IV, 7, p. 120. /

On the other hand, T and P both agree in many respects with the Y group, and there are about one hundred and fifty variations of spelling, word-order, or syntactical forms in which T and P agree with H and B against the X group. The main feature of agreement common to this group is the fact that they all omit the first part of the preface entitled "*De prohemio oboediendi*", beginning with the second part, the "*De praefatione scribendi*". T and P agree together comparatively rarely against H and B, while far more frequently P agrees with H and B where T does not. P is therefore nearer to the Y group than T. It must be noted, however, that P is a carelessly written MS

¹ *Script. rerum Merov.* VII, p. 537.

and has many readings peculiar to itself which are often no more than obvious scribal errors, though not all its variants come under this head. T, also, has a fair number of peculiar readings of its own. It seems likely that P and T go back to an exemplar or exemplars closely associated with the exemplar from which H and B were derived.

O₁, O₂ and A form a distinct and closely connected group. In the first place they all have the first part of the preface entitled, "*De prohemio oboediendi*", and all agree in many places in variants differing from the other four MSS. At first sight O₁ and A seem to be more closely connected. They agree frequently in their readings when O₂ has some other reading. Thus in I, 2, p. 62, both read *uoluisset* where O₂ reads *uoluit*. In I, 6, p. 70, both read *Kuncacester*, while O₂ reads *Kunmacester*. In the same chapter, p. 70, both read *panne linea*, while O₂, with all the other MSS, reads *panno lineo*. In IV, 13, p. 130, there is a form *incompactibilem* in O₁, which occurs also in A, while O₂ with the rest has the more correct form *incompactibile*. In IV, 14, p. 132, the form *eleuatis eum* occurs in O₁, a form which probably occurred in the original exemplar of this group. This will not make sense and A, seeing the difficulty, has changed it to *eleuantis eum*. A further attempt at correction occurs in O₂ in the form of *eleuatus enim*, while the rest have what was probably the correct reading, *eleuantes eum*. But a closer study will show that many of these readings are later corrections, as for instance the reading *panno lineo* mentioned above: and the many obvious mistakes which O₁ and O₂ have in common prove conclusively that they go back to the same exemplar.

It seems possible that A may have had a slightly more correct exemplar than O₁ or O₂. Thus in IV, 5, p. 116, both O₁ and O₂ read *Uel*, where A and all the other MSS read *Luel*, the first letter having been lost in the exemplar to which O₁ and O₂ originally go back. In the same way in IV, 9, p. 124, O₁ and O₂ have *Lues* where A reads *Luel* with the rest. Further, in IV, 8, p. 122 O₁ and O₂ read *mirabile* where A, with the rest of the MSS, reads more correctly *miserabile*. In II, 3, p. 78, O₁ reads *Plecgilf*, while A reads *Plecgils*, a much more likely form. And, again, both O₁ and O₂ agree in the omission of *querens* in IV, 9,

p. 124, while A with the rest of the MSS correctly inserts it. It is clear therefore that these three MSS go back to the same exemplar, though not directly. It was an exemplar in which the runic letters ρ , β and α were used, for all these letters occur in all three MSS in proper names and place names. The differences are sufficiently explained by suggesting that O_1 and O_2 are both copies of one exemplar, which was probably itself a copy of the archetype. A is perhaps a second copy of the archetype which has survived. The considerable omissions which occur in both O_2 and A are due to losses which were sustained in the later history of the MSS.

O_1 has been chosen as the basis of the text of the Anonymous Life, because it is the oldest MS. Had A been complete it would probably have been a more satisfactory MS to use as a basis. But of the complete MSS none can rival O_1 in nearness to the original and in correctness, as a study of the variants will speedily show. In editing this MS and also the MS on which the edition of the Prose Life is based, I have preserved the spelling and capitals of the original except where noted in the footnotes. Capitals have also been added in the case of proper names and titles of God. The punctuation of the Anonymous Life represents that of O_1 .

B. BEDE'S PROSE LIFE

The thirty-six MSS of the Prose Life (not counting the Wolfenbüttel and Vienna fragments) divide themselves into two main groups, A and B, one of which (A) consists of C_1 , V, H, A_{r1} , O_7 , P_1 , and P_3 ; while the other group consists of the other twenty-nine. The first of these groups omits passages which are shorter or longer in extent. In chapter 5, p. 168, the words *uiam petiit ieiunus* are omitted in each of these MSS. Other omissions found are chapter 3, p. 164, *relatione didici sese haec*, though the passage has been inserted above in V and in the text in A_{r1} ; chapter 7, p. 178, *aliquando quidem palam*; chapter 8, p. 182, *celauit, ipsum uero abbatem suum non ea*; chapter 10, p. 190, *ac uillo satagebant extergere*; chapter 16, p. 212, *imitaretur*.

ipse quod ageret; chapter 18, p. 218, *tibracis quas pellicias habere solebat, sic menses perduraret integros. Aliquando etiam calciatus.* These are the chief passages in which the above seven MSS of the A group vary from the rest. In Ar₁ a MS of the B group has been used to fill in omissions and in most cases, though not all, the correction is made in a later hand either by erasing a line or two of the original text and filling in the passage, together with the original omission, in a closer hand, or else by adding it in the margin or at the bottom of the page.

In this smaller group there are two distinct subgroups consisting of (Am) C₁, V, H, Ar₁, on the one hand; and (An) O₇, P₁, and P₃ on the other. There are certain omissions in the first subgroup (Am) which do not occur in the other (An). The most important is the passage in chapter 35 where in the Am group the whole passage between *biberet* in line 6 and *biberet* in line 18 has been omitted. Other passages are chapter 25, p. 240, *rogauitque obnixe ut ad benedictionem dandam*, where it is omitted in each MS of the Am group except Ar₁ and there it is added in a different hand. In chapter 37, p. 276, the words *Ex quo autem ingrediens* are omitted in this group, though again they appear in Ar₁ in a different hand.

Within this smaller group of four (Am) a still closer relationship can be established between V and H. V has been glossed sporadically throughout in a hand which is apparently contemporary, and the same gloss appears in a contemporary hand in H also. Of the ninety words glossed in V, with the exception of two Anglo-Saxon glosses all occur in H, while there are in addition a few extra glossed words in H, mostly in the last few chapters. The text of H follows V with the utmost faithfulness even in its mistakes, as for instance in chapter 24, p. 234, where *quo* becomes *co*, destroying the sense; or *aliquit* in chapter 24, p. 236; or *conuertemini* for *confortemini* in chapter 27, p. 244. In one place there is a not very successful attempt at correction in H, where in chapter 16, p. 212 V reads *exscitat* for *excitat*. This appears in H as *exsuscit*. It seems very probable, in fact almost a certainty, that H is a copy of V. Ar₁ follows V and H generally when they differ from C₁, but its variations in word-order and spellings are so considerable as to make it

highly improbable that Ar₁ is derived from the same exemplar as V.

The second subgroup (An), consisting of O₇, P₁, and P₃, also has omissions of some length which do not occur in Am. Thus in chapter 7, p. 178, the passage *erat quem suscepi pascere non pasci ueniens*. *En*, does not occur in this group, nor do the words *libenter ea quae dicerentur audirent* in chapter 9, p. 186; in addition there are several omissions of two or three words peculiar to the group as in chapter 7, p. 178, *autem uelate*; or in chapter 12, p. 196, *illam porro uolantem*; or chapter 22, p. 230, *non parum*; or chapter 27, p. 246, *in orationibus et uigiliis*; and further on in the same chapter, p. 246, *et illi*; and chapter 40, *sancta illa*. In addition there are about seventy other places where the group differs from the rest of the MSS in word-order, or in the omission of a single word, or in differences of spelling. There are three omissions in O₇ which are not found in P₁ and P₃, viz. chapter 11, p. 192, *quam putabant*; chapter 15, p. 204, *non integra... Domini* (ten words); and chapter 37, p. 274, *iussi... mihi* (ten words). There are besides a considerable number of minor differences between each of the three MSS both in word-order and word-form which preclude the possibility that any one was copied from another of the same group. In view of the very considerable number of minor differences between each of these three, it is probable that they derive from three different exemplars which probably in their turn derive from the same one.

It will be seen that all the earliest MSS with the exception of O₁ belong to the A group. This is unfortunate, because it seems that the text of this group is less faithful to the original than that of the B group, judging by its frequent and serious omissions noted above and its treatment of unfamiliar words such as *uagitibus* in chapter 1, p. 156, or *iusum* in chapter 5, p. 170, or its numerous mistakes in syntax which are correct in the other group such as *ut* for *ne* in chapter 6, p. 174, *donabat* for *donare* in chapter 7, and many other places noted in the text. It seemed therefore safer to use a MS of the B group as a basis for the text even though it was of later date, and particularly of the Bx subgroup, most of which were probably written in Durham and

have the Durham tradition behind them. The earliest MS of this group, O₁, late eleventh or very early twelfth, is incomplete; it was therefore necessary to fall back on the best of the early twelfth-century group, namely O₉, which has consequently been used as the basis of the text; the B group consists, then, of all the other MSS—namely C₂, C₃, O₁, O₂, O₃, O₅, O₆, O₈, O₉, H₁, Cl, Bn, Ad₁, Ad₂, Du, Dj₂, Ar₂, Go, H₂, O₄, P₂, Li, Oth, Dj₁, La, M, Bo, Va, Cm. W and Vn are only fragments and cannot be classified.

The MSS of this group bear much resemblance to one another and it is not easy to divide them into smaller groups, and practically impossible to trace back their relationship with one another with any accuracy. Two minor groups stand out fairly clearly, however. Of these the most distinctive is the group (By) consisting of O₄, P₂, Li, and Oth. These agree together in over one hundred and twenty places, occasionally agreeing with one or other of the other MSS, but in the great majority of cases differing from all the rest. The differences consist in changes of word-order, insertions or omissions of one or two words, and variations such as chapter 6, p. 172, *seruus* for *famulus*; chapter 9, p. 186, *dicendi* for *docendi*; and occasionally mistakes occur in all four but in no other MS; such as chapter 34, p. 262, *angelorum* for *angelicis*; or chapter 3, p. 160, *peccatorem* for *pauperem*. It is clear that all four of these derive originally from the same exemplar but not directly, for Oth and P₂ in some twenty-five instances agree together against O₄ in word-order, in the insertion or omission of words, and in occasional slips such as *candentia* for *cadentia* in chapter 5, p. 170. It is very probable that both Oth and P₂ are derived from the same exemplar, for when they differ from one another the differences are all easily attributable to scribal errors. The exemplar of these two is probably copied from the MS from which O₄ and Li also derive. The occasional agreement between this group (By) and the group (An) would tend to show some remote connection between the two groups.

Another minor group of the B class (Bz) consists of Dj₁, La, M, Bo, Va, Cm. The chief distinguishing mark of this group is the omission in chapter 18, p. 218, of a sentence of

eleven words—*Fodiamus in medio...potabit nos*. In addition there are some half-dozen cases where the group agrees in a word-order different from the rest of the MSS; and there are five or six cases of agreement in the omission, insertion, or variation of a word as opposed to the rest of the group. Another connection between the group is that in Dj_r, La, M, Bo, and Va the Prose Life is followed by a series of twenty-eight miracles consisting of the usual two chapters from the *H.E.* as well as nine chapters of miracles and seventeen other chapters from the *Brevis Relatio*, all in the same order, an order which is found in none of the other collections of miracles in any of the English or foreign MSS. Cm contains only the account of the Translation. It is probable that this group goes back to an exemplar carried across to the Continent in the mid-twelfth century; there is not sufficient evidence to show that any one of the group was the exemplar. Four of them (Dj_r, La, M, Cm) belonged to Cistercian houses and it is quite possible that the other two (Bo and Va) were also copied in a Cistercian house on the Continent, most likely in North or Central France.

There is also an interesting connection between O₃ and H₂. There is a series of marginal notes in both which agree closely throughout. The handwriting of each seems to be contemporary with the MS and in H₂ at any rate seems to be the same as that of the text. There are twenty-six of these glosses in O₃, and all of them occur in H₂. These glosses are practically all names of places and persons which Bede omits to give, but which are taken from the corresponding incident in the Anonymous Life. In three instances the names of the places or persons given in both glosses are not derived from the Anonymous Life but from some other source, possibly oral tradition. H₂, in fact, is pretty certainly an early sixteenth-century copy of O₃ made in Durham by William Tode (see p. 29). There is nothing in the text to prove it was not a transcription; though there are a considerable number of differences, these consist exclusively of omissions on the part of the scribe of H₂, variations in word-order and spelling. Many of these marginal notes are found in C₃, also a Durham book.

Of the nineteen MSS which belong to the Bx group, four

(Ad₂, C₃, O₃, Du) are definitely known to come from the Durham scriptorium and are noted in the fourteenth-century Durham catalogues; and no less than thirteen of the others (H₁, H₂, Ar₂, Cl, Ad₁, Dj₂, C₂, O₁, O₂, O₅, O₆, O₈, O₉) may be presumed, with varying degrees of probability, to have come from the Durham scriptorium, judging by their appearance, the form of the initial letters, their contents, connections or history. It is probable that all this group go back to a very early exemplar brought to Durham by the followers of St Cuthbert in the tenth century and used as a basis for the earlier copies made in the monastic scriptorium. The text must have been a good one and not far removed from the archetype.

The groups of MSS therefore divide themselves up as follows:

Am: C₁, V, H, Ar₁.

An: O₇, P₁, P₃.

Bx: C₂, C₃, O₁, O₂, O₃, O₅, O₆, O₈, O₉, H₁, Cl, Bn, Ad₁, Ad₂, Du, Dj₂, Ar₂, Go, H₂.

By: O₄, P₂, Li, Oth.

Bz: Dj₁, La, M, Bo, Va, Cm.

All the differences between O₉ and the following representative MSS have been shown in the footnotes to the text:

Am: C₁, V, H.

An: P₁.

Bx: C₃, O₃, O₈.

By: O₄.

Bz: M.

Although O₉ has been used as the basis of the text for reasons stated above (p. 48), yet occasionally the readings, especially from the A group, which are to be found in the footnotes, show variants, word-order and spellings which are probably older and nearer to the original than those of O₉, which appear in the text.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

A. THE ANONYMOUS LIFE

1. The Anonymous Life was first printed by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, III, Antwerp, 1668, 117-24. The text was based upon O₁ (St Omer 267) and upon T (Trier 1151). The text omits the chapter headings and lists of chapters but preserves the division into chapters and books, adding new titles to each of the four books. There are a good many mistakes in the text and practically all the place-names and some of the personal names are very badly mangled owing to the confusion of the Old English runic "wen" (p) with a "p", and of the insular "s" with "r". Hence arise such extraordinary forms as *Kenspid* for *Kenswith*, *Medilpong* and *Mudpieralegis* for *Medilwong* and *Niudwera regio*, *Opide* for *Twide* and many others.

2. The Anonymous Life was reprinted from the Bollandist text by Joseph Stevenson in his *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica Minora*, English Historical Society, London, 1841, pp. 259-84. He preserves the division into books and inserts the Bollandist titles, but numbers the chapters concurrently with the exception of the last chapter which he does not number at all. He corrects one or two of the most obvious mistakes in place and personal names and suggests the right reading in other places.

3. The life was again reprinted from the Bollandist text by J. A. Giles in an appendix to the sixth volume of his collected edition of Bede's works, *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. VII, *Beda Opera*, vol. VI, edited by J. A. Giles, London, 1843, pp. 357-82. It preserves the division into books but not the chapter divisions. All the mistakes of the Bollandist text are preserved and there are a few of his own as well.

B. BEDE'S PROSE LIFE

1. Bede's Prose Life of St Cuthbert was first printed in the collected edition of Bede's works printed at Basle by Johannes Hervagius in 1563 (Tertius Tomus, cols. 209-54). The edition was printed directly from a manuscript which by a fortunate

chance still exists and can be recognised. It is Bn (Berne, Stadtbibliothek 392). The MS must have been complete then, but has since lost the latter portion from c. 28 onwards. Bn still has upon it, plainly visible, the ink marks of the corrector of the press and the compositor's chalk marks with the numbers of the columns and even the signatures, all corresponding with the 1563 edition, at the side. It also contains on the face of it and in the margin, the spelling and other alterations which the corrector for the press saw fit to make, such as the change of small letters into capitals in proper names and the names of the Deity.¹ Probably the MS was borrowed from the Abbey of St Victor in Paris to which it once belonged before it came into the possession of Jacques Bongars (1554-1613). The MS is not a good one and there are several omissions, e.g. c. 1 from *mestumque...coepit*; c. 7 *aperte...replicat*; c. 10 *situm*, and c. 16 *tangendo...tantum*. All these of course are also omitted in the Basle edition.

2. A reprint of the Basle edition of Bede's works appeared in Cologne in 1612 (Tomus Tertius, cols. 152-85) and this was itself reprinted at Cologne in 1688 (Tomus Tertius, cols. 152-85).

3. The first edition of Laurentius Surius' *De probatis sanctorum historiis* published in Cologne in 1571 also contained an edition of the Prose Life (vol. II, pp. 299-327). It was based principally on the Basle edition and still preserves the omissions in c. 1 and c. 10 (see above), but the others have been filled up by reference to some other MS, though it is not possible to tell, in the absence of any information, what MS it was. Various mistakes found in the Basle edition remain uncorrected, such as c. 11 (p. 306) *laterent* for *taberent*; c. 6 (p. 303) *benigne* for *benignius*; and the insertion of *in* before *patriam*, the last word but one of c. 11 (p. 306); and *prehenderat* for *prendiderat* in c. 12 (p. 307). It is fairly obvious that for the most part the editor has relied upon the Basle edition, only referring to the MS very occasionally. On the other hand quite a number of variations, almost certainly mere misprints, occur, as for example *primitiva* for *primitus* in c. 1 (p. 300); *nullus* for *nullius* in c. 3 (p. 301);

¹ For further details see: B. Colgrave and I. Masson, "The Editio Princeps of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, and its Printer's XII Century copy". *The Library*, XIX, 1938, pp. 289 ff.

praecedunt for *praecellunt* in c. 7 (p. 304); *pisce* for *pisciculo* in c. 12 (p. 307); and *superaddere* for *supradicere* in the prologue (p. 299). The Life appeared also in the four later editions of Surius; second edition published in Cologne, 1578 (II, pp. 331-59); third edition published in Venice, 1581, entitled *De vitis Sanctorum* (II, 93 v.-102 v.); fourth edition published in Cologne, 1618, entitled *De probatis sanctorum Vitis* (III, pp. 214-28); fifth edition published in Turin, 1875 (III, pp. 378-413).¹

4. The Life was reprinted from the Cologne, 1618 edition, by J. Colgan, in *Acta Sanctorum ueteris et maioris Scotiae seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae*, Louvain, 1645 (Primus Tomus, pp. 659-79).

5. The Bollandist edition of the Prose Life appeared in the *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, III, Antwerp, 1668, pp. 97-116. The editors used three MSS, one a very ancient MS in the possession of the Bollandists which now seems to have disappeared (Jaeger, p. 25), the second a MS which belonged to the Cistercian monastery of Bonnefontaine near Reims, the third from Utrecht which was incomplete (see p. 42 above and Addenda below). None of these MSS is now in existence. There is a list of chapter headings which differs slightly from those in any of the MSS known to me. They also used "the Life found amongst the works of Bede and edited separately by others" (p. 95). It is clear from this that they are referring to the Basle edition or the first Cologne reprint, for a few of the original mistakes of the Basle edition still persist, and probably to Surius' edition too, for many of the variant readings or mistakes introduced by Surius find their way into the Bollandist edition, including all those mentioned above under the account of Surius' edition. Though a list of chapter headings is given at the beginning of the work, these are not preserved in the body of the text and there is an arbitrary division into twelve chapters with new chapter headings.

6. J. Mabillon's edition appeared in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (Paris, 1669, Saec. II, pp. 877-915; Venice, 1733, Saec. II, pp. 843-78). He follows the two editions of Surius and the Bollandists and also a MS from Compiègne

¹ For Surius' methods of working see Paul Holt, "Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben des Surius", *Neues Archiv*, XLIV, Berlin, 1922, pp. 341-64.

which has since been lost (see above, p. 42). He made good use of this MS in correcting many though not all of the mistakes of Surius and the Bollandists. It is clear from some of the alterations in the text that the Compiègne MS was one of the Bz group, a group connected with the north of France (p. 48 f.). The chief evidence for this is the omission in c. 18, p. 858 of a sentence of eleven words: *Fodiamus in medio . . . potabit nos*, which Mabillon has deliberately omitted though it appears in both the editions he was using. The text is an improvement on these and he divides it up into proper chapters, inserting the chapter headings from his MS.

7. The next edition of the Life was the important edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and other historical works begun by John Smith, a canon of Durham, and finished by his son George, and published in Cambridge in 1722 (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum, auctore Beda, una cum reliquis eius operibus historicis*, ed. J. Smith, Cambridge, 1722, pp. 225-64). For this edition five MSS were used: C₁ (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 183), which he calls Benedictinus, after the earlier name of the college; H (Harl. 1117); O₁ (Digby 175); O₂ (Bodl. 109); and lastly Ad₂ (Add. 39943). The latter, he explains, belongs to a certain "William Forcer Esquire of Durham". He describes it as being "most beautifully and elegantly adorned with pictures which illustrate the story contained in each chapter". In the copy of the Basle edition of Bede's works (see above) which is now in the Cosin Library at Durham (E. 1. 16), Thomas Rud, the librarian of the Chapter Library at Durham in the early eighteenth century, has collated the text of Bede's Prose Life with a MS which he states belongs to "John Forcer". These collations prove beyond all doubt that this MS is Ad₂. John Forcer, who died in 1725, belonged to a Roman Catholic family who for many years lived at Harbour House near Plawsworth, Durham. There was no William Forcer living at the time, and in fact the name William never occurs in the Forcer family in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries (R. Surtees, *History of Durham*, 1, London, 1816, p. 65). It becomes certain, then, having regard to Smith's description of his MS, that he has made a mistake in the name, that he meant

John Forcer, and that the MS he is referring to is therefore Ad₂. In addition he used the Cologne edition, that is, the reprint of the Basle edition and Mabillon's text. He has produced in this way a conflate text, noting variant readings in the footnotes, sometimes from the MSS, sometimes from the editions he was using. He does not state which is which but puts them all under the heading *Vulgg.* He gives no separate list of chapter headings but headings appear under the separate chapters.

8. Joseph Stevenson was the next to publish the Life in his *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica Minora*, English Historical Society, London, 1841, pp. 45-137. He maintains that he has used H (Harl. 1117) and V (Cotton. Vit. A. xix), the latter being in addition to the MSS which Smith used, but as H is probably no more than a transcript of V it could not greatly help. He also refers to O₂, O₃, O₄, O₆, O₈. But, as he himself says in the introduction (p. viii), it is Smith's edition which he has principally followed. In fact his edition is little more than a reprint of Smith.

9. The next edition was that of J. A. Giles in the fourth volume of his collected edition of the works of Bede published in 1843, pp. 202-357. It contains the text and a translation. He mentions (p. vi) another MS, Ar₁ (Arundel 222), but he seems to have made little use of it. The text is again that of Smith with only a few slight variations.

10. Mabillon's text was reprinted in a slightly improved form in Migne's *Patrologia latina*, xciv, 1862, cols. 733-90.

TRANSLATIONS

The Anonymous Life was translated by W. Forbes-Leith under the title of *The Life of St Cuthbert*, privately printed, Edinburgh, 1888. In this work the miniatures from Add. 39943 (Ad₂) were reproduced in colour. Bede's Prose Life was translated by J. A. Giles in his edition (see above). This was reprinted in the Everyman's Library, No. 479, in 1910. Another translation by Joseph Stevenson was printed in *The Church Historians of England*, 1, pt. 2, London, 1853, pp. 546-603.

SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS

The Scriptural quotations in the Anonymous Life differ but little from the Vulgate. There are a few differences of word-order as in Mal. 1. 2, 3 (1, 3). One or two differences are probably due to loose quotation such as the quotation from Luke 10. 7 (II, 5), and from Romans 8. 32 (III, 7); the quotation from Romans 8. 30 (1, 3) in O₁ reads "Quos *ante* predestinauit" though the *ante* for *autem* occurs only here and is possibly a scribal error, an easy confusion between aū and añ. In the quotation from Matth. 6. 33 (II, 5) a text of the Celtic type has been used (see *Novum Testamentum secundum editionem S. Hieronymi*, ed. J. Wordsworth, etc., Oxford, 1889, etc.).

In Bede's Prose Life, however, the majority of the quotations do not conform to the text of the Vulgate. This may be partly due to Bede's habit of loose quotation and his way of fitting in the text to suit the syntax of his sentence, as for instance I Cor. 13. 11 (c. 1); Ps. 33. 18 (c. 3); Eph. 6. 16, 17 (c. 17); Ps. 113. 1, 8 and 2, 1 (c. 18); and I Cor. 16. 13 (c. 27). But in a certain number of instances, it is clear that Bede has been using a text which is not the ordinary Vulgate text, but which, in the Old Testament, corresponds more or less with the reading given by Sabatier (*Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, ed. Pierre Sabatier, 3 vols., Paris, 1751) as the Itala or Versio Antiqua, or which in the New Testament can in several instances be identified from Wordsworth's edition (see above) as a text of the Celtic type. We may therefore, partly following Plummer (*H.E.* II, 392), divide Bede's quotations into six classes: (1) those which are certainly taken from the Vulgate; (2) those quotations from the Old Testament which correspond with the Itala or Versio Antiqua as given by Sabatier; (2a) those quotations from the New Testament which are taken from a text of the Celtic type; (3) those of which the source is doubtful because in these passages the Vulgate and the other versions do not differ; (4) those of which the source is doubtful but is apparently not the Vulgate; (5) those in which

the quotation seems to be conflate in character and to derive partly from the Vulgate and partly from some other version:

(1) Certainly from the Vulgate: Ps. 26. 13 (Prol.); Prov. 6. 6 (c. 20); Ps. 59. 3 (c. 40); 1 Kings 3. 20 (c. 45).

(2) Certainly from the Itala or Versio Antiqua: Ps. 8. 3 (c. 1); Ps. 32. 18, 19 (c. 5); Ps. 39. 5 (c. 12); Ps. 83. 8 (c. 17); Ps. 34. 10 (c. 26); Ps. 146. 2 (c. 40); Ps. 102. 3 (c. 45); Ps. 102. 4, 5 (c. 46).

(2a) Certainly from a text of the Celtic type: 1 Cor. 13. 11 (c. 1); John 1. 47 (c. 6, where the reading of the original was probably *uir* as in V and H); Matt. 26. 41 (c. 27).

(3) The Vulgate reading does not differ from the older version (in the Old Testament) or from texts of the Celtic type (in the New Testament): 2 Peter 2. 16 (c. 1); Matt. 25. 29 (c. 2); Ps. 33. 18 (c. 3); Matt. 6. 33 (c. 5); Num. 6. 3 (c. 6); 2 Cor. 12. 2 (c. 7); 2. Cor. 12. 9 (c. 8); Matt. 17. 9 (c. 10); Eph. 6, 16, 17 (cc. 14 and 17); Ps. 35. 9 (c. 18); Ps. 89. 9 (c. 24); 2 Cor. 7. 10 (c. 26); Luke 2. 10, 1 Cor. 16. 13 (c. 27); 2 Tim. 4. 6-8 (cc. 28, 37, 38); Luke 4. 39 (c. 29).

(4) The source is doubtful but apparently not the Vulgate: Lam. 3. 27, 28 (c. 1); 1 Sam. 3. 7 (c. 1); Gal. 5. 6 (c. 8); Ps. 113. i, 8 and ii, 1 (c. 18); Eccles. 11. 8 (c. 24).

(5) The quotation seems to be conflate in character: Isa. 43. 2 (c. 14); Ps. 76. 11 (c. 45). The references are in each case to the Vulgate.

VITA SANCTI CUTHBERTI
AUCTORE ANONYMO



ANONYMOUS LIFE OF
ST CUTHBERT

VITA SANCTI CUTHBERTI
AUCTORE ANONYMO



f. 67b

Incipiunt capitula Libri Primi In uita
Sancti Cudberti¹.

- I. De prohemio oboediendi.
- II. De praefatione scribendi.
- III. De eo quod infans de illo prophetauit.
- III. De eo quod angelus sanauit eum.
- V. De eo quod animam episcopi ad coelum eleuari uidit.
- VI. De eo quod Dominus eum pascebat in uia.
- VII. De mirabilibus praetermissis.

I. De prohemio oboediendi²

Epistola
Victorii
Aquitani
ad
Hilarum
de cursu
paschali

*Praeceptis³ tuis utinam sancte episcope Eadfride, et totius
familiae tam effectum⁴ ualeam parere quam uoto. Est enim mihi⁵
et hoc opus arduum, et meae intelligentiae facultas exigua.
Ego autem quod ad me pertinet, etiamsi delicatae⁶ materiae
superer quantitate⁸ satis habeo iussioni⁹ uestrae possibilitatis
meae non oboedientiam¹⁰ defuisse, quae tamen etsi ministerium
minime expleret iniunctum, certe debitum exsoluit obsequium.
Vosque deprecor, ut si¹¹ quippiam secus quam¹² uolueritis proueniret
inbecillitatem meam adque¹³ onus inpositum aequo iure perpendentes
imperfecti laborem negotii officii magis aestimaretis¹⁴ quam merito.
Maximum enim indicium erga uos meae reuerentiae est imperiis
uestris amplius me impendere¹⁵ uoluisse quam possim. Quod si
dignum aliquid uestrae lectioni¹⁶ confecero,*

1 ins. episcopi O₂. There is no list of chapters in A.

2 There are no separate chapter numbers nor headings throughout O₂. O₁ has praefatio only.

3 æ and œ are sometimes written in full in O₁, sometimes represented by ç.

4 affectu O₁O₂A. eff. Eddius.

5 michi O₂.

THE LIFE OF ST CUTHBERT BY AN
ANONYMOUS AUTHOR



The Life of St Cuthbert
The Chapters of Book I

- I. A prologue concerning obedience.
- II. A preface to the writing.
- III. How a child prophesied concerning him.
- IV. How he was healed by an angel.
- V. How he saw the soul of a bishop being borne to heaven.
- VI. How the Lord gave him food by the wayside.
- VII. Concerning miracles which have been omitted.

CHAPTER I. *A prologue concerning obedience*

I would that the result of my obedience to your commands, O holy bishop Eadfrith, and to the commands of the whole community might be as good as my intentions. For this is a great task for me and my powers of understanding are small. But, so far as I am concerned, even if I am overwhelmed by the amount of sacred material at my disposal, yet I am satisfied that I have not failed in obedience to the commands you laid upon my powers which, although ill able to perform the task you have allotted me, have at any rate fulfilled the duty I owe you. And I beg you, if anything has turned out otherwise than you wished, that balancing fairly my weakness against the task imposed, you will judge the labour of my imperfect enterprise in terms of duty rather than of merit. For what greater proof could there be of my respect for you than my wish to devote myself to your commands, even though they exceed my powers? But, if I produce anything worthy of your

6 dilicate A. 7-8 super quantitatem O₁O₂, super quantitate A. 9 *alt. from iussione* O₂. 10 obedientiam O₁. 11-12 quispiam secusque O₁O₂A. 13 atque O₂. 14 est...O₁. 15 imp...O₂. 16 electioni Eddius; electione Victorius (*but here also occur various readings lectioni and lectione*).

f. 68
Ath. Vit.
Ant.
Preface

id erit profecto diuini muneris. Tum etiam beniuolentia uestra inertes quoque ad profectum excitat, nec dubitatur ipsorum fide perficiendum, quorum est adortatione¹ susceptum, cum mihi² quoque fiducia³ sit peragere posse quod praecipitis, cui id tam confidenter iniungitis. Quis namque non intellegat⁴, uestris orationibus iam praesumptum esse, quod etiam per me creditis adimplendum? Magna namque cum laetitia suscepi uestre⁵ caritatis imperium. Etenim ingens mihi⁶ lucrum est atque utilitas, hoc⁷ ipsum quod recordor sancti Cuðberti⁸. Est siquidem perfecta uia ad uirtutem, illum scire quis fuerit. Ideo ut breuiter dicam, omnia quae de eo sermo referentium⁹ iactauit credite¹⁰, et minima uos aestimate¹¹ de maximis audisse quia¹² non ambigo, nec eos potuisse omnia cognoscere.

II. De prefatione scribendi

Sulpicius
Seuerus
Vita S.
Martini
c. I.

Igitur¹³ ¹⁴ uitam sancti Cuthberti¹⁵ scribere exordiar¹⁶, ut se¹⁷ uel¹⁸ ante episcopatum¹⁹ uel in episcopatu²⁰ gesserit, quamuis nequaquam ad omnes²¹ illius potuerim peruenire uirtutes, adeo²² ea in quibus ipse tantum sibi conscius fuit nesciuntur, quia²³ laudem ab hominibus non requirens²⁴, quantum²⁵ in ipso fuit, omnes uirtutes suas latere uoluisset²⁶, quamquam²⁷ etiam ex his²⁸ quae nobis comperta²⁹ erant³⁰ plura omisimus³¹, quia sufficere credimus, si tantum excellentiora notarentur³², simul et legentibus consulendum fuit, ne quod³³ ³⁴ his pararet³⁶ copia³⁵ congesta³⁷ fastidium. Obsecro itaque³⁸ eos qui lecturi sunt ut fidem dictis adhibeant, neque me quicquam nisi quod³⁹ compertum et probatum sit⁴⁰, scripsisse⁴¹ arbitrentur, alioquin tacere

1 adhortatione O₂. 2 michi O₂. 3 fiducia O₁. 4 changed to intelligat O₁. 5 uestrae O₂. 6 michi O₂. 7 capital letter in O₁. 8 Cudberti O₂. Cuðberhti A. 9 referentem O₁O₂A. 10 cred. iact. O₂. 11 est... O₁. 12 om. O₁O₂A. 13 H begins here with Incipit uita uenerabilis Cuthberti episcopi. T begins here with Incipit uita Sancti Cuthberti edita a uenerabili Beda presbitero. B begins here with Incipit uita sancti Cuthberti episcopi. P begins here. om. igitur HTB. 14-16 Sci. Guthberti vit. scrib. exordior H. Sci. Cudberti vit. scrib. exordior T. Sci. Cuthberti vit. scrib. exordior B. 15 Cuthberhti A.

reading, it will assuredly be by the help of divine grace. Moreover, your kindness arouses even the idle to go forward, and without doubt the task will be carried to completion by the faith of those through whose exhortation it was begun; for even I have confidence that I can accomplish the behest which you so confidently impose. Who will fail to understand that the task undertaken was one which you believe even me capable of carrying through with the help of your prayers? So with great joy I undertook your loving command. For this record of St Cuthbert is of great gain and value to myself. Indeed it is in itself a ready path to virtue to know what he was. So, to be brief, even though you believe all the claims that popular report has made for him—and you may well do so—yet be sure that, even then, you have heard very little about matters that are very great, for I am certain that none could know them all.

CHAPTER II. *Preface to the writing*

I will therefore undertake to write the life of St Cuthbert and how he lived both before and after he became bishop; yet I have not been able to find out all his miracles by any means; for those which he alone was aware of are unknown, because, as he did not seek the praise of men, he desired that all his miracles should be hidden so far as this was in his power. Yet we have omitted many, even, of those which were known to us, because we believed that it would be sufficient if only the more outstanding ones were noted, and at the same time, we had to consider our readers, lest too plentiful an abundance might produce in them a feeling of distaste. So I beseech my readers to believe my report and not to think that I have written anything except what has been received on good authority and tested. Nay,

17 *changed to quae* O₁. 18 *om.* O₂. 19–20 *om.* T. episcopatu B. que O₂HB. 21 *ad om. neq.* HB. 22 *ins. tamen* HB. tamen P. 23 *quae* O₁A. qui O₂. que HB. 24 *requirebat* O₂. *querens* T. 25 *capital letter* in O₁. 26 *uoluit* O₂HBP. *uoluisse* T. 27 *changed to quasquam* A. 28. *h above* O₁. 29 *conp. . .* T. 30 *sunt* P. 31 *omissimus* O₁A. 32 *notantur* O₂HB. 33 *quam* O₁O₂A. 34–35 *copia his* HB. 36 *pareret* P. 37 *congestaret* HB. 38 *igitur* HB. 39 *om.* HB. 40 *om.* HB. 41 *scriptitasse* P.

Actus
Siluestri.

quam falsa dicere¹ maluisssem. Verum quoniam ad omnium operum eius numerum, nec littera nec sermo² proficere³ potest⁴, ad ea quae gesta sunt accedamus.

f. 68b

III. ⁵*De eo quod infans de illo prophetauit*^{7,6}

Primum quidem ponimus quod in prima aetate⁸ accidisse relatu multorum didicimus, ex quibus est sanctae memoriae episcopus Tumma, qui spiritalem⁹ Dei electionem¹⁰ predestinatam¹¹ a¹² sancto Cuðberhto¹³ audiens didicit, et presbiter nostrae aecclesiae¹⁴ Elias¹⁵ dicentes, Dum ergo puer esset annorum octo¹⁶, omnes coetaneos¹⁷ in agilitate et petulantia superans¹⁸, ita ut sepe postquam fessis membris¹⁹ requiescebant alii, ille adhuc in loco ioci quasi in stadio triumphans aliquem secum ludificantem²⁰ expectaret²¹. Tunc congregati sunt²² quadam die multi iuuenes in campi planicie²³, inter quos ille inuentus est, ioci uarietatem, et scurilitatem²⁴ agere ceperunt²⁵. Alii namque stantes nudi uersis capitibus contra naturam deorsum ad²⁶ terram, et²⁷ expansis cruribus erecti²⁸ pedes ad coelos²⁹ sursum prominebant³⁰. Alii sic, alii uero³¹ sic fecerunt³². Interea quidam infans erat cum eis ferme trium annorum qui³³ incipiebat constanter ad eum dicere³⁴, Esto stabilis, et relinque uanitatem ioci amare, et iterum negligenti³⁵ eo uerba precepti³⁶ eius plorans et lacrimans quem pene³⁷ nullus consolari potuit. Postremo tamen interrogatus quid sibi esset, clamare cepit³⁸, O sancte³⁹ episcope⁴⁰ et presbiter⁴¹ Cuðberhte⁴², hec⁴³ tibi et tuo⁴⁴ gradui⁴⁵ contraria⁴⁶ nature⁴⁷ propter⁴⁸ agilitatem non conueniunt. Ille uero non plene

1 dic. falsa O₁O₂AT. 2 serm. nec litt. HTBP. 3 profecisse P.
4 possit TP. 5-6 om. A. HBP omīit all chapter headings.
7 prophetauerit T. 8 etā... BP. 9 spiritualem O₂P.
10 dilectionem P. 11 praec... O₂. 12 in T. 13 Gutberto H.
Cuthberto BP. Chudberto T. 14 ecclesie TP. ecclesiae B.
15 Helias O₂AT. om. HB. Helyas P. 16 octo ann. T. viii° B.
17 coet... HTBP. 18 superauit HBP. 19 membris O₂AT.
20 ludentem T. 21 expectans O₁O₂. expectans AT. 22 om. HBP.
23 planiciem O₁A. planitiae O₂. 24 scuril... HBP.

I would rather hold my peace than state what is false. But since, assuredly, neither the written nor the spoken word can do justice to all his numerous works, let us start upon an account of his deeds.

CHAPTER III. *How a child prophesied concerning him*

First we record an incident of his early youth, known to us through the reports of many, among whom are Bishop Tamma of holy memory, who learnt from St Cuthbert's own lips that God's choice of him to a spiritual office had been predetermined, and Elias also, a priest of our church. These tell the story thus. When he was a boy of eight years, he surpassed all of his age in agility and high spirits, so that often, after the others had gone to rest their weary limbs, he, standing triumphantly in the playground as though he were in the arena, would still wait for someone to play with him. At that time many youths were gathered together one day on a piece of level ground and he too was found among them. They began thereupon to indulge in a variety of games and tricks; some of them stood naked, with their heads turned down unnaturally towards the ground, their legs stretched out and their feet lifted up and pointing skywards; and some did one thing and some another. Now among them there was a certain child scarcely three years old who began to call out to him repeatedly: "Be steadfast and leave this foolish play." Seeing his commands disregarded, he thereupon wailed and wept and became almost inconsolable. At last being asked what was the matter with him, he began to cry out: "O holy Bishop and priest Cuthbert, these unnatural tricks done to show off your agility are not befitting to you or your high office". Cuthbert did not clearly under-

25 coep... O₂H. 26 in B. 27 om. T. 28 ins. per HBP.
 29 caelos O₁. celos A. coelum H. celum TBP. 30 ins. et HB.
 31 om. HB. 32 faciebant HBP. 33 om. O₁O₂AP.
 34 dic. ad eum HTBP. 35 negligente HP. negligenter B.
 36 praecepti O₂A. 37 fere HB. 38 coep... O₂H. 39 ins. Cuthberte B.
 40-41 om. HB. 42 Cupberht A. Cutberte T. Cuthberte HBP. 43 haec
 O₂H. 44 tui O₁A. 45 ins. et T. 46 contrariae HB. contraire P.
 47 naturae O₂HB. 48 propter nature P.

intellegens¹, adhuc² tamen³ ioci uanitatē⁴ derelinquens,
 consolari infantem cepit⁵. Reuertensque⁶ ad domum
 f. 69 suam, prophetiae⁷ uerba⁸ in mente retinens⁹, | sicut sancta
 Luke 2. 51 Maria *omnia uerba* praedicta de Iesu¹⁰ memorans *conseruabat*.
 Videte fratres quomodo iste antequam per laborem operum
 suorum¹¹ agnoscatur¹², per prouidentiam¹³ Dei electus
 ostenditur. Sicut de¹⁴ patriarcha per prophetam dicitur¹⁵,
 Mal. *Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui*. Samuhel¹⁶ quoque et
 I. 2, 3 Dauid, utrique in infantia electi inueniuntur. Hieremias¹⁷
 uero propheta¹⁸, et Iohannes baptista, in officium¹⁹ Domini
 Jerem. I. 5 a *uulua* matris²⁰ *sanctificati* leguntur. Sicut doctor gen-
 Rom. tium adfirmavit²¹ dicens, *Quos autem*²² *predestinauit*²³, *hos*
 8. 30 *et uocauit*,²⁴ et reliqua²⁵.

III. De eo quod²⁶ angelus sanauit eum²⁷

In eadem aetate²⁸ alio miraculo²⁹ Dei electione³⁰ predesti-
 natum³¹, Dominus magnificauit³² eum. Dum ergo esset
 puer iam ut dixi adhuc laicus, in³³ infirmitate premente
 eum³⁴ acriter detinebatur³⁵. Nam quia³⁶ genu tumente³⁷
 adstrictis³⁸ neruis claudicans, ³⁹pede altero⁴⁰ terram non⁴¹
 tangens⁴² foris deportatus⁴³ iuxta parietem in solis ardore
 iacens, uidit hominem honorabilem et mirae⁴⁴ pulchritu-
 dinis⁴⁵ super equum ornatissimum in albis uestimentis
 sedentem, de longinquo ad se uenire⁴⁶. Qui uero⁴⁷ adpro-
 pinquans⁴⁸ ei, salutansque⁴⁹ uerbis pacificis, interrogauit
 si uoluisset tali hospiti⁵⁰ ministrare. Ille etiam⁵¹ intrepida⁵²
 mente corporis infirmitatem reuelans⁵³ ait, Si Deus uoluis-
 set et me nodibus⁵⁴ infirmitatis⁵⁵ ⁵⁶pro peccatis non
 obligasset⁵⁷, in honorem eius ministrare hospitibus piger

1 *changed to intelligens* O₁, intelligens O₂HTBP. *ins. nec* HB. 2 *om.* O₂.
 3 *om.* HB. 4 *ins. non* HBP. 5 *coep. . .* O₂AH.
 6 Reuersusque HB. 7 prophetie TP. 8 *ins. retinet* P.
 9 *om.* P. 10 Ihesu B. 11 suor. oper. B.
 12 agnosceretur O₂. 13 prouidentia O₁. 14 *om.* P.
 15 dicentem P. 16 Samuel AHTBP. 17 Iheremias BP.
 18 pro. uer. HB. 19 offitio P. 20 *om.* P. 21 affirmat
 O₂HTBP. 22 ante O₁. 23 praec. . . O₂.
 24-25 *om.* O₂P. 26 *ins. eum* T. 27 eum san. A. *om.* T.
 28 et. . . HP. 29 *ins. ex* HBP. 30 electioni O₁O₂.

stand, but he nevertheless gave up his vain games and began to console the child; and returning home, he kept in mind the prophetic words, just as St Mary kept in her memory all the words which were prophesied about Jesus. Behold, brethren, how even before he is recognised by the performance of his works, he is shown by the providence of God to be elect; even as it is said concerning the patriarch by the prophet: "Jacob have I loved but Esau have I hated." Samuel and David also are both found to have been chosen in their infancy. The prophet Jeremiah too and John the Baptist are said to have been sanctified for the work of the Lord from their mother's womb. So the teacher of the Gentiles affirmed, saying: "Whom he did predestinate, them he also called" and so forth.

CHAPTER IV. *How he was healed by an angel*

While he was still the same age, the Lord by another miracle honoured him as one who had been predestined by the election of God. For when he was a boy, as I have said, and still of the laity, he was laid up with an infirmity which pressed cruelly upon him. His knee swelled, his sinews contracted, and he became so lame that one foot was unable to touch the ground. Once, when he had been carried outside and was lying near the wall in the warmth of the sun, he saw a man of noble appearance and of wondrous beauty, clad in white robes, come riding up to him from afar, upon a magnificently caparisoned horse. When he drew near, he saluted the boy with words of peace and asked him if he was willing to minister to him as a guest. Cuthbert, showing him his bodily infirmity, answered fearlessly, "If it had been God's will and if He had not bound me with the bonds of infirmity on account of my sins, I would

31 *prae...* O₂. *predestinato* HB. *predestinata* P. 32 *magnificabat* P.
 33 *om.* HTBP. 34 *om.* P. 35 *deten...* T. 36 *om.* HTBP.
 37 *ins. et* HBP. 38 *ast...* HBP. 39-40 *pene* P. 41 *om.* B.
 42 *attingens* HTBP. 43 *deportatur* HBP. *ins. et* HBP. 44 *mire* HP.
 45 *pulcr...* HT. *pulchr...* B. 46 *uenisse* HTBP. 47 *om.* T.
 48 *app...* O₂HBP. *propinquans* AT. 49 *ins. cum* HTBP.
 50 *hospite* HB. 51 *uero iam* HB. *iam* TP. 52 *trepida* P.
 53 *releuans* HBP. 54 *nodis* HBP. 55 *infirmatibus* T.
 56-57 *non obl. pro pecc. meis* HB. *non obl. pro pecc.* P.

f. 69b non essem. Deinde itaque¹ uir ille post haec² uerba | descendens³ de equo, considerato genu eius quod a nullis medicis ut dixerat ante curatum erat, precepit⁴ ei dicens, Coquere⁵ farinam tritici, simul et lac, et cum⁶ calido unguens⁷ linire debes. Puer autem post discessum uiri, precepto⁸ oboediens⁹ angelum Dei esse intellexit. Post paucos dies secundum fidem eius sanatus¹⁰ est, gratias¹¹ agebat¹² Deo miseranti¹³ qui sanitatem integre¹⁴ sicut Tob. c. 11 ¹⁵cecato¹⁷ Tobie^{18,16} per angelum suum curantem dederat. Et ab¹⁹ hoc tempore ut ille probatissimis uiris reuelauit, angelorum auxilio deprecatus Dominum in maximis angustiis suis non est defraudatus²⁰.

V. De eo quod animam episcopi ad coelum²¹
eleuari uidit²²

Alio quoque tempore in adolescentia sua, dum adhuc esset in populari uita, quando in montanis iuxta fluuium quod²³ dicitur Ledir²⁴, cum aliis pastoribus pecora domini sui pascebat, *pernoctans in uigiliis* secundum morem eius, mente fideli, pura fide²⁵, uberrimis orationibus, uidit uisionem quam ei Dominus reuelauit, hoc est coelo²⁶ aperto²⁷ non reseratione elementorum, sed spiritualibus²⁸ oculis intuens, sicut beatus Iacob patriarcha²⁹ in Luza³⁰ quae cognominabatur³¹ Bethel, *angelos ascendentes et descendentes*³² uiderat, et³³ inter manus eorum³⁴ animam sanctam, quasi in globo igneo ad coelum³⁵ efferri³⁶. Remque³⁷ illam³⁸ tam mirabilem, statim suscitatis³⁹ pastoribus, ut uiderat indicauit⁴⁰, prophetans⁴¹ quoque eis animam esse sanctissimi episcopi⁴², aut alterius magne⁴³ persone⁴⁴ ut rei effectus probabat⁴⁵. Nam etenim⁴⁶ post paucos dies,

Sulp. Seu.
Ep. III. 14

Gen.
28. 12

1 om. HBP. 2 hec TBP. 3 descens O₁. 4 prae... O₂.
5 coque HTBP. 6 om. T. 7 ungens HB. inungens P.
8 prae... O₂. 9 obed. HTBP. 10 saluatus HTBP.
11 ins. ergo HB. 12 agens P. 13 miserante HTB.
14 integrae A. 15-16 Tob. caec. H. Tobye cecato B.
17 caec... O₂. 18 Tobiae O₂. 19 ob HB. 20 fraudatus B.
21 cel... T. 22 om. chapter heading A. 23 qui BP.
24 Ledyr B. 25 fid. pur. P. 26 celo T. coelum H. celum BP.

not be slow to minister to guests in his honour." The man thereupon descended from his horse and examining his knee, which, as Cuthbert had already explained, no doctor had tended, gave him these instructions: "You must cook wheat flour with milk, and anoint your knee with it, while it is hot." After the man had gone, the boy obeyed his command, perceiving that he was an angel of God. After a few days he was healed according to his faith, and gave thanks to God who had shown him pity and had completely cured him through the ministration of his angel, even as He had healed Tobias when he was blind. And from that time, as he revealed to men who can be fully trusted, whenever he prayed to the Lord in the times of his greatest distress, he was never denied the help of angels.

CHAPTER V. *How he saw the soul of a bishop
being borne to heaven*

On another occasion, also in his youth, while he was still leading a secular life, and was feeding the flocks of his master on the hills near the river which is called the Leader, in the company of other shepherds, he was spending the night in vigils according to his custom, offering abundant prayers with pure faith and with a faithful heart, when he saw a vision which the Lord revealed to him. For through the opened heaven—not by a parting asunder of the natural elements but by the sight of his spiritual eyes—like blessed Jacob the patriarch in Luz which was called Bethel, he had seen angels ascending and descending and in their hands was borne to heaven a holy soul, as if in a globe of fire. Then immediately awaking the shepherds, he described the wonderful vision just as he had seen it, prophesying further to them that it was the soul of a most holy bishop or of some other great person. And so events

27 apertum HBP. 28 spiritualibus O₂TP. spiritalis B. 29 pat. Jac. P.
30 Lusa P. 31 cognominatur A. cognominatur P. 32 desc. et asc. HTB.
33 capital letter in O₁. 34 ins. uidit P. 35 caelum O₂. celum ATBP.
36 deferri P. 37 rem namque HTB. regem P. 38 om. HTB.
igitur P. 39 sciscitans HB. 40 indicans P. 41 capital letter in O₁.
prophaut P. 42 ins. dixit HB. 43 magnae O₂H. persone P.
44 personae O₂H. magne P. 45 probauit HTBP. 46 om. HBP.

celeberrime¹ obitum sancti² episcopi nostri Aegdani³, eadem hora noctis qua ille uiderat uisionem, longe lateque nuntiatum⁴ esse audierunt.

f. 70

VI. De eo quod Dominus eum⁵ pascebat in uia⁶

Unum adhuc miraculum⁷ quod in iuuentute sua ei⁸ contigit, non omitto. Pergenti namque⁹ eo ab austro ad flumen quod Uuir¹⁰ nominatur, in eo¹¹ loco¹² ubi¹³ Kuncacester¹⁴ dicitur, et¹⁵ transuadato eo¹⁶ ad habitacula¹⁷ uernalia et aestualia¹⁸, propter imbrem¹⁹ et tempestatem²⁰ reuersus est²¹. Nam²² quia²³ illo tempore hiemali²⁴ desertis habitaculis sibi et equo eius fatigato causa itineris et famis ab hominibus ibi²⁵ consolationem non inuenit, itaque²⁶ distrato²⁷ equo trahens²⁸ in domum et alligans ad parietem, expectans²⁹ serenitatem, oransque³⁰ sibi³¹ ad Dominum, uidit equum capud³² sursum³³ eleuantem ad tecta domunculi³⁴ partemque foeni³⁵ tectorum auide adprehendens³⁶ traxit ad se. Et³⁷ cum³⁸ quo⁴⁰ statim³⁹ panis calidus et⁴¹ caro⁴² inuolutus⁴³ in panne⁴⁴ linea⁴⁵ diligenter deorsum cadens emissus⁴⁶ est. Ille uero consummata oratione probauit⁴⁷, animaduertitque⁴⁸ sibi esse cibum⁴⁹ a Deo predestinatum⁵⁰ per emissionem angeli, qui sepe in angustiis suis adiuuauit⁵¹ eum, gratias⁵² agens Deo, benedixit et manducauit. Iamiamque diuino cibo⁵³ saciatus⁵⁴ et suffultus, in fortitudine eius glorificans Dominum prospere proficiscebatur⁵⁵.

Psa. 128. 6

I Kings
19. 8

1 caeleberrimum O₂. celeberrimi TP. celeberrimae B. 2 om. P.
3 Aedani H. Edani TBP. 4 nuntiatum H. 5 eum Dom. T.
6 in uia pasc. AT. 7 mir. adh. O₂. 8 om. HTBP.
9 igitur P. 10 Iuur HB. Wir P. 11 eum HP. 12 locum HP.
13 qui P. 14 Kuncacester O₂. Concalestir H. Cuncacestir T.
Concalestyr B. Concarestir P. 15 capital letter in O₁.
16 om. O₂. 17 haticula A. 18 aestualia O₁. estualia HTBP.
19 ymbrem TB. 20-21 diuertit P. 22 et P. 23 om. HTB.
24 hiemale T. hyemali BP. 25 sibi HB. 26 capital letter in O₁.
tamen P. 27 distrato O₂HB. destrato P. 28 om. B.

proved; for a few days afterwards, they heard that the death of our holy bishop Aidan, at that same hour of the night as he had seen the vision, had been announced far and wide.

CHAPTER VI. *How the Lord gave him food by the wayside*

There is still another miracle that I must not omit, which happened to him in his youth. Coming from the south to a river which is called the Wear, on reaching a place called Chester-le-Street, he crossed it and turned aside on account of the rain and tempest to some dwellings used only in spring and summer. But it was then winter time and the dwellings were deserted, so that he found no man to succour him and his horse, wearied as they were by their journey and by lack of food. So he unsaddled his horse and led it into the dwelling-place and, fastening it to the wall, he waited for the storm to cease. As he was praying to the Lord, he saw his horse raise its head up to the roof of the hut and, greedily seizing part of the thatch of the roof, draw it towards him. And immediately there fell out, along with it, a warm loaf and meat carefully wrapped up in a linen cloth. When he had finished his prayer, he felt it and found that it was food provided beforehand for him by God through the sending forth of his angel who often helped him in his difficulties. And he thanked God, blessed it and ate it: and now being satisfied and supported with divine food, and glorifying the Lord, he set forth prosperously in the strength of it.

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| 29 expectabat O ₂ . | 30 capital letter in O ₁ . | 31 om. HTBP. |
| 32 caput O ₂ HTBP. | 33 suum HP. | 34 domuncula O ₂ . domuncule P. |
| 35 feni TBP. | 36 app... HB. sumens P. | 37 om. HTB. |
| 38-39 ecce P. | 40 ins. et T. | 41 cum P. |
| 43 changed to inuoluta O ₂ . | 44 changed to panno O ₂ . | 42 claro T. carne P. |
| 45 changed to lineo O ₂ . lineo HTBP. | 46 clapsus P. | 47 om. HB. |
| 48 om. que HB. aduertitque T. | 49 cybum P. | 50 prae... O ₂ . |
| destinatum HTBP. | 51 adiuuabat HTBP. | 52 ins. igitur HB. |
| itaque T. | 53 cybo P. | 54 satiatu AP. ins. est HBP. |
| 55 profectus est HB. proficiscebatur TP. | | |

VII. *De mirabilibus pretermisiss*¹

Cetera uero opera iuuentutis floride² pullulancia³, silentio
 pretereo⁴, ne fastidium lectori ingererem^{5,6}, anhelans per-
 fecte⁷ actatis⁸ *pacatissimum fructum* in uirtutibus Christi
 Heb. 12. 11 sub seruitio⁹ Dei singulariter intimare. Omitto namque
 quomodo¹⁰ in castris contra hostem cum exercitu sedens,
 f. 70b ibique habente¹¹ stipendio¹² paruo¹³, tamen¹⁴ omne spa-
 Dan. c. 1 tium¹⁵ habundanter¹⁶ uiuens¹⁷ | diuinae¹⁸ auctus¹⁹ est sicut
 Danihel²⁰ et tres pueri cibo²¹ regali non contenti, seruili
 tamen²² ²³et eo^{24,25} paruissimo²⁶ mire saginati sunt.
²⁷Nec²⁹ non^{30,28} pretereo³¹ quomodo animam³² praefecti³³
 in obitu suo ad coelum³⁴ eleuari uidit. Taceo quoque
 quam mire demones³⁵ effugauit, et insanientes uerbo
 orationis suae³⁶ sanauit.

Explicit liber I

1 *om. chapter heading* A. 2 floridac O₂H. 3 pululencia O₁A.
 4 praec... O₂. 5 inger. lect. T. 6 ingererer O₁O₂. ingerer A.
 7 perfectac H. 8 et... HTBP. 9 seruicio H. 10 quo. nam. P.
 11 habens P. 12 stipendium P. 13 paruum P. parua T.
 14 *ins.* per P. 15 spacium HT. 16 abundanter P.
 17 uiuens O₁. conuiuens P. 18 diuinitus T. 19 actus T.

CHAPTER VII. *Concerning miracles which have been omitted*

The rest of the abundant works of the flower of his youth, I pass over in silence, lest I should engender a distaste in the reader, for I am eager to describe, one by one, the peaceable fruits of his maturity, manifesting the power of Christ in the service of God. I omit, therefore, how when dwelling in camp with the army, in the face of the enemy, and having only meagre rations, he yet lived abundantly all the time and was strengthened by divine aid, just as Daniel and the three children, refusing the royal food, flourished wonderfully on slaves' food and that, too, very small in amount. And I omit as well how he saw the soul of a reeve carried up to the sky on his death. I also refrain from telling how wonderfully he put demons to flight and healed the insane by his prayers.

End of Book I

20 Daniel HTB.	21 cybo P.	22 tantum HB.	23-24 om. HB.
25 <i>A breaks off here.</i>		26 <i>ins.</i> cibo HB.	27-28 om. HB.
29 haec O ₁ O ₂ .	30 nunc P.	31 <i>prac.</i> . . O ₂ .	<i>ins.</i> etiam HB.
32 anima O ₁ O ₂ .	33 perfecti P. <i>pre.</i> . . T.	34 caelum O ₂ .	celum TBP.
35 daem. . . O ₂ .	36 sue TBP.		

Incipiunt capitula libri II¹

- I. De primordio uite² eius sub seruitio Dei.
- II. De eo quod angelo ministravit et tribus panibus a Deo donatus est.
- III. De seruiantibus illi animalibus marinis, et sanato fratre temptante³.
- IIII. De delphina carne sibi largiente Deo⁴ et prophetia eius.
- V. De eo quod aquila capiebat piscem per prophetiam serui Dei.
- VI. De prophetia qua praecidit includere⁵ diabolum⁶ auditores eius.
- VII. De eo quod nutricis suae habitacula ab urente flamma⁷ imperio suo custodiuit.
- VIII. De eo quod sanauit mulierem a demonio⁸ uexatam⁹.

I. De primordio uite eius sub seruitio¹⁰ Dei¹¹

Ath. Vit.
Ant.
cc. 5, 6

f. 71

Heb.

12. 11

Bene ergo disponens duriori¹² se uite^{13,14} lege¹⁵ 16 in monasterio¹⁷ constringere¹⁸, a populari uita reuertens¹⁹, religiosa²⁰ tamen atque²¹ immaculata ad meliora proficiens, sanctum laborem tolleranter²² ferebat, quia²³ uoluntariae²⁴ seruitutis longum in Dei opere studium consuetudinemque in naturam²⁵ uerterat. Inedie²⁶ autem et uigiliarum in tantum patiens²⁷ erat, ut incredulitatem²⁸ uiribus uinceret. Pernocabat²⁹ in oratione sepiissime, nonnumquam etiam³⁰ bidui³¹ triduique³² sic permanens, quarta denum die³³ reficiebatur, recordatus³⁴ Pauli | apostoli dictum, Omnis quidem³⁵ disciplina in praesenti³⁶ quidem³⁷ uidetur non³⁸ esse gaudii sed meroris³⁹. Postea autem fructum

1 HTBP omit list of chapters. secundi O₂. 2 uitae O₂. 3 om. O₂.
4 Domino O₂. 5 illudere O₂. ins. a O₂. 6 diabolo O₁O₂.
7 flamma O₁. 8 daem... O₂. 9 vexatum O₁. 10 seruitio T.
11 Incipit liber secundus O₂. 12 durioris P. 13 uit. se HB.
14 uitae O₂. 15 om. HB. 16-17 monasterii se T.
18 constringens T. 19 ins. per HB. 20 capital letter in O₁.
religiosus P. 21 adque O₁. et HB. 22 toler... O₂.

The chapters of Book II

- I. Of the beginning of his life in the service of God.
- II. How he ministered to an angel and was given three loaves by God.
- III. How the sea animals ministered to him and how a brother who tested him was healed.
- IV. Concerning the dolphin flesh which God provided for him and concerning his prophecy.
- V. How an eagle caught a fish in accordance with the prophecy of the servant of God.
- VI. Concerning his prophecy wherein he foresaw the devil deluding his hearers.
- VII. How by his commands he preserved the dwellings of his nurse from a blazing fire.
- VIII. How he healed a woman vexed by a devil.

CHAPTER I. *Of the beginning of his life in the service of God*

So having arranged to bind himself by the more rigid rule of life in a monastery, leaving his secular life, pious and undefiled though it was, he advanced to better things and patiently bore the holy labour for, by long-standing zeal for voluntary bond-service in the work of God and by custom, it had become part of his nature. He was able to endure such fastings and such watchings that his strength silenced unbelief. He very often spent the whole night in prayer, sometimes even enduring a second and a third night, and refreshed himself only on the fourth day, remembering the words of the Apostle Paul, "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous but grievous; nevertheless afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruit

tolerabiliter P.	23 quam O ₁ O ₂ .	24 uoluntarie TBP.	25 natura O ₁ .
26 inediae O ₂ HB.	27 paciens H.	28 credulitatem HBP.	
29 pernoctando HB.	30 <i>ins. post</i> HTBP.	31 biduum HTBP.	
32 triduumque HTBP.	33 die demum P.	34 <i>ins. beati</i> P.	
35 enim P.	36 <i>pre...</i> T.	37 <i>ins. non</i> HB.	38 <i>om.</i> HB.
39 <i>maer...</i> O ₂ .	memoris O ₁ .		

Actus
Siluestri

*pacatissimum*¹ *exercitatis*² *per eam*³ *iustitie*⁴ *reddit*⁵. O fratres
conuersatione eius⁶ dignum me⁷ esse⁸ non usurpo⁹,
quin immo nullius¹⁰ sermone explicari¹¹ potest¹². *Erat*
*enim aspectu angelicus, sermone*¹³ *nitidus*¹⁴, *opere sanctus,*
corpore integer, ingenio optimus, consilio magnus, fide catholicus,
*spe patientissimus*¹⁵, *caritate*¹⁶ *diffusus, sed uirtutum tramitem*
enodabo.

II. ¹⁷*De eo quod angelo ministravit et tribus*
*panibus a Deo donatus est*¹⁸

Gen. 18
1, 2

f. 71 b

Fuit igitur miraculum aliud, in quo primum sanctus homo
Dei¹⁹ Cuðberhtus²⁰ a Domino glorificatus est, postquam²¹
seruitutis Christi iugum tonsuraeque Petri formam in
modum corone²² spineae²³ capud²⁴ Christi cingentis²⁵
Domino adiuuante susceperat, in cenobio²⁶ quod dicitur
Hrypae²⁷, sicut nostri fidelissimi testes et adhuc uiuentes
indicauerunt. Ministrare namque hospitibus aduenientibus
statim neophitus²⁸ ²⁹a familia³⁰ electus est, inter³¹ quos
quidem³² quadam die in matutina hora hiemali³³ et niuali
tempore, *apparuit ei angelus Domini in forma stabilis*
*uiri perfecta*que³⁴ aetate³⁵, sicut patriarchae³⁶ Abrahe³⁷ *in*
*ualle Mambre*³⁸ angeli in forma uirorum³⁹ *apparuerunt*⁴⁰.
Deinde ergo⁴¹ suscepto⁴² eo secundum morem eius be-
nigne, putans adhuc hominem esse, et⁴³ non angelum,
lauatis manibus et pedibus linteaminibusque⁴⁴ tergens et
manibus suis⁴⁵ humiliter propter frigorem⁴⁶ fricans et cale-
faciens pedes eius⁴⁷, et⁴⁸ ut horam diei tertiam⁴⁹ ad capien-
dum⁵⁰ cibum⁵¹ expectaret⁵², nolentem rennuentemque⁵³ |
causa itineris diligentissime inuitabat. Et⁵⁴ postremo⁵⁵
tamen adiurando in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi,

1 *ins. reddit B.* 2 *ins. reddit HP. reddit T.* 3 *A begins again here.* 4 *iustitiae O₂. iusticie TBP.* 5 *om. HTBP.*
6 *ins. explicare P.* 7 *me dig. HTBP.* 8 *ins. referre HB.*
9 *ins. enarrare T.* 10 *nullus T. nullo P.* 11 *explicare O₁O₂A.*
12 *posse O₂.* 13 *nomine H. om. B.* 14 *ins. nomine B.*
15 *patientissimus HB.* 16 *karitate O₂.* 17-18 *De primordio uite eius sub seruiicio Domini nostri T.*
19 *Dei homo HB.*
20 *Cuthbertus HBP. Cutbertus T.* 21 *capital letter in O₁.*
22 *coronae O₂HB.* 23 *spinee T.* 24 *caput O₂HTBP.*
25 *cingentes O₁O₂A.* 26 *coen... O₁.* 27 *Hrypae O₁. Hyrpe O₂.*

of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby". O brethren, I do not assume that I am worthy to tell his life, nay rather, no man's words can describe it. For he was angelic in appearance, refined in conversation, holy in works, unblemished in body, noble in nature, mighty in counsel, orthodox in faith, patient in hope, wide in charity. Let me, nevertheless, make clear the course of his miracles.

CHAPTER II. *How he ministered to an angel and was given three loaves by God*

Now this was another miracle in which Cuthbert the holy man of God was first glorified by the Lord, after he had by the Lord's help taken upon him the yoke of bondservice to Christ and the Petrine tonsure after the shape of the crown of thorns that bound the head of Christ, in the monastery which is called Ripon. This miracle our most trustworthy witnesses who are still alive have testified to. For while a neophyte, he was at once elected by the community to minister to guests on their arrival. Among these, on the morning of a certain day when the weather was wintry and snowy, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in the form of a well-built man in the flower of his age, just as angels appeared to the patriarch Abraham in the valley of Mamre in the form of men. Then having received him kindly in accordance with his wont, still thinking him to be a man and not an angel, he washed his hands and feet and wiped them with towels, and, having in his humility rubbed his guest's feet with his own hands to warm them on account of the cold, he invited him most urgently to wait until the third hour of the day to take food; but he was unwilling and refused on account of his journey. Finally Cuthbert adjured him in the

Hripe HTB.	Rhipe P.	28 neophytus B.	29-30 om. HB.
31 capital letter in O ₁ .		32 om. HB.	33 hyemali O ₂ BP.
34 perfectaeque HB.	35 aetatis HB.	et... TP.	36 patriarche TP.
37 Abrahac O ₂ H.	Habrahe B.		38 Mambrae O ₂ .
39 changed from uiuorum A.	40 aparuerunt O ₁ .		41 om. HB.
42 accepto HBP.	43 om. HTBP.	44 linth... AH.	lynth... B.
om. que BP.	45 om. O ₁ O ₂ .	46 frigus BP.	47 om. O ₂ P.
48 capital letter in O ₁ .	49 terciam HTBP.		50 capiendam P.
51 cibus O ₁ O ₂ .	escam P.	52 exsp... O ₂ .	53 renitentemque HB.
renuentemque P.	54 ad HTP.	55 posttremo A.	postremum HTBP.

consentiendo¹ superabat. Facto² iam signo diei³ hore⁴ tertiae⁵ et oratione consummata⁶, mensam statim adposuit⁷ ⁸praeparato¹⁰ cibo¹¹ desuper quem habebat⁹. Panis enim ut¹² casu aliquo euenit¹³, non erat in diuersorio nisi tamen¹⁴ micas pro benedictione¹⁵ panis¹⁶ congregatas¹⁷ super mensam constituit¹⁸. Ille etiam homo Dei reuertens ad monasterium querens¹⁹ panem²⁰, et non²¹ inuento eo, adhuc enim coquebant²² panes in fornace²³, reuersus²⁴ uero²⁵ ad hospitem quem solum reliquerat²⁶ manducantem²⁷, et²⁸ non inuenit eum ibi²⁹, nec³⁰ uestigia pedum eius³¹. Iam enim ³²niuis³⁴ erat³³ super faciem terrae³⁵. Obstupefacto³⁶ ergo sibi³⁷, mensam remouit ad cubiculum³⁸, intellegens³⁹ eum⁴⁰ angelum Dei esse⁴¹. Et primo in⁴² introitu eius, nares odore⁴³ panis suauissimi⁴⁴ replete⁴⁵ sunt, et inuentis quoque⁴⁶ tribus panibus calidis, gratias agens⁴⁷ Domino quod⁴⁸ in eo impletum⁴⁹ est dictum Domini, *Qui recipit uos, me recipit. Et*⁵⁰ *qui recipit me*⁵¹, *recipit eum qui me misit*⁵². Et iterum, *Qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophetae, mercedem prophetae accipiet.* ⁵³*Et qui*⁵⁵ *recipit iustum in nomine iusti, mercedem iusti accipiet*⁵⁴. Et ab hac iam die frequenter esurienti⁵⁶ eo Dominus cibauit⁵⁷ eum, ut professus est fidelibus fratribus non propter iactantiam, sed propter⁵⁸ aedificationem⁵⁹ multorum, ut⁶⁰ Paulus de semetipso multa locutus est.

Matth.
10. 40, 41

III. *De seruientibus illi animalibus marinis* ⁶¹ *et sanato fratre temptante*⁶²

Et⁶³ hoc dicendum puto quod relatu multorum bonorum⁶⁴ agnoui. ⁶⁵Ex quibus est⁶⁷ Plecgils⁶⁸ presbiter eo tempore quo fuit in monasterio quod nobiscum dicitur Mailros^{69,66}.

1 consentientem HTBP. 2 *ins.* uero HB. 3 *om.* H. terciæ BP.
4 horae O₂AH. 5 terciæ HT. *om.* BP. 6 consummata O₁A.
7 app... O₂HTBP. 8-9 *om.* HB. 10 pre... T. 11 cybo P.
12 *om.* O₁O₂AT. 13 *om.* T. 14 tantum HBP.
15 benedicto O₁O₂A. 16 pane O₁O₂A. 17 congregans HTBP.
18 *ins.* preparato desuper cibo quem habebat HB. posuit T.
19 quaer... O₂H. 20 panes HB. 21 *om.* HB.
22 coquebantur HBP. 23 furno O₂. 24 *capital letter in* O₁.
25 *om.* HTBP. 26 relinquerat O₁. *om.* HTBP. 27 *ins.* reliquerat
HTBP. 28 *om.* HBP. 29 *om.* HB. 30 *ins.* in niue HBP.

name of our Lord Jesus Christ and so won his consent. When the signal was given at the third hour of the day and prayer was over, he at once set out a table and spread thereon such food as he had. Now by some chance there was no bread in the guesthouse, save that he had placed some crumbs on the table as a blessed gift of bread. Thereupon the man of God went back to the monastery to seek a loaf; but failing to get any (for they were still baking in the oven) he returned to the guest whom he had left eating alone; but he did not find him nor even his footprints although there was snow over the surface of the ground. He was amazed and removed the table to the storehouse, realising that it was an angel of God. And immediately at the entrance, his nostrils were filled with the odour of the choicest bread and, finding three warm loaves, he gave thanks to God, because in him was fulfilled the saying of the Lord: "He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me", and, again "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward." And frequently from that day, when he was hungry, the Lord fed him, as he used to declare to faithful brethren, not boastfully, but for the edification of many, just as Paul told many things about himself.

CHAPTER III. *How the sea animals ministered to him and how a brother who tested him was healed*

And this incident I think should also be related, which I learned from the account of many good men, among whom is Plecgils a priest, at the time when he was in the monastery which we

31 eius ped. HBP.	32-33 ninxerat HB.	34 nix P.	35 terre TP.
36 obstupefactus HBP.		37 eo O ₂ . om.	HTB. ipse P.
38 ins. ibat HBP.	39 intelligens HTBP.		40 om. HTB.
41 esse Dei B.	42 om. HB.	43 om. HB.	44 ins. odore HB.
45 repletæ O ₂ H.	46 om. HTP.	47 agebat HB.	egit T.
49 repletum HB.		50 om. T.	que P.
52 misit me HB.	53-54 om. HBP.	55 om. T.	O ₂ breaks off here.
56 esuriente TP.	57 cybaut P.	58 ob HB.	59 ed. . . HTBP.
60 ins. sanctus HBP.	61-62 om. T.	63 De T.	64 om. T.
65-66 om. HB.	67 om. P.	68 Plecgilf O ₁ .	Pleggils T. Pleggilis P.
69 Mcilros TP.			

f. 72

Accersitus¹ est a sanctimoniali² | uidua matreque omnium in Christo³ Æbba⁴. Veniens ergo⁵ ille ut inuitatus est ad cenobium quod dicitur Colodesbyrig⁶, manensque⁷ ibi aliquod⁸ dies non deserens relaxando sue⁹ constitutionis¹⁰ propositum, cepit¹¹ nocte maritima loca circuire¹² morem consuetudinis cantandi et uigilandi seruans. Quo¹³ conperto¹⁴, a quodam¹⁵ clerico familie¹⁶, qui¹⁷ incipiebat occulte de longinquo obsequi¹⁸ eum temptando¹⁹, scire uolens quomodo uitam nocturnam transegeret²⁰. Ille uero homo Dei Cudberht²¹, inobstinata²² mente adpropinquans²³ ad mare usque ad lumbare in mediis fluctibus²⁴,²⁵ iam²⁷ enim²⁶ aliquando usque²⁸ ad ascellas²⁹ tumultuante et fluctuante tinctus est. Dum³⁰ autem de mare³¹ ascendens, et in arenosis locis³² litoris³³ flectens genua³⁴ orabat³⁵, uenerunt statim post uestigia eius duo pusilla³⁶ animalia maritima humiliter proni³⁷ in terram³⁸, lambentes³⁹ pedes eius⁴⁰, uolutantes⁴¹ tergebant pelibus suis, et calefacientes⁴² odoribus⁴³ suis. Post seruitium⁴⁴ autem et⁴⁵ ministerio⁴⁶ impleto⁴⁷ accepta ab eo benedictione, ad cognatas⁴⁸ undas maris⁴⁹ recesserunt⁵⁰. Ille iam⁵¹ homo Dei in galli cantu reuertens⁵² ad orationem communem⁵³ cum fratribus ad⁵⁴ aecclesiam⁵⁵ Dei, clericus⁵⁶ uero familie⁵⁷ supradictus in scopulosis locis⁵⁸ latens, uisu pavidus et tremebundus⁵⁹, tota nocte coangustatus⁶⁰ prope mortem accederat^{62,61}. Crastina autem die prosternens se ante pedes hominis Dei⁶³, flebili uoce ueniam indulgentiae⁶⁴ deprecavit⁶⁵. Cui homo Dei prophetalis sermone⁶⁶ respondit, Frater mi, quid est tibi? Numquid propius adpropinquasti⁶⁷ mihi⁶⁸ temptando

- | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------|
| 1 accitus HTBP. | 2 sancto moniali P. | 3 <i>ins.</i> nomine HB. |
| 4 Ebba HTBP. <i>ins.</i> abbatissa famularum Dei HTB. <i>ins.</i> abbatissa famulantium Deo P. | 5 itaque HTBP. | 6 Colodesburc H. |
| Colodesburg T. Colodesburch B. Colodesbuc P. | 7 mansit HBP. | |
| 8 aliquot HB. | 9 sui T. suae H. | 10 institutionis P. |
| 11 coepit H. <i>capital letter in O</i> ₁ . <i>ins.</i> namque HBP. | 12 circum-
ire P. | 13 quod HBP. |
| 14 ut compertum est HB. compertum est P. | 15 <i>om.</i> HB. | 16 familie H. |
| 17 <i>om.</i> HB. | 18 sequi HBP. | 19 <i>om.</i> HB. |
| 20 transigeret HB. transiret P. | 21 <i>om.</i> HB. Cudbertus T. Cuthbertus P. | 22 peruigili HB. |
| simplici T. obstinata P. | 23 app... HBP. | 24 fructibus P. |
| 25-26 stetit HB. | 27 <i>capital letter in O</i> ₁ . | 28 utque O ₁ . |
| 29 <i>gloss above vel ina A.</i> | 30 tum P. | |

call Melrose; Cuthbert was sent for by the nun Aebbe, a widow, and the mother of them all in Christ. He came to the monastery which is called Coldingham, in response to the invitation, and remaining there some days, did not relax his habitual way of life but began to walk about by night on the seashore, keeping up his custom of singing as he kept vigil. When a certain cleric of the community found this out, he began to follow him from a distance to test him, wishing to know what he did with himself at night. But that man of God, approaching the sea with mind made resolute, went into the waves up to his loin-cloth; and once he was soaked as far as his armpits by the tumultuous and stormy sea. Then coming up out of the sea, he prayed, bending his knees on the sandy part of the shore, and immediately there followed in his footsteps two little sea animals, humbly prostrating themselves on the earth; and, licking his feet, they rolled upon them, wiping them with their skins and warming them with their breath. After this service and ministry had been fulfilled and his blessing had been received, they departed to their haunts in the waves of the sea. But the man of God, returning home at cockcrow, came to the church of God to join in public prayer with the brethren. The above-mentioned cleric of the community lay hidden amid the rocks, frightened and trembling at the sight and, being in anguish all night long, he came nigh to death. The next day he prostrated himself before the feet of the man of God and, in a tearful voice, prayed for his pardon and indulgence. The man of God answered him with prophetic words: "My brother, what is the matter with you? Have you approached nearer me, to test me, than

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 31 mari HTBP. | 32 har... HB. om. O ₁ . | 33 litt... HB. |
| 34 gen. flect. HBP. | 35 oraret HTB. ins. et ecce P. | 36 pussilla O ₁ A. |
| 37 prona HBP. | 38 terra P. | 39 lambentia HBP. |
| ins. et se HB. | 41 uoluntantia HBP. | 42 calefaciebant HB. calefacientia P. |
| 43 aloribus P. | 44 seruicii H. seruitii B. | 45 om. HB. |
| 46 ministerium HTBP. | 47 impletum HTBP. | 48 cognitias T. |
| incognitas HB. | 49 maris undas P. | 50 recessere B. |
| 52 est in marg. O ₁ . | reuersus est HTBP. | 53 om. P. |
| 55 ecclesia P. eccl... T. | 56 capital letter in O ₁ . | 57 familie AT. |
| om. HB. | 58 cm. HTBP. | 59 ins. et HB. |
| erat HB. | 62 deuenerat T. accesserat P. | 63 ins. humiliter et HB. |
| ins. humiliter TP. | 64 indulgentie TB. | 65 deprecatus est HTBP. |
| 66 uoce HBP. | 67 app... HBP. | 68 michi T. |

you should have done? nevertheless, since you admit it, you shall receive pardon on one condition; that you vow never to tell the story so long as I am alive." The brother made the vow and kept it afterwards and departed with his blessing, healed. But after Cuthbert's death he told many brethren how the animals ministered to the saint, just as we read in the Old Testament that the lions ministered to Daniel, and related how Cuthbert, to his amazement, had seen him with his spiritual eyes, when he was lying hid and testing him, just as Peter detected Ananias and Sapphira when they were tempting the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER IV. *Concerning the dolphin flesh which the Lord provided for him and concerning his prophecy*

At another time also, he went from the same monastery which is called Melrose with two brothers, and, setting sail for the land of the Picts, they reached the land called the region of the Niduari in safety. They remained there some days in great want, for hunger afflicted them and the tempestuous sea prevented them from continuing their voyage. But the man of God, after spending the night near the shore in prayer, came to them in the morning of the day of the Epiphany of the Lord, for they had started out after Christmas. Thereupon he urged them saying: "Let us go and seek, asking God to fulfil his promise when he said: 'Ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.' For I think that the Lord will give us something to celebrate the day on which the Magi worshipped him with gifts and on which the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove descended upon him at his baptism in Jordan, and on which he turned water into wine in Cana of Galilee to confirm the faith

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Niuduera iregio P. | 24 aliquot HB. | 25 fames HTBP. |
| 26 itineris O ₁ . | 27 changed to prohibita est A. | ins. eis P. |
| 28 litt... HTBP. | 29 Epiphaniae H. Epyphaniae B. | 30 om. HB. et |
| T. statim P. | 31 om. O ₁ O ₂ A. | 32 natalicii HB. natalicium TP. |
| 33 ceperant HB. | 34 quaer... H. | 35 dixit T. 36 ins. et cactera HB. |
| 37-38 om. HB. | 39-40 donabit TP. | 41 om. HB. |
| 42 columbae H. | 43 baptyzato B. ins. eo HB. | 44 Cana T. |
| 45 Galilee TP. Galylee B. | | |

f. 73

I Kings
17. 6
Acts c. 27

fidem¹ discipulorum suorum². Tunc itaque surgentes exierunt. Ille autem precedens eos quasi preuiator, usque ad mare peruenerunt. Et statim uidentes³ tres partes delfini⁴ carnis⁵ | quasi humano⁶ manu cum cultella⁷ sectas⁸, et⁹ aqua mundatas inuenerunt. Homo igitur Dei prouolutus¹⁰ genibus gratias agens Domino, dixit sociis suis, Tenete portantes et benedicite Dominum. Ecce enim¹¹ tres partes tribus uiris¹² tribusque¹⁴ noctibus et diebus sufficiunt¹³. Quarta¹⁵ uero die serenum erit mare ad nauigandum. Illi namque¹⁶ portauerunt¹⁷ et¹⁸ coxerunt, mirabilemque¹⁹ suauitatem²⁰ carnis degustauerunt. Manentes²¹ autem tribus diebus²² ualida tempestate, quarta²³ die secundum uerbum eius in serenitate nauigantes prospere portum salutis tenuerunt, sicut nobis²⁴ unus e duobus fratribus supra²⁵ nomine Tydi²⁶ qui presbiter est adhuc uiuens²⁷ coram multis testibus indicauit, glorificans²⁸ Deum quod eadem misericordia tunc homini Dei, qua et olim in deserto Helie²⁹ carnes largitus est. Et eodem spiritu imbutus tempestatem et serenitatem praeuidit, quo et Paulus apostolus in actibus apostolorum nauigantibus prophetauit.

V. De eo quod aquila capiebat pisces per³⁰
prophetiam serui Dei³¹

Supradictus autem presbiter Tydi³² aliud miraculum quod multis cognitum est indicauit. Alia³³ die³⁴ proficiscebat³⁵ iuxta fluuium Tesgeta tendens in meridiem inter montana docens rusticanos et³⁶ baptizabat³⁷ eos³⁸. Habens quoque puerum in comitatu eius³⁹ secum ambulans, dixit⁴⁰ ad eum⁴¹, Putasne quis tibi hodie prandium preparauit⁴²? Cui⁴³ respondente, nullum in illa uia⁴⁵ scire cognatum

I om. B. * 2 ins. fidem B. ins. In eodem quoque die sancto Augustino testante (attestante TP) de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus saturauit Dominus quinque milia hominum HTBP. 3 om. HB.
4 delphinii O₁A. delfine P. 5 carnes T. om. P.
6 humana AHTBP. 7 cultello HTBP. 8 factas P.
9 in P. 10 prouolutus P. 11 ins. hac H. ins. he B.
12-13 suff. trib. dieb. et trib. noct. P. 14 om. que HBP.
15 quarto T. 16 itaque HB. 17 deportantes HB.

of his disciples." They then arose and went out. He went in front of them as though he were the forerunner, until they came to the sea. And immediately they looked and found three portions of dolphin's flesh as though they had been cut by a human hand with a knife and washed with water. So the man of God, kneeling down, gave thanks to the Lord and said to his companions: "Take them and carry them away and bless the Lord. For behold three portions are sufficient for three men for three days and three nights; but on the fourth day, the sea will be calm for sailing." So they took them away and cooked them and enjoyed the wonderful sweetness of the flesh. They remained three days amid a fierce tempest and on the fourth day, according to his word, they prosperously reached a port of safety after a calm voyage. So one of the two brethren mentioned above named Tydi, who is a priest and still alive, declared to us before many witnesses; and he glorified God because He then bestowed flesh upon the man of God with the same mercy as He had once bestowed it in the desert upon Elijah, and because, inspired by the same Spirit, Cuthbert foresaw the tempest and the calm, just as the Apostle Paul did in the Acts of the Apostles when he prophesied to the voyagers.

CHAPTER V. *How an eagle caught a fish in accordance with the prophecy of the servant of God*

Now the above-mentioned priest Tydi spoke of another miracle which is known to many. On a certain day, he was going along the river Teviot and making his way southward, teaching the country people among the mountains and baptizing them. Having a boy walking with him in his company he said to him: "Do you think that someone has prepared you your midday meal to-day?" He answered that he knew of none of their

18 om. HB.	19 et mirabilem T.	20 ins. que P.	21 manente T.
22 ins. in HB.	23 ins. uero P.	24 om. HBP.	25 supradictis HTBP.
26 Tydius HB.	Tidi T.	27 ins. nobis HB.	28 capital letter in O ₁ .
29 Heliae H.	Helyc TBP.	30 secundum T.	31 ins. excelsi T.
32 om. HB.	33 alio HTBP.	34 -e above O ₁ .	35 proficiscebatur HTBP.
36 om. HBP.	37 baptyzabat B.	baptizansque P.	38 om. O ₁ .
39 om. P.	40-41 ci HB.	42 preparauerit HTB.	ministrabit P.
43 qui HB.	44 respondit HTBP.	ins. se HB.	45 ins. se P.

et nec ab alienis¹ incognitis aliquid² genus misericordiae sperantem³, seruus autem⁴ Domini, iterum⁵ ait⁶ ad eum⁷, Confide fili, Dominus⁸ prouidebit uictum sperantibus⁹ in se, qui¹⁰ dixit, ¹¹*Quaerite ergo*¹³ *primum*¹² *regnum Dei et iustitiam*¹⁴ *eius, et haec omnia adicientur*¹⁵ *uobis*. Et¹⁶ ut impleatur prophetae dictum, | *Iunior fui, etenim*¹⁷ *seniui, et non*¹⁸ *uidi iustum derelictum*, et reliqua. *Dignus est*¹⁹ namque²⁰ *operarius mercede sua*²¹. Ergo post talia²² uerba intuens in celum²³, uidit aquilam uolantem in aere²⁴, dixit²⁵ puero suo, Haec est aquila cui praecēperat²⁶ Dominus ministrare nobis hodie cibum²⁷. Post paululum autem iter agentibus illis, uiderunt aquilam super ripam fluminis sedentem. Currens²⁸ etiam ad aquilam²⁹ puer secundum praecceptum³⁰ serui Dei, hesitans³¹, inuenit piscem grandem, portanti que ad eum integrum, dixit puero, Cur piscatori nostro ieiunanti partem ad uescendum non dedisti? Tunc uero³² puer, sicut praecēperat³³ homo³⁴ Dei, partem piscis aquilae³⁵ dedit. Alteram autem secum portantes³⁶ inter homines³⁷ assauerunt et manducauerunt. Aliisque³⁸ dederunt, et satiati³⁹ ⁴⁰adorantes Dominum⁴¹ gratiasque⁴² agentes⁴³ in uoluntate Dei⁴⁴, ad montana ut⁴⁵ supra⁴⁶ diximus⁴⁷ proficiscebant⁴⁸ *docentes*⁴⁹ et *baptizantes*⁵⁰ *eos*⁵¹, *in nomine patris et filii, et spiritus sancti*.

VI. De prophetia qua praeuidit⁵² inludere⁵³ diabolium⁵⁴ auditores eius

Eo⁵⁵ tempore ibi inter⁵⁶ montana⁵⁷ baptizans⁵⁸ ut diximus⁵⁹ in uilla quadam⁶⁰, uerbum Domini⁶¹ secundum morem eius diligenter⁶² docuit⁶³. Prophetali⁶⁴ spiritu Dei⁶⁵ praec-

1 *ins.* et P. 2 aliquod HTBP. 3 sperare HBP. 4 *om.* T.
 5 *om.* HB. 6-7 *ei* HB. 8 *ins.* autem HB. 9 speranti HTBP.
 10 *capital letter in* O₁. 11-12 *primum* querite HBP. 13 *om.* T.
 14 *iusticiam* HTBP. 15 *addic.*... T. 16 *om.* P. 17 et HTB.
 18 *ins.* inde HTBP. 19 *om.* TP. 20 enim HB. *ins.* est TP.
 21 *merc. sua oper.* HBP. 22 *alia* O₁. 23 *coelum* H.
 24 *ins.* et P. 25 *add* que TB. 26 *praecēpit* HB. *precepit* T.
 27 *cybum* P. 28 *cucurrens* O₁A. 29 *eam* HB. 30 *pre.*... T.
 31 *om.* HB. 32 *om.* HB. 33 *pre.*... T. 34 *uir* O₁A.

kindred along that way and he did not hope for any sort of kindness from unknown strangers. The servant of God said again to him: "My son, be of good cheer; the Lord will provide food for those who hope in him, for he said, 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you' in order that the saying of the prophet may be fulfilled: 'I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken', and so forth. 'For the labourer is worthy of his hire.'" After some such words he looked up to heaven and saw an eagle flying in the sky and said to his boy: "This is the eagle which the Lord has instructed to provide us with food to-day." After a short time, as they went on their way, they saw the eagle settling on the bank of the river. The boy ran towards the eagle in accordance with the command of the servant of God, and stopping, he found a large fish. The boy brought the whole of it to him, whereupon Cuthbert said: "Why did you not give our fisherman a part of it to eat since he was fasting?" Then the boy, in accordance with the commands of the man of God, gave half of the fish to the eagle while they took the other half with them, and broiling it in the company of some men, they ate it, and gave some to the others and were satisfied, worshipping the Lord and giving thanks. Then they set out according to God's will to the mountains, as we have said above, teaching and baptizing the people in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

CHAPTER VI. *Concerning his prophecy wherein he foresaw the devil deluding his hearers*

At that time, while baptizing there among the mountains, as we said, he was diligently teaching the word of the Lord at a certain village in accordance with his custom, and there, by

35 aquile TBP.	36-37 om. HB.	38 aliosque O ₁ .	39 saciati HB.
40-41 om. HB.	42 om. que HB.	43-44 Domino HB.	
45 sicut B.	46 om. HB.	47 prediximus HB.	
48 proficiscebantur HTB.	profecti sunt P.	49 ins. eos HBP.	
50 baptyzantes B.	51 om. HBP.	52 uidit T.	53 ill. . . T.
54 diabolo O ₁ A.	55 codem P.	56 in HTBP.	57 montanis HB.
58 baptyzans B.	59 dixi HTBP.	60 quidam O ₁ .	61-62 om. HB.
63 ins. et T.	64 add que HB.	65 Dei spir. B.	

uidit¹ temptantem diabolum, et uerbi² Domini³ auditum⁴ retardare uolentem, inludentis⁵ fantas iam predicens, inter alia uerba ait, O fratres karissimi⁶, si aliqua temptatio exorta foris repente extiterit, uos tamen *stabiles estote*, nec⁷ foras currentes a⁸ uerbi Dei auditione tardamini⁹, per inlusionem¹⁰ prohibiti¹¹. Post haec¹² iterum cepto ordine euangelii¹⁵ uerba exponens^{16,14}, audierunt¹⁷ accensa¹⁸ domu¹⁹ strepitum²⁰ ignis uociferantesque homines. Tunc itaque²¹ homines²² exceptis paucis quos manu retinuit, instabiliter²³ currentes | prosilierunt²⁴, et ad domum quasi inflammatam usque peruenerunt dissipantes²⁵ parietes eius, extinguere flammam²⁶ uolentes²⁷. Deinde ergo²⁸ extimplo²⁹ nec saltim uestigia fumi quod³⁰ ignem³¹ praecedit³²,³³ et³⁵ sequitur³⁴, uidentes³⁶ et agnoscentes se inlusos³⁷ esse³⁸ secundum praedictum³⁹ serui Dei⁴⁰ ⁴¹ per fantasiam diaboli⁴² ad domum unde uenerunt⁴³ reuersi sunt, prouolutis⁴⁴ genibus⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ante pedes praedicatoris⁴⁸. Orante⁴⁹ iam eo⁵⁰ pro illis per inlusionem⁵¹ Satane⁵² fallatos^{53,47}, ueniam indulgentie⁵⁴ perpetrauerunt⁵⁵, confitentis se⁵⁶ multifariam fallacis⁵⁷ astutie⁵⁸ seductionem spiritalem⁵⁹ per uisibilia fantasia^{62,61} intelligere⁶³. Igitur unusquisque⁶⁴ per doctrinam eius⁶⁵ bene emendatus et confirmatus gaudens⁶⁶ ad ⁶⁷domum suam⁶⁸ reuersi sunt⁶⁹.

VII. *De eo quod nutricis suae habitacula⁷⁰
⁷¹ ab urente flamma imperio suo⁷² custodiuit*

Eodem tempore inuitatus est sanctus homo Dei, a quadam muliere ⁷³ quae dicitur Kenspið⁷⁵, adhuc uiuens^{76,74}

- | | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 pre... T. | 2 uerbum HB. | 3 Dei P. | 4 om. HB. |
| 5 ill... HBP. add que T. | 6 carissimi AP. | 7 ne HB. | |
| 8 om. P. | 9 tardemini HB. | 10 ill... HTBP. | |
| 11 prohibiti AHTBP. | 12 hec TBP. | 13-14 exponens euangelica uerba P. | 15 euangelica HTB. |
| 16 exponente T. | 17 capital letter in O _r . | 18 accensae HBP. accensam T. | 19 domus HBP. domum T. |
| 20 crepitum HB. crepitus P. | 21 om. HB. | 22 omnes HB. | 23 om. HB. |
| 24 prosilierunt HBP. | 25 disipantes T. add que HB. dissipauerunt P. | 26 flammis T. | 27 uolebant HB. |
| 28 om. HB. | 29 extymplo B. | 30 qui AP. quae HB. quidem T. | 31 ex igne A. om. T. |
| 32 procedit A. praecedere solet HB. pre... T. | 33-34 om. HB. | | |

the prophetic Spirit of God, he foresaw the devil tempting them and trying to hinder the hearing of the word of the Lord. So foretelling the illusion of the deceiver, he said amongst other things: "O beloved brethren, if any temptation should suddenly arise outside, be steadfast and do not run out and be prevented from hearing the word of God, nor be hindered by an illusion." Afterwards, when he had resumed his exposition of the Gospel, they heard the noise of fire from a burning house and men shouting. Then the men, with the exception of a few whom he had kept back with his hand, sprang up and ran out recklessly and came to the house which appeared to be in flames, and demolished the walls, seeking to extinguish the flames. Then, seeing no trace of the smoke which precedes and follows fire, at once they realised that they had been deceived, according to the prediction of the servant of God, through an illusion of the devil; and returning to the dwelling whence they had come, they fell on their knees before the feet of the preacher. He prayed for those who had been deceived by an illusion of Satan and they won pardon and indulgence on confessing that they realised that it was one of the manifold spiritual seductions of fallacious cunning brought about by imaginary sights. And one and all of them, being greatly improved and strengthened by his teaching, returned home rejoicing.

CHAPTER VII. *How by his commands he preserved the dwellings of his nurse from a blazing fire*

At the same time the holy man of God was invited by a certain woman called Kenswith, who is still alive, a nun and widow

35 capital letter in O ₁ .	36 capital letter in O ₁ .	37 delusos HB. ill... TP.
38 om. HB.	39 uerbum HB. pre... T.	40 Dei serui B.
41-42 om. HB.	43 uenerant HB.	44 prouoluti P. add que HB.
45 ins. eius HB.	46-47 om. HB.	48 pre... TA. ins. et P.
49-50 illo P.	51 ill... TP.	52 Sathane TP.
53 seductos T. deceptis P.	54 indulgentiae AHB.	55 impetrauerunt HTBP.
56 ins. per HB.	57 om. HB.	58 astucie T. astutiae HB.
59 spiritualem P.	60-61 quoque HB.	62 fantasmata P.
63 intellere O ₁ . intellegere A.	64 om. HB.	65 ins. unus quisque HB.
66 est sicque HB.	67-68 sua HB.	69 reuertitur P.
70 habitaculum T.	71-72 ab igne orando T.	73-74 om. HB.
75 Coensuid T. Coesuid P.	76 uiuente P.	

sanctimonialis¹ uidua, quae² enutriuit eum ab octo annorum³ usque ad perfectam aetatem⁴ in qua seruitium⁵ Dei arripuit. Ideo namque eam matrem appellauit, et sepe uisitans eam, uenit quadam die ad uillam in qua habitabat, ⁶ quae⁸ dicitur Hruringaham^{9,7}, tunc¹⁰ ardente domu¹¹ quae¹² in extrema parte uici ad orientem posita uidebatur. Et de¹³ eodem¹⁴ climate¹⁵ flante maximo uento ignis excitatus est. Mater uero pauida ad domum ubi manebat cucurrit, et ut auxilium Dei petere dignetur¹⁶ a globeis¹⁷ ignis¹⁸ circumdantibus habitacula eorum¹⁹ seruare²⁰ poposcit²¹. Ille iam²² intrepida mente matri²³ stabilitatem intimaui²⁴ dicens²⁴, *Noli timere*, hec²⁵ enim flamma tibi non nocet²⁶. Et procidens²⁷ ante ianuam pronus in terram²⁸, orauit²⁹ in silentio³⁰. Et³¹ statim³² etiam³⁴ deprecante³⁵ eo³³ uentus³⁶ ingens, extitit³⁷ ab occidente, et omnem | magnitudinem flamme³⁸ a domibus innocenter abegit. Et sic euidenter in se³⁹ esse Dei uirtutem uidentes⁴⁰ ⁴¹ protectione⁴³ eius innoxii seruati sunt⁴². Gratias⁴⁴ agentes, benedixerunt Dominum⁴⁵.

Gen. 15. 1

f. 74 b

VIII. De eo quod sanauit mulierem a daemonio⁴⁶ uexatam

Fuit quidam uir religiosus⁴⁷ specialiter carus homini Dei⁴⁸ nomine Hildmaer^{50,49}, cuius uxor a demonio vexabatur nimis. Illa namque multum uastata et usque ad exitum mortis coangustata, frendens dentibus gemitum lacrimabilem⁵¹ emittebat. ⁵²Supradictus uero⁵³ uir de amara morte nihil⁵⁴ dubitans ad monasterium nostrum proficiscens, uocauit ad se sanctum⁵⁵ Cuðberhtum⁵⁶, nam⁵⁷ etenim⁵⁸ illo⁵⁹ tempore ecclesiae⁶⁰ nostrae⁶¹ praepositus⁶² erat, indicans ei uxorem suam pene usque ad mortem

1 sancta monialis Or. sanctimoniali HBP. 2 que TBP.
 3 ins. spatio HB. annis TP. 4 etat. . . TBP. 5 seruicium H.
 6-7 om. HB. 8 que T. 9 hruringaham A. runingaham T.
 rimingaha P. 10 ins. autem HTBP. 11 domo HTBP. 12 que
 TBP. 13 om. T. 14 eadem T. 15 clima OrT. clymate B.
 16 dignaretur P. ins. quod HB. ins. et T. 17 globis HTBP.
 18 igncis HBP. 19 eius HB. 20 seruarentur HB. seruari T.
 21 deprecit P. 22 uero HB. 23-24 dicebat HB. 25 haec AH.

who had brought him up from his eighth year until manhood, when he entered the service of God. For this reason he called her mother and often visited her. He came on a certain day to the village in which she lived, called *Hruringaham*; on that occasion a house was seen to be on fire on the eastern edge of the village and from the same direction a very strong wind was blowing, causing a conflagration. His mother, in great fear, ran to the house in which he was and begged him to deign to ask help of God in order that their dwellings might be preserved from the masses of flame surrounding them. With fearless mind, he urged her to be steadfast, saying: "Fear not, for the flame does not harm you." And falling prone upon the earth before the door, he prayed in silence and immediately, even while he was praying, there arose a mighty wind from the west and drove away the whole volume of flame harmlessly from the houses. And so they were preserved unhurt by his protection and, seeing that a miracle of God was plainly wrought among them, they gave thanks and blessed the Lord.

CHAPTER VIII. *How he healed a woman vexed by a devil*

There was a certain religious man, specially dear to the man of God, named Hildmer, whose wife was much vexed by a devil. She was greatly ravaged and afflicted to the point of death, grinding her teeth and uttering tearful groans. Now the above-mentioned man, not doubting that she would die a cruel death, set out for our monastery and called St Cuthbert to him (for at that time he was prior of our church) and explained to him that his wife was sick almost to death. He did not reveal that

26 nocebit HB.	27 procedens T.	28 orationem HB.
29-30 om. HB.	31 ins. ecce P.	32-33 om. HB.
35 deprecanti T.	36 uentis O ₁ . changed from uentis A.	37 uenit HB.
38 flammae HB.	39 eo HTB.	40 ins. Dei T. ins. dum P.
41-42 om. HB.	43 ins. et T.	44 add que T.
46 demone T.	47 reliosus T.	48-49 om. HB.
Hildimer TP.	51 lacrimabile O ₁ A.	52-53 huius HB.
55 om. B.	56 Cuthbertum HBP. Cudbertum T.	54 nichil HTBP.
in O ₁ . illo HB.	58 et T. om. P.	57 capital letter
ecclesiae B.	61 nostre TP.	59 om. HB.
	62 pre... T.	60 ecclesie TP.

infirmantem, non¹ quae² calamitas esset insaniae³ reuelauit. ⁴Iam enim⁵ erubescerebat illam olim religiosam, tamen⁶ a demonio uexatam indicare. Nesciebat etiam⁷ nec intellegens⁸, quod⁹ talis temptatio frequenter christianis¹⁰ accidere¹¹ solet. Sed tantum presbiterum aliquem secum¹² mittere¹³, et¹⁴ requiem sepulture¹⁵ deposcebat¹⁶. Statim autem homo Dei preparare aliquem ad mittendum cum illo exiit. Et primo recessu eius a spiritu Dei inbutus¹⁷, cito conuersus reuocans eum dixit, Hoc quippe¹⁸ ministerium meum est, et non est alterius tecum pergere¹⁹. Tunc²⁰ uero preparauit se²¹ homo Dei, et omnes²² simul portati sunt equis²³, et uidens socium suum flentem et lacrimantem duobus²⁴ causis, hoc est pro moriente uxore²⁵ sibi²⁷ deserto^{28,26} et orbani²⁹ relictis³⁰, et maxime³¹ pro³² ignominiosa³³ insaniae³⁴, in qua horribiliter³⁵ redactam³⁶ ³⁷et inprudenter³⁹ confractam³⁸ et salua pollutam, olim iam pudicam et castam, sciens⁴⁰ ⁴¹homini Dei exspectanda⁴³ erat^{44,42}, consolari⁴⁵ eum cepit⁴⁶ | mitissimis uerbis, et omnem infirmitatem quam ei⁴⁷ celauerat qualis esset reuelauit. Et postremo addit⁴⁸, prophetico ore dicens⁴⁹, Iam enim⁵⁰ quando uenimus ad habitacula uestra, uxor tua quam mortuam putas in⁵¹ obuiam mihi⁵² occurrens in acceptione habendarum⁵³ istius equi⁵⁴ quas⁵⁵ nunc⁵⁶ ⁵⁷in manibus⁵⁸ teneo per Dei adiutorium effugata⁵⁹ demone saluata ministrabit nobis. Igitur⁶⁰ peruenerunt⁶¹ sicut diximus⁶², homo Dei⁶³ ad uillam, et⁶⁴ mulier quasi de⁶⁵ somno surgens uenit in obuiam, et primo tacto⁶⁶ freni plene⁶⁷ pulsato⁶⁸ demone sanitati pristinae⁶⁹ reddita, ut illa cum gratiarum actione testata est⁷⁰ ministravit illis.

f. 75

Explicit liber II

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 nec HB. nam T. | 2 que T. | 3 insanie TBP. |
| 4-5 namque P. | 6 tunc HBP. | 7 enim HBP. |
| 8 intelligebat HB. intelligens T. | 9 intellexit P. | 10 quia HTBP. |
| 11 negligenciam HB. | 12 accedere T. | 13 <i>ins.</i> rogat HB. |
| 14 mitteret T. mitti P. | 15 ob HB. | 16 sepulturae B. |
| 17 <i>om.</i> HB. | 18 imb... HTBP. | 19 <i>om.</i> HTB |
| 20 <i>ins.</i> uolo T. | 21 tum P. | 22 se prep... HB. |
| 23-24 duabus de HB. duabus P. | 25-26 <i>om.</i> HB. | 27 sui T. |
| 28 desertum P. | 29 orph... HTB. orphanos P. | 30 relictos P. |
| 31 maximae B. | 32 <i>om.</i> HTBP. | 33 ignominiose T. |
| 34 insaniam HBP. insanie T. | 35 orribiliter P. | 36 redactum O ₁ . |

she was afflicted with madness, for he was ashamed to declare that a woman once so religious was oppressed by a devil, neither knowing nor understanding that such a trial is wont to fall frequently upon Christians; but he only asked Cuthbert to send a priest with him and that she might find peace in the grave. Now forthwith, the man of God went out to prepare someone to send with him; but hardly had Hildmer departed, when being filled with the Spirit of God, he turned quickly, called him back and said: "It is my duty and not another's, to go with you." Then the man of God prepared himself and they all rode together on horseback; his companion was weeping and mourning for two reasons, because his wife was dying and he was bereaved and his children left desolate, and more especially because of the disgraceful insane condition in which he knew that she was about to be seen by the man of God, whereby she was horribly degraded and shamelessly destroyed and polluted with spittle, she who had once been so modest and chaste. Knowing this the man of God began to console him with kindly words and revealed fully the nature of her infirmity, which the husband had hidden from him, and finally added with prophetic words: "Now when we come to your house, your wife whom you believe to be dead will come to meet me and on receiving this horse's reins which I hold in my hand, will, through the help of God, be restored to full health and will minister to us, and the demon will be driven away." So they came to the homestead, as we have said, the man of God (and his friends); the woman, as if rising from sleep, came to meet them, and at the first touch of the reins, the demon was completely driven away, and, as she thankfully declared, she was restored to her former health and ministered to them.

End of Book II

37-38 *om.* T. 39 *inprudenter* H. *imp.* . . P. 40 *ins.* quia T. 41-42 *sibi spectandam esse* HB. 43 *expectanda* A. *spectanda* T. *spectandam* P.
 44 *esse* P. 45 *consolare* T. 46 *coepit* H. 47 *eum* HBP.
 48 *addens* HB. *ins. et* P. 49 *dixit* HB. *dicit* P. 50 *om.* HB.
 51 *om.* HB. 52 *michi* TP. 53 *freni* HTB. *frenorum* P. 54 *om.* HB.
 55 *quem* HTB. *que* P. 56 *A breaks off here.* 57-58 *manu* HB.
 59 *fugato* HB. *effugato* TP. 60 *ins. ut* HB. 61 *peruenit* HB.
 62 *om.* O₁. 63 *ins. et sui* T. (*Readings 61-63 are different attempts to remedy the faulty construction of the text.*) 64 *om.* HB. 65 *e* HB. 66 *tactu* HTBP.
 67 *om.* HB. 68 *pulso* P. 69 *pristinæ* H. 70 *om.* T.

Incipiunt¹ capitula libri III

- I. De eo quod per scripturam uiuens, postremo solitariam uitam in insula ducebat, et ibi loci spatium de petra excidens.
- II. De lapide quem iiii^{or} fratres non mouerunt, ille uero solus in murum constituit.
- III. De eo quod Dominus fontem de petra dedit ei.
- III. De ligno quod mare seruiens ei detulit.
- V. De auibus exterminandis iterumque cum munusculo reuersis ueniam dedit.
- VI. De finiendo uite Ecfridi regis propheta eius et herede et episcopatu eius.
- VII. De conuersatione eius in solitaria uita.

I. ²*De eo quod per scripturam uiuens, postremo solitariam uitam in insula ducebat, et ibi loci spatium de petra excidens*³

f. 75b Bene igitur in supradicto cenobio⁴ quod Mailros dicitur⁵, praepositus⁶ sanctus⁷ Cuðberhtus⁸ seruiens Domino et⁹ plura¹⁰ mirabilia¹¹ per eum¹² Dominus¹³ faciens, quam¹⁴ propter infirmorum infidelitate¹⁵ conatus sum¹⁶ scribere, postremo tamen secularem gloriam fugiens clam¹⁷ et occulte¹⁹ abscedens²⁰ enauigauit^{21,18}. Deinde a uenerabili et sancto episcopo Eata²² | inuitatus, et²³ coacte²⁴ ad hanc insulam nostram que dicitur Lindisfarne²⁵ cum adiutorio Dei²⁶ uoluntatis²⁹ aduenit^{30,28} praesens³¹ et absens demoniacos sanauit³², et alios uarios languores curauit³³. Viuens³⁴ quoque³⁵ ibi secundum sanctam scripturam³⁶, contemplatiuam uitam³⁷ in actuali agens³⁸, et nobis regularem uitam

1 HTBP omit list of chapters.

2-3 De eo quod religiose uiuens solitariam uitam duxit et ibi spacium loci sibi in petra excidit T.
 4 coenobio H. 5 dicitur Mauro P. 6 pre... T.
 7 sanctissimus T. 8 Cuthbertus HB. Cudbertus T. 9 om. HB.
 10 ins. per eum HB. 11-12 om. HB. 13 Deus HTBP.
 14 capital letter in O₁. quae P. 15 fidelitatem HB. fidem T.
 infidelitatem P. 16 sim HTBP. 17-18 nauigauit HB. 19 ins.

The chapters of Book III

- I. How, living according to the Scriptures, he finally took to a solitary life on an island and there cut himself a place out of the rock.
- II. Concerning the stone which four brethren could not move and which he built into the wall alone.
- III. How the Lord gave him a well out of the rock.
- IV. How the sea served him by bringing him wood.
- V. Concerning the driving forth of the birds and again how he pardoned them when they returned with a little gift.
- VI. How he prophesied the end of King Ecgrith's life and about his heir and about his own bishopric.
- VII. Concerning his manner of life in solitude.

CHAPTER I. *How, living according to the Scriptures, he finally took to a solitary life on an island and there cut himself a place out of the rock*

So St Cuthbert as prior served the Lord well in the aforesaid monastery which is called Melrose, and the Lord did more marvellous works by him than I have attempted to write down, because those that are weak in faith would hardly believe them; but finally he fled from worldly glory and sailed away privately and secretly. Then he was invited and constrained by the venerable and holy Bishop Eata and came, by God's help, to this island of ours which is called Lindisfarne, where, both present and absent, he healed those possessed of devils and cured various other infirmities. He dwelt there also according to Holy Scripture, following the contemplative amid the active life, and he arranged our rule of life which we composed then

secularia P.	20	adcidēs Or.	adcide T.	abscidens P.	21	naugauit TP.	
22	beata Or.	cuita HTBP.	23	om. HB.	24	coactus T.	
25	Lindisfaronaeae H.	Lindisfarne T.	Lyndisfaronaeae B.	Lindisfaronee P.			
26	ins. et T.	27-28	peruenit HB.	29	uoluntate T.		
30	peruenit TP.	31	pre... T.	32	sanans HB.	33	curans HB.
34	ueniens P.	35	itaque HB.	36	script. sanct. HTBP.		
37-38	elegit HB.						

primum componentibus¹ constituit, quam usque hodie cum regula² Benedicti obseruamus. Post plures itaque annos ad³ insulam quam Farne⁴ nominant, undique in medio mari⁵ fluctibus circumcinctam, solitariam uitam concupiscens competiuit⁶. Ubi prius pene nullus potuit solus⁷ propter uarias demonum fantasias aliquod⁸ spatium⁹ manere, ille¹⁰ quippe¹¹ intrepida mente fugauit eos, durissimam et¹² lapideam rupem deorsum ferme cubitum uiri in terram fodiens¹³, ¹⁴loci spatium¹⁶ faciens^{17,15}. Alterum uero cubitum mirabilem¹⁸ desuper cum lapidibus incredibilis¹⁹ magnitudinis nisi scientibus tantum²⁰ ²¹Dei uirtutem ²²in eo esse²³, et terra commixtis²⁴ constructum aedificauit²⁵, faciens ibi²⁶ domunculas, de quibus nisi sursum coelum²⁷ uidere²⁸ nihil²⁹ potuit.

II. *De lapide³⁰ quem iiii^{or} fratres³¹ non mouerunt³²
ille uero³³ solus in murum³⁴ constituit*

Fuit namque lapis³⁵ in interiore³⁶ parte insule³⁷, quem uehere³⁸ in³⁹ uehiculo suo iiii^{or}⁴⁰ fratribus uisitantibus eum in adiutorium edificii sui praecepit.⁴¹ Illi⁴² ⁴³sine mora⁴⁴ statim⁴⁵ obediens, uenerunt ad lapidem quem in media uia, ne aut⁴⁶ uehiculum eius⁴⁷ confringerent, aut sibi⁴⁸ ipsis⁴⁹ lederent non perducentes reliquerunt⁵⁰. Deinde ergo⁵¹ fratres nauigantes, post non plures⁵² dies iterum⁵³ uisitantes eum⁵⁴ uenerunt. Et uiderunt agnoscentes⁵⁵ lapidem suum⁵⁶ ab ⁵⁷illis⁵⁹ immobilem^{60,58} in structura⁶¹ ⁶²serui Dei apte⁶³ compositum⁶⁴, ⁶⁵iam⁶⁷ laudantes⁶⁶ et glorificantes Dominum magnifice | in seruis⁶⁸ suis mira operantem, recordantes⁶⁹ psalmigrati⁷⁰ dicentis⁷¹, *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis* ⁷²suis, et reliqua⁷³.

f. 76

Psa. 67. 36

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 om. HB. profitentibus TP. | 2 ins. sancti P. | 3 om. HTB. |
| 4 Farneca HTP. Farneam B. | 5 mare T. | 6 petiuit HB. |
| expetium T. comp. . . P. | 7 om. HBP. | 8 per aliquot HB. |
| aliquo T. | 9 tempus HB. spacio T. spatium P. | 10 capital letter |
| in O ₁ . sed iste sanctus uir HB. | 11 om. HB. | 12 om. HB. |
| 13 fod. in terr. B. | 14-15 om. HB. | 16 spatium P. |
| 17 fodiens T. | 18 om. HBP | 19 incredibile O ₁ . |
| incredibili T. | 20 tantam HTBP. | 21-23 uir. Dei esse in eo HB. |
| 22-23 esse in eo P. | | 24 comixtis O ₁ . commixtus P. |

for the first time and which we observe even to this day along with the rule of St Benedict. And so, after some years, desiring a solitary life he went to the island called Farne, which is in the midst of the sea and surrounded on every side by water, a place where, before this, almost no one could remain alone for any length of time on account of the various illusions caused by devils. But he fearlessly put them to flight and, digging down almost a cubit of a man into the earth, through very hard and stony rock, he made a space to dwell in. He also built a marvellous wall another cubit above it by placing together and compacting with earth, stones of such great size as none would believe except those who knew that so much of the power of God was in him; therein he made some little dwelling-places from which he could see nothing except the heavens above.

CHAPTER II. *Concerning the stone which four brethren could not move and which he built into the wall alone*

Now there was a stone in the interior of the island which he commanded four brethren who were visiting him to carry in his cart for the use of his building. With prompt obedience they came at once to the stone, but they did not fetch it to him, for they left it behind half-way so as not to destroy his cart nor injure themselves. Afterwards the brethren sailed away. They came to visit him again not many days later and saw their stone, which they recognised as the one they had been unable to move, properly placed in the building of the servant of God; and they praised and glorified God who works great marvels in his servants, remembering the words of the psalmist: "God is wonderful in His saints", etc.

25 edif. . . HTB.	26 sibi P.	27 celum TBP.	28 uideri P.
29 nichil HTBP.	30 lapidibus O ₁ .	31-32 mouere non poterant T.	
33 om. T.	34 edificium T.	35 om. HTBP.	36 exteriori HTBP.
37 insulae B. ins. lapis HTBP.		38 euchere HB.	39 om. P.
40 quatuor HTBP.	41 praefecit O ₁ .	precepit T.	42 Ille O ₁ .
43-44 autem HTBP.	45 om. B. ins. sine mora TP.		46 ualent O ₁ .
47 om. HB.	48 se HTBP.	49 ipsos HTBP.	50 relinquerunt O ₁ .
51 om. HTBP.	52 multos HB.	53 et eum HB.	54 om. HB.
55 om. HB.	56 om. HB.	57-58 illo seruo Dei T.	59 ipsis HB.
60 imm. . . P.	61 structuram HTBP.	62-63 om. T.	64 comp. . . B.
65-66 om. HB.	67 capital letter in O ₁ .	68 sanctis HB.	69 recordati sunt HBP.
	70 psalmographi BP. om. O ₁ .	71 om. O ₁ .	72-3 om. P.

III. *De eo quod Dominus fontem de petra dedit ei*¹

Iterum alia die uisitantes fratres uenerunt ad eum. Quibus ille secundum morem² eius primum uerbum Dei predicauit³, deinde etiam post predicationem⁴ cepit⁵ dicere, O fratres carissimi⁶, scitis quia locus iste pene inhabitabilis⁷ est⁸, propter aquae⁹ penuriam. Ideo oremus Domini auxilium, et fodite in medio pauimento domus meae¹⁰ hanc saxosam terram, quia potens est Deus de¹¹ rupe petrina^{13,12} petenti¹⁴ aquam suscitare. Ille enim olim Moysi percutienti uirga, de petra aquam sitienti¹⁵ populo dedit. Samsonem quoque de maxillis¹⁶ asini sitientem¹⁷ potauit. Fratres uero secundum praeceptum¹⁸ eius foderunt terram. Et¹⁹ orante eo²⁰, statim fontem aquae²¹ uiue²², sursum in obuiam eius²³, de saxosa terra erumpere manantem inuenerunt²⁴. Cuius nos magnam suauitatem dulcedinis usque hodie degustantes cum gratiarum actione²⁵ probauimus. Ille etiam seruus Dei anachorita professus est ut relatu fidelissimorum agnoui in ea aqua a Deo²⁶ donata omnis liquoris sibi²⁷ esse suauitas²⁸.

Exod. 17,6
Judges 15,
19

III. *De ligno quod mare seruiens²⁹ ei detulit*

Miraculum quoque aliud quod Dominus³⁰ pro amore militis sui fecerat, silentio non praetereo³¹. Concupiscens enim a uenientibus fratribus et uisitantibus eum, lignum xii³² pedum in longitudine³³ ad fundamentum alicuius domunculi³⁴ petiuit. Nam³⁵ etenim³⁶ illic³⁷ scopulum³⁹ concauatum⁴⁰ fluctibus de mare^{41,42} erumpens, extremam partem loci illius contigit⁴³, supra⁴⁴ cuius autem⁴⁵ scopuli oram loco adherenti transuersum lignum xii⁴⁶ pedum ut diximus conponere⁴⁷ praedestinans⁴⁸, desuper⁴⁹ etiam aedi-

1 om. T. 2 mores P. 3 pred. uerb. Dei HTBP.
4 ins. eius HBP. 5 coepit H. 6 karissimi HTBP.
7 inhabitabilis HTBP. 8 om. P. 9 aque TP. 10 suae O.
mee TBP. 11-12 petra T. 13 petrinam HP. 14 petentibus T.
15 sicienti HTB. 16 maxilla HTBP. 17 sicientem HB.
18 pre... TB. 19 om. HTBP. 20 ins. et HTBP.
21 aque TBP. 22 uiuae H. 23 cis HTB. 24 uiderunt T.

CHAPTER III. *How the Lord gave him a well out of the rock*

Again on another day some brethren came to visit him. According to his custom, he first preached the word of God to them and then after his sermon he began to say: "Beloved brethren, you know that this place is almost uninhabitable owing to lack of water; so let us pray to God for help and do you dig this rocky ground in the middle of the floor of my dwelling, because God is able from the stony rock to bring forth water for him who asks; for he once gave water to the thirsty people from a rock when Moses struck it with a rod, and he also gave Samson drink, when he was thirsty, from the jaw-bones of an ass." So the brethren, according to his command, dug the earth and as he prayed, at once they discovered a fountain of living water which broke out of the rocky ground and poured forth before him. The great sweetness of its flavour we have proved and still thankfully prove by tasting it, even until the present day. And that servant of God and hermit declared, as I learned from the report of most trustworthy people, that he enjoyed in that God-given water the sweetness of every kind of drink.

CHAPTER IV. *How the sea served him by bringing him wood*

Another miracle also, which the Lord wrought out of love for His soldier, I will not pass over in silence. Now he asked the brethren who came and visited him for some wood twelve feet in length, which he desired as a foundation for a certain small building. For there was a rock hollowed by the waves, rising from the sea, near to the outermost part of his dwelling place; so he purposed to join the edge of this rock by a twelve-foot beam, as we have said, to the adjoining ground and on the beam

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 25 accione T. | 26 ins. ibi HB. | 27 om. HB. ibi TP. |
| 28 suauitatem HTP. sanitatem B. | 29 om. T. | 30 Deus P. |
| 31 pre... TB. | 32 duodecim TP. | 33 longitudinem O ₁ . |
| 34 domuncule P. | 35 om. H. | 36-37 illic etenim HB. |
| 39 scopulus HBP. | 40 concauus HB. concauatus P. | 41 de maris |
| fluctibus HB. | 42 mari P. | 43 contingit TP. |
| 45 om. HTBP. | 46 duodecim TP. | 47 comp... TP. |
| 49 capital letter in O ₁ . | | 48 pre... T. |

f. 76b
 ficium¹ domunculi construere² cogitavit. Quod uero³
 a fratribus⁴ deposcens non perpetrasset⁵, et⁶ hoc illis
 Deus non inputet⁷ in malum⁸ nisi⁹ a Domino¹⁰ nostro
 Iesu Christo facta oratione | adiutorium accepisset¹¹.¹² Nam
 cum^{14,13} eadem nocte mare fluctibus undans¹⁵ in honorem
 serui Dei¹⁶, stipitem xii¹⁷ pedum detulens¹⁸ ¹⁹specialiter,
 iam ad hostium²¹ scopuli ubi ponendus erat in aedificium²²
 natantem deportavit²⁰. Fratres itaque mane uigilantes²³,
 uiderunt²⁴, gratias²⁵ agentes Domino, et²⁶ admirantes²⁷
 quod mare in²⁸ honorem Christi magis obediens ana-
 chorite²⁹ quam homines parauerunt³⁰, et adhuc usque
 hodie nauigantibus domus super³¹ lignum transuersum
 aedificata³² apparet.

V. De³³ auibus exterminandis³⁴ iterumque³⁵ cum
 munusculo reuersis ueniam dedit

Sicut ergo diximus³⁶ mare seruientem³⁷ homini Dei, ita
 et³⁸ aues coeli³⁹ obedierunt ei. Nam cum⁴⁰ quadam die in
 insula sua fodiens⁴¹, sulcabat⁴² terram⁴³, primum⁴⁴ enim
 duobus⁴⁵ uel tribus annis de opere manuum suorum⁴⁶
 antequam clausus obstructis ianuis intus maneret, laborans
 cotidianum⁴⁷ uictum acceperat, sciens dictum esse, Qui
 2 Thess. non laborat *nec*⁴⁸ *manducet*, uidit duos coruos ante⁴⁹ illic
 3. 10 longo tempore⁵⁰ manentes tecta domus nauigantium in
 portum⁵¹ posite⁵² dissipantes, nidumque sibi facientes.
 Prohibuit autem eos leni⁵³ motu manus, ne hanc iniuriam
 fratribus⁵⁴ nidificantes⁵⁵ facerent. Illis uero neglegentibus⁵⁶
 postremo⁵⁷ motato⁵⁸ spiritu, austere praecipiens⁵⁹ in
 nomine⁶⁰ Iesu Christi de insula discedere⁶¹ exterminauit⁶².

1 edif. . . HTB. 2 constituere HBP. 3 cum HBP.
 4 fratre HB. 5 impetrasset HB. 6 *capital letter*
in O₁. om. T. 7 imp. . . HBP. 8 *ins. a nullo HB.* 9 *om. T.*
 10 *ins. quippe T.* 11 accepit HTB. 12-13 *om. P.*
 14 *om. HTB.* 15 inundans HB. 16 Christi T
 17 duodecim TP. 18 detulit HB. *om. T. detollens P.*
 19-20 *om. HB.* 21 ostium P. 22 ed. . . TP.
 23 uililantes T. 24 supra HB. 25 *capital letter in O₁ add que HTB.*
 26 *om. HB.* 27 mirabantur HB. 28 ad HB.
 29 anachoritae H. 30 paruisset HB 31 paruissent P.

he thought to build a little chamber. He had asked the brethren for this beam but would not have obtained it—and may God not impute this to them for evil—had he not received aid from our Lord Jesus Christ in answer to his prayers; for that same night the sea, uplifting its waves in honour of the servant of God, landed a floating timber exactly twelve feet in length, just at the opening by the rock where it was to be placed for the building. And waking in the morning, the brethren saw it and gave thanks to God, marvelling that the sea in honour of Christ had accomplished more than men, in obedience to the hermit; and even until this day the house, built upon the cross-timbers, is still to be seen by mariners.

CHAPTER V. *Concerning the driving forth of the birds and again how he pardoned them when they returned with a little gift*

We have told how the sea served the man of God; so also the birds of the air obeyed him. For when on a certain day on his island, he was digging and trenching the land (for at first, for two or three years before he shut himself in behind closed doors, he laboured daily and gained his food by the work of his hands, knowing that it is said: "He that will not work, neither shall he eat"), he saw two ravens, who had been there a long time, tearing to pieces the roof of the shelter built near the landing-place for the use of those who came over the sea, and making themselves a nest. He bade them, with a slight motion of his hand, not to do this injury to the brethren, while building their nests. But when they disregarded him, at last his spirit was moved and sternly bidding them in the name of Jesus

31 supra HB.	32 add que HTBP.	-di- above O ₁ .	ed... HTBP.
33 quod T.	34 exterminatis T.	35 et T.	36 om. HB.
37 seruiuit HBP.	38 om. TP.	39 celi TP.	om. HB.
40 dum TP.	41 ins. terram B.	42 sulcaret HTB.	43 om. B.
44 capitai letter in O ₁ .	primo HB.	45 duob. enim T.	46 changed
from suarum O ₁ .	suarum HTBP.	47 cott... H.	48 non BP.
49 om. HTBP.	50 temp. long. HTBP.	51 changed from porte O ₁ .	
portu HTBP.	52 posito HB.	53 leui HBP.	54 fratres HB.
55 ludificantes HB.	56 negligentibus HTP.	57 om. HB.	58 motus
HTBP.	59 pre... T.	60 ins. domini T.	61 ins. eos HB.
			62 iussit T.

Illis igitur ¹ nec ³ requies, nec ² mora ⁴ patriam secundum preceptum eius deserentibus, post ⁵ triduum alter e duobus reuertens ante pedes hominis Dei fodienti⁶ ⁷ iam ei^{9,8} terram supra sulcum expansis alis, et inclinato capite, ¹⁰ sedens et ¹¹ merens ¹² humili uoce ueniam indulgentie¹³ deposcens, crocitare cepit¹⁴. Seruus autem Christi intellegens¹⁵ penitentiam ¹⁶ eorum, ¹⁷ ueniam reuertendi¹⁸ dedit¹⁹. Illi²⁰ uero ²¹ corui²² in eadem hora²³ perpetrata²⁴ pace²⁵, cum quodam munusculo ad insulam ambo reuersi sunt, habens²⁶ enim ²⁷ in ore²⁸ suo²⁹ quasi³⁰ dimidiam³¹ suis³² | adipem³³ ante pedes eius deposuit. Illis iam³⁴ indulgens hoc peccatum, usque adhuc illic manent. Haec³⁵ mihi³⁶ testes fidelissimi uisitantes eum, et de adipe per totum³⁷ anni spatium³⁸ calciamenta³⁹ sua liniantes⁴⁰ cum glorificatione Dei indicauerunt.

f. 77

VI. ⁴¹ *De finiendo uite Ecfridi regis propheta eius et herede et episcopatu eius*⁴²

Preterea⁴³ sanctimonialis uirgo et regalis Aelfleda⁴⁴ abbatissa sanctum anachoritam⁴⁵ Dei humiliter in nomine Domini in⁴⁶ obuiam sibi nauigare ad⁴⁷ Cocrædesæ⁴⁸ petiuit. Cui ancilla Dei flectens genua, multa interrogare cepit⁴⁹. Postremo⁵⁰ autem per nomen ⁵¹ Domini nostri^{53,52} Iesu Christi et per nouem ordines angelorum, et omnium sanctorum personas, fiducialiter⁵⁴ adiurauit⁵⁵, interrogans de longitudine uitae⁵⁶ fratris sui regis⁵⁷ Egfridi. Ipse autem homo Dei grauius adiuratus, timens Dominum, cepit⁵⁸ dicere de breuitate uite⁵⁹ hominis⁶⁰ circuitu⁶¹ uerborum, et adiunxit⁶² dicens⁶³, O ancilla Dei, numquid⁶⁴

1-2 sine T.	3 om. HB.	4 ins. erat HBP.	ins. nidum et T.
5 capital letter in O ₁ .		6 -i- above O ₁ .	fodientem T.
7-8 om. HB.	ei iam P.	9 om. T.	10-11 om. HB.
12 ins. resedit HB.		13 indulgentiae HB.	14 coep... H.
15 intelligens HTBP.		16 O ₂ begins again here.	17-18 reu.
uen. O ₂ .	19 ins. eis HTBP.	20 ille O ₁ .	21 om. TP.
22 om. HB.		23 ins. sancti uiri T.	24 percepta T.
25 uoce HTBP.		26 capital letter in O ₁ .	27 alter HB. ins.
alter TP.	28 hore O ₁ .		29 ins. unus ex illis O ₂ .
30 ins. partem B.	31 ins. porci T.		32 partem HP. om. BT.

Christ to depart from the island, he banished them. Without any pause or delay, they deserted their homes according to his command, but after three days, one of the two returned to the feet of the man of God as he was digging the ground, and settling above the furrow with outspread wings and drooping head, began to croak loudly, with humble cries asking his pardon and indulgence. And the servant of Christ recognising their penitence gave them pardon and permission to return. And those ravens at the same hour having won peace, both returned to the island with a little gift. For each held in its beak about half of a piece of swine's lard which it placed before his feet. He pardoned their sin and they remain there until to-day. Most trustworthy witnesses who visited him, and for the space of a whole year greased their boots with the lard, told me of these things, glorifying God.

CHAPTER VI. *How he prophesied the end of King Ecgfrith's life and about his heir and about his own bishopric*

Furthermore there was a certain nun, a virgin and royal abbess called Aelfflaed who humbly asked the hermit of God in the name of the Lord to cross the sea and meet her at Coquet Island. The handmaiden of God on bended knees began to ask him many things and finally she adjured him boldly by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the nine orders of angels and the persons of all the saints, and asked him concerning the length of life of her brother King Ecgfrith. Now the man of God, being so solemnly adjured and fearing the Lord, began to speak in an indirect way about the brevity of man's life and added these words: "O handmaiden of the Lord, is it not but

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 33 adipis HBP. <i>ins.</i> quam et HB. | 34 itaque HB. | 35 hec TP. |
| 36 michi O ₂ TP. | 37 totam O ₁ . | 38 spacium O ₂ H. |
| 40 linientes HTBP. | 41-42 De prophetia eius de morte Ekfridi regis, et de episcopatu ipsius T. | 39 caltiamenta O ₁ . |
| 45 anachoretam T. | 43 <i>om.</i> HB. | 44 Elbfleda HBP. Eلفleda T. |
| 48 Coeuedesce HB. | 46 <i>om.</i> B. | 47 in portum HB. <i>ins.</i> portum P. |
| 50 postremo T. | 49 concuedesce P. | 49 coepit O ₂ H. |
| 55 adorauit O ₂ . | 51-52 <i>om.</i> HB. | 53 <i>om.</i> TP. |
| 58 coop... O ₂ H. | 56 uite HTBP. | 54 fidutialiter B. |
| 61 circuitum T. | 59 uitae O ₂ HB. <i>om.</i> T. | 57 <i>changed from</i> reges O ₁ . |
| | 62 -n- above O ₁ . | 60 <i>ins.</i> per T. |
| | 63 <i>om.</i> HTBP. | 64 nunquid P. |

non¹ paruum² est licet³ aliquis uiuat xii⁴ menses? Illa uero statim arripiens mente⁵ de rege esse dictum, amaro fletu lacrimauit⁶. ⁷Sicut ei ⁹et multis aliis¹⁰ post anni spatium¹¹ casus regalium a maligna manu hostilis gladii omnem amaritudinem renouauit⁸. Adhuc¹² adiunxit¹³ dicens, Per eandem ¹⁴unitatem¹⁶ et¹⁷ trinitatem^{18,15} supra-dictam¹⁹ adiuro te ut dicas²⁰ quem heredem habebit. Ipse etiam²¹ paululum tacens dixit, Illum autem²² non minus tibi esse fratrem usurpaueris, quam alterum. Hoc quippe et²³ incredibile uidebatur²⁴, diligentius tamen interrogauit, in quo loco esset. Ipse uero patienter²⁵ sustinens eam ait, O²⁶ serua²⁷ Dei, quid miraris licet²⁸ sit in aliqua insula super hoc mare? Illa iam cito rememorauit de Aldfrido²⁹ qui nunc regnat pacifice fuisse dictum, qui tunc erat in insula quam Ii³⁰ nominant, addens quoque |
f. 77b interrogationem³¹ de comet³² ipso, quia sciebat regem inuitare eum uoluisse ad episcopatum³³ si sic rei³⁴ effectus euenisset, et quale spatium³⁵ esset in episcopatu³⁶. Ipse uero se non esse dignum excusans, tamen neque in mari, neque in terra, a tali honore³⁷ gradus occultari³⁸ potuisse³⁹ dicebat⁴⁰. Et⁴¹ in breui spatio⁴² annorum duorum requiem laboris⁴³ inueniam. Et tu quoque audi quod ego⁴⁴ praecipio⁴⁵ tibi⁴⁶ in⁴⁷ nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut quamdiu uixeris, nulli hoc indicaueris. Et post multa uerba prophetica quae⁴⁸ omnia sine dubio acciderant⁴⁹, ad locum suum nauigauit.

VII. De conuersatione eius in solitaria uita⁵⁰

Ath. Vit. Sic namque uiuens ⁵¹per plures⁵² annos, *solitarius perdurabat*, *ab hominum aspectibus segregatus*, equali quoque ad cuncta ferebatur examine⁵³. Nam eodem uultu, eodem⁵⁴ animo

Ant. c. 13

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 om. HB. | 2 parum HBP. | 3 si HB. | 4 duodecim TP. |
| 5 ins. hoc HB. | 6 lacrimata est O ₂ HB. | 7-8 om. HB. | |
| 9-10 om. P. | 11 spacium O ₂ . | 12 at illa O ₂ . et HB. | |
| 13 adiungit O ₁ . | 14-15 trin. et un. O ₂ . | 16 unitantem T. | |
| 17 om. HB. | 18 trinitatis HB. | 19 om. HB. | 20 ins. michi O ₂ . |
| 21 ins. post HB. | om. T. | 22 om. T. | 23 ei HTBP. |
| 24 uid. incred. HTBP. | | 25 pacienter H. | 26 om. T. |
| 27 homo HBP. | ancilla T. | 28 ins. ut P. | 29 Alfrido HBP. |

a short time though a man were to live twelve months?" She immediately realised that he spoke of the king, and wept bitter tears; and the fall of the members of the royal house by a cruel hand and a hostile sword a year afterwards renewed all the bitterness for her and for many others. She then added: "By this same Unity and Trinity, I adjure you to tell me whom he will have as his heir." He was silent for a short time and then said: "You will find him to be a brother no less than the other one." This indeed seemed incredible; but she asked him more carefully in what place he was. He bore with her patiently, saying: "O handmaiden of God, why should you wonder though he be on some island beyond this sea?" She quickly realised that he had spoken of Aldfrith who now reigns peacefully and who was then on the island which is called Iona. She added also a question about himself, and knowing that the king had wished to offer him a bishopric, she asked if the matter would be settled thus, and how long he would be in the bishopric. He, pleading that he was not worthy and yet that neither on sea or land could he hide himself from so honourable a rank, said: "And after the brief space of two years, I shall find a rest from my labours. And you too hearken! I bid you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, tell this to no one while I live." And after many prophetic words, all of which came to pass without fail, he sailed to his own place.

CHAPTER VII. *Concerning his manner of life in solitude*

And so for several years he continued to live a solitary life cut off from the sight of men; and also in all conditions he bore himself with unshaken balance, for he kept throughout

30 Hii HTP. Hy B.	31 interrogare HTBP.	32 eo HB. semet P.
33 episcopatum B.	34 regi O ₁ .	35 spacium O ₂ H. ins. ci P.
36 ins. habiturus T.	37 onere T.	38 ins. se HTB. occultare T.
39 potuisset O ₁ O ₂ .	40 ins. tunc dixit HBP.	41 om. HBP.
42 spacio O ₂ HP.	43 om. HB.	44 tibi HB.
46 om. HB.	47 bis O ₂ .	48 que T.
50 T omits chapter heading.	51-52 om. HB.	49 acciderunt TBP.
examinae H.	54 add que HTB.	53 exanime O ₁ O ₂ .

Ath. Vit. perseuerabat. Omni hora hilaris¹ et letus², nec recorda-
 Ant. c. 13 tione peccati tristitia³ ora⁴ contraxit, ⁵nec⁷ magnis⁸ stupen-
 tum⁹ de conuersatione¹⁰ eius elatus laudibus⁶. Sermo uero
 eius¹¹, sale conditus¹², consolabatur¹³ mestos¹⁴, docebat inscios,
 Rom. concordabat iratos, omnibus¹⁵ suadens, nihil¹⁶ amori¹⁷ Christi¹⁸
 esse praeponendum. Preponebatque¹⁹ ante oculos omnium
 8. 32 magnitudinem bonorum futurorum²⁰, et Dei clementiam²¹ et
 beneficia retexebat indulta. Quia²² proprio filio suo non
 pepercit Deus²³, sed pro nostra²⁴ omnium salute²⁵ tradidit
 illum²⁶.

Explicit liber III

1 hilaris O ₂ BP.	2 laetus O ₂ H.	3 tristitia TB.
4 hora O ₁ . -h- erased in O ₂ .	uota HB.	5-6 om. HB.
7 ins. quod P.	8 magis P.	9 stupendum TP.
10 conuersacione O ₁ .	11 mestus O ₁ (in above).	12 ins.
erat O ₂ . ins. mestos P.	13 solabatur HBP.	14 maestas
O ₂ . om. P.	15 capital letter in O ₁ .	16 nichil O ₂ TP. om. HB.

the same countenance, the same spirit. At all hours he was happy and joyful, neither wearing a sad expression at the remembrance of a sin nor being elated by the loud praises of those who marvelled at his manner of life. His conversation, seasoned with salt, consoled the sad, instructed the ignorant, appeased the angry, for he persuaded them all to put nothing before the love of Christ. And he placed before the eyes of all the greatness of future benefits and the mercy of God, and revealed the favours already bestowed; namely that God spared not His own Son but delivered him up for the salvation of us all.

End of Book III

17 amore T.
20 futuram HTBP.
23 om. HTBP.
26 om. HB.

18 ins. nil HB.
21 om. et Dei clementiam O₁O₂.
24 nostrum HBP.

19 praec... O₂.
22 qui T.
25 ins. cum HB.

¹Capitula libri IIII

- 78
- I. De eo quod ad episcopatum a synodo coactus est.
 - II. De eo quod in episcopatu quomodo uiueret.
 - III. De eo quod mulierem comitis de desperabili² languore sanauit.
 - IIII. De sancta moniale uirgine sanata.
 - V. De sanato puero paralitico³.
 - VI. De infante mulieris curato⁴ in mortale⁵ et prophetia eius de tota familia. |
 - VII. De cuiusdam comitis seruo sanato.
 - VIII. De die et tempore horaque occisionis Egfridi regis.
 - VIIII. De anachorita qui eadem hora obiit qua sanctus episcopus⁶ secundum prophetiam eius⁷.
 - X. De eo quod uidit fratris de ligno cadentis ad coelum⁸ animam eleuari.
 - XI. De eo quod de episcopatu sponte ad pristinam uitam reuersus est.
 - XII. De fratre qui desynterio⁹ infirmitate liberatus est.
 - XIII. De eo quod sine labore migravit ad Dominum et in basilica nostra honorifice sepultus est¹⁰.
 - XIIII. De eo quod post xi annos corpus eius integrum inuenerunt.
 - XV. De eo quod cuiusdam patris familiae solus¹¹ a demonio¹² uexatus ad reliquias eius sanatus est¹³.
 - XVI. De fratre infirmante qui pro honore martyris liberatus est.
 - XVII. De puero qui toto corpore solutus illic liberatus est.
 - XVIII. De uariis miraculis pretermissis¹⁴.

1 *ins.* Incipiunt O₂. *No list of chapters in* HTBP.3 paralytico O₂.4-5 *om.* O₂.8 caelum O₂.9 *desin.* . . . O₂.10 *sit* O₂.12 *daem.* . . . O₂.13 *sit* O₂.*ins.* Expliciuat capitula. Incipit liber quartus O₂.2 desperabili O₂.6-7 praedixit O₂.11 filius O₂.14 praeter . . . O₂.

The Chapters of Book IV

- I. How he was compelled by the council to accept the bishopric.
- II. How he conducted himself in the bishopric.
- III. How he healed the wife of a gesith of a desperate illness.
- IV. How a nun was healed.
- V. How a paralytic boy was healed.
- VI. How the infant child of a woman was healed in time of plague and of his prophecy concerning the whole family.
- VII. How the servant of a certain gesith was healed.
- VIII. Concerning the day and the hour of the slaying of King Ecgfrith.
- IX. Concerning the hermit who died in the same hour as the holy bishop, as the latter had prophesied.
- X. How he saw the soul of a brother, who fell from a tree, being carried to heaven.
- XI. How, of his own accord, he returned from his bishopric to his former mode of life.
- XII. Concerning the brother who was healed of dysentery.
- XIII. How he departed to be with the Lord without a struggle and was honourably buried in our church.
- XIV. How after eleven years they found his body incorrupt.
- XV. How the only son of a certain father being vexed by a devil was healed at his remains.
- XVI. Concerning a brother who was freed from his infirmity in honour of the martyr.
- XVII. Concerning a boy who, being paralysed in every limb, was healed there.
- XVIII. Of various miracles omitted.

I. De eo quod ad episcopatum¹ a synodo² coactus est

Postquam igitur ab Egfrido³ rege et episcopis⁴ Saxorum⁵ omnique senatu deposcenti⁶, ad episcopatum nostrae⁷ aeccliesiae⁸ Lindisfarnensium⁹ electus est. Tunc enim¹⁰ supradicto rege et episcopo¹¹ sanctae¹² memoriae¹³ Tumma,¹⁴ et de familia nostra^{16,15} electissimis uiris uenientibus¹⁷ ad eum, intus clausum¹⁸ cum consilio senatus, prouolutis¹⁹ genibus²⁰ adiurantibusque eum per Dominum nostrum²¹ Iesum Christum²², inuitus et coactus²³ lacrimans et flens, abstractus est expectante²⁴ etiam²⁵ adhuc senatu²⁷, cum^{28,26} archiepiscopo Theodoro²⁹. ³⁰*Iam uero post spatium³² sumpto episcopatu^{33,31} qualem se quantumque praestitisset³⁴, non est nostrae³⁵ facultatis³⁶ euoluere.* Sed tamen melius est³⁷ partem aliquam exponere, quam totum³⁸ omittere. *Idem enim constantissime perseuerabat³⁹, qui prius fuerat, eadem⁴⁰ in corde humilitas, eadem in uestitu eius⁴¹ uilitas erat⁴², atque⁴³ ita plenus auctoritatis et gratiae⁴⁴, implebat episcopi⁴⁵ dignitatem⁴⁶, non⁴⁷ tamen ut⁴⁸ propositum monachi, | et anachoritae⁴⁹ uirtutem⁵⁰ desereret⁵¹.* In omnibus iam⁵² obseruans Pauli apostoli doctrinam, ad Titum⁵³ ⁵⁴dicentem recordatus est⁵⁵, *Oportet⁵⁶ episcopum sine crimine esse⁵⁷, ut⁵⁸ Dei dispensatorem, non⁵⁹ superbum, non iracundum, non uinolentum, non percussorem, non litigiosum, non turpe⁶⁰ lucrum sectantem, sed hospitalem, benignum, sobrium, iustum, sanctum, continentem, amplectentem⁶¹ eum qui secundum doctrinam est, fidelem sermonem, ut potens sit exortare⁶² ⁶³ad doctrinam⁶⁴, et contradicentibus⁶⁵ reuincere. Ideo namque ⁶⁶purus⁶⁸ fuit eius sermo⁶⁷, et apertus⁶⁹ plenus grauitatis et honestatis, plenus suauitatis*

Sulp. Seu.
Vita
Martini,
c. 10

f. 78 b

Titus
1. 7-9
and 1 Tim.
3. 3

1-2 om. T. 3 Egfrido HT. Efrido P. 4 episcopatu T.
5 Saxanorum TP. Saxonum B. 6 deposcente HTBP.
7 nostre TP. 8 ecclesie T. 9 Lindisfaronensium HTP.
Lyndisfaronensium B. 10 om. O₂HB. 11 episcopis HTBP.
12 sanctissimis HTBP ins. Bosa scilicet HTBP. 13 et HTBP.
14-15 nostris HTBP. 16 nostrae O₁. 17 uen. uir. TB.
18 clauso O₁O₂T. 19 prouolutus P. 20 ins. eius O₂.
21 om. HB. 22 ins. egredi HB. 23 coacte O₁.
24 expectante O₂. 25-26 et accersito HBP. 27 ins. accersito T.
28 et accersito P. 29 Theothoro T. 30-31 Postquam uero
ordinatus est episcopus HB. 32 spacium O₂T. 33 episcopo T.

CHAPTER I. *How he was compelled by the council to accept the bishopric*

So afterwards he was elected to the bishopric of our church at Lindisfarne at the request of King Ecgfrith and the bishops of the Saxons and all the council; for at that time the above-mentioned king and Bishop Tamma of holy memory and chosen men of our community came to him while he was within his cell, bearing the decision of the council, and on bended knees adjured him by our Lord Jesus Christ. So he was led away unwillingly and under compulsion, weeping and wailing, while the council together with Archbishop Theodore still awaited him. However after a time he accepted the bishopric, and though it is not in our power to narrate how he distinguished himself, yet it is nevertheless better to describe some part than to omit the whole. For he continued with the utmost constancy to be what he had been before; he showed the same humility of heart, the same poverty of dress, and, being full of authority and grace, he maintained the dignity of a bishop without abandoning the ideal of the monk or the virtue of the hermit. In all these things he observed the teaching of the apostle Paul to Titus, remembering that he said: "A bishop must be blameless as the steward of God, not selfwilled, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not quarrelsome, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." For his discourse was pure and frank, full of gravity and probity, full of

- | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|--|
| 34 pre... TP. | 35 nostre TP. | 36 fragilitatis O ₂ . | 37 om. T. |
| 38 totam T. | 39 perseuerat O ₁ O ₂ . | | 40 eodem O ₁ . |
| 41 om. O ₁ O ₂ . | 42 fuit HTBP. | | 43 adque O ₁ . |
| 44 grauitate T. | 45 episcopii O ₁ O ₂ . | episcopatus HTBP. | 46 ins. ut T. |
| 47 ut HB. | 48 om. HTBP. | 49 anachorite HTBP. | 50 non HB. |
| 51 ins. uirtutem HB. | deserens sed P. | 52 om. HB. | 53 Tytum BP. |
| 54-55 sic dicentis HB. | 56 ins. ergo HBP. | ins. esse T. | 57 om. T. |
| 58 sicut O ₂ . | 59 capital letter in O ₁ . | | 60 turpi O ₂ O ₂ . |
| 61 amplectantem T. | 62 exhortare O ₂ . | exortari H. exhortari BP. | |
| 63-64 in doctrina HTB. | in doctrinam P. | 65 contradicentem HTBP. | |
| 66-67 serm. eius fuit pur. HTBP. | 68 purum O ₁ . | 69 perfectus P. | |

et gratiae¹, tractans² de ministerio³ legis, de doctrina fidei, de uirtute continentiae⁴, de disciplina iustitiae⁵. Unumquemque diuersa ammonens exhortatione⁶ secundum morum⁷ qualitatem, uidelicet ut praenosceret quid cui quando uel quomodo proferret⁸. Cui⁹ prae¹⁰ ceteris¹¹ speciale officium erat, ut ieiuniis et orationibus et uigiliis¹² incumberet¹³ scripturas legens. Memoriam enim¹⁴ pro libris habuit, percurrrens canones, exempla sanctorum imitatus¹⁵, cum fratribus pacem implens, tenens¹⁶ quoque¹⁷ humilitatem, et illam¹⁸ supereminentem omnibus donis¹⁹ caritatem sine qua omnis uirtus nihil²⁰ est. Curam pauperum gerens, esurientes pascens, nudos uestiens, peregrinos suscipiens, captiuos redimens, uiduas²¹ et²² pupillos tuens, ut mercedem uitae aeternae²³ inter²⁴ choros²⁵ angelorum cum Domino nostro Iesu Christo accipere mereatur²⁶.

II. ²⁷ De eo quod in episcopatu quomodo uiueret²⁸

In episcopatu igitur sanctus²⁹ Cudbertus³⁰, pollens uirtutibus³¹, dignitatem gradus et auctoritatem Dominus per eum in signis et prodigiis perfecte pleneque augebat. Quia³² namque quod³³ de apostolis³⁴ legimus, *quaecumque*³⁵ *solueritis*³⁶ *super terram*³⁷,³⁸ et reliqua. Et *quodcumque*⁴⁰ *alligaueritis*⁴¹ *super terram*, et reliqua³⁹, spiritualiter⁴² et carnaliter in eo inplebatur⁴³. Sicut presbiteri⁴⁴ et diaconi⁴⁵ eius qui praesentes⁴⁶ erant, indicauerunt nobis. Erant⁴⁷ enim ut in⁴⁸ actibus apostolorum dictum est⁴⁹, *signa et prodigia multa in plebe*. |

Matth.
18. 18

Acts 5, 12

1 gratia O₁. gracie T. 2 tranctans P. 3 mysterio HTB.
misterio P. 4 continentie TB. 5 iusticiae H. iusticie TBP.
6 exhortatione H. exortatione T. 7 morem HTP.
8 proferet O₁. 9 cuius HT. 10 pre T. 11 caet. . . O₂H.
12 uig. et orat. P. 13 ins. et HTBP. 14 om. HTBP.
15 A begins again here. 16 capital letter in O₁. 17-18 om. P.
19 bonis HB. 20 nichil O₂HTBP. 21 capital letter in O₁.
22 ac TP. 23 eterne TP. 24 in HTBP. 25 choro HTBP.
26 mereretur O₂. meretur T. 27-28 Quomodo in episcopatu

sweetness and grace, dealing with the ministry of the law, the teaching of the faith, the virtue of temperance, and the practice of righteousness. To each one he gave varied advice with exhortation suitable to his character; that is to say he always knew beforehand what advice to give to any man and when and how it should be given. Before everything it was his special care to take part in fastings, prayers, vigils and reading of the Scriptures. His memory served him instead of books when he rehearsed the Old and New Testaments; he followed the example of the saints, fulfilling the duty of peace among his brethren; he held fast humility also and that most excellent gift of charity without which every other virtue is nothing worth. He cared for the poor, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, took in strangers, redeemed captives, and protected widows and orphans, that he might merit the reward of eternal life amid the choirs of angels in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER II. *How he conducted himself in the bishopric*

Therefore as Saint Cuthbert excelled in virtues in his bishopric, the Lord completely and fully increased the dignity and authority of that office through him by signs and wonders; for what we read concerning the Apostles, "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth", etc. and "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth", etc. was fulfilled in him with respect to men's souls and bodies; as his priests and deacons who were with him have told us. For "many signs and wonders", as it says in the Acts of the Apostles, "were wrought among the people".

uixerit T.	29 om. H.	30 Cuðberhtus O ₂ .	Cuthberhtus
AP. multis HB.	31 uirtutus T.	32 quae HB.	que P.
33 om. HBP. que T.	34 apostolo T.	35 quemcumque O ₁ .	
36-37 om. HTBP.	38-39 erunt soluta et in caelis et	quaecumque ligaueritis	
super terram (terras A)	erunt ligata et in caelis O ₂ A.	40 quemcumque P.	
quaecumque HTB.	41 alligaueris A.	42 spiritalis A.	spiritualiter H.
43 imp... O ₂ A.	implebantur HTBP.	44 presbiter HTBP.	
45 diaconus HTP.	dyaconus B.	46 pre... O ₂ T.	47 erat HTBP.
48 om. O ₁ .	49 ins. faciens HTBP.		

f. 79

III. ¹ *De eo quod mulierem comitis de disperabili
languore sanauit*²

Ex quibus est³ quod cuiusdam comitis Aldfridi⁴ ⁵regis nomine Hemma⁷ in regione quae⁸ dicitur Kintis⁹ habitans^{10,6}, uxor eius¹¹ pene usque ad mortem infirmitatis languore detinebatur. Pergens uero sanctus¹² episcopus noster praedicans¹³ uerbum Dei¹⁴ in populo¹⁵, peruenit ad supradicti comitis uicum. Ille autem statim in obuiam exiens episcopo, et gratias agens Domino pro aduentu eius¹⁶, ¹⁷suscipiens¹⁹ benigne¹⁸ ministrauit eis, lauatis²⁰ manibus et pedibus²¹, rem ut erat miserabilis et lacrimabilis omni familiae²², hoc est uxoris uelut²³ mortuae²⁴ disperabilem²⁵ uitam episcopo sancto²⁶ reuelauit. Benedictionem²⁷ aquae²⁸ ab eo petiuit²⁹, credens³⁰ si obitu³¹ addicta esset, facilius moriretur³², aut si uita reddita³³, citius³⁴ sanaretur³⁵. ³⁶ Ille sanctus episcopus³⁷ sedens, coram omnibus benedixit aquam³⁸ deditque³⁹ presbitero suo Beta nomine⁴⁰ ⁴¹adhuc uiuens^{43,42}. Ipse⁴⁴ uero suscipiens, portauit ad cubiculum ubi illa⁴⁵ uelut⁴⁶ mortua ultimum spiritum trahens⁴⁷ iacebat. Aspergensque⁴⁸ super⁴⁹ eam et lectum eius⁵⁰ osque aperiens⁵¹, partem aque⁵² degustauit. ⁵³ Ipsa itaque⁵⁵ arripiens⁵⁴ statim⁵⁶ sensum⁵⁷ intellectus⁵⁸, gratias agens benedixit Deum, qui tales hospites ad reddendam⁵⁹ sanitatem emiserat⁶⁰ ei. Iamiamque⁶¹ surgens⁶², sicut socrus Petri sanata⁶³, ministrauit eis. ⁶⁴ Illa enim primum⁶⁶ totius⁶⁷ familiae⁶⁸ episcopo⁶⁵ poculum letitiae⁶⁹ dedit, qui sibi⁷⁰ exspiranti⁷¹ calicem mortis auferebat.

Matth.

8. 15

1-2 Quomodo uxorem cuiusdam comitis a magno languore curauerit T. 3 *ins.* non minimum HB. 4 Aldefridi HB. Alfridi T. 5-6 *om.* HB. 7 Hemini TP. 8 *que* T. 9 Kyntis O₂. Hüntis TP. 10 habitantis P. 11 *om.* HB. 12 *om.* HB. 13 predicando HB. *pre...* T. 14-15 *om.* H. 16 ipsius B. 17-18 benigneque suscipiens HB. 19 *add que* TP. 20 *add que* HB. 21 *ins.* eorum HB. 22 familie TP. 23 uelud P. 24 mortue TP. 25 *desp...* O₂HTBP. 26 *om.* HB. 27 *add que* HB. 28 aque ATBP. 29 *ins.* cum qua eam spargeret HB. 30 *ins.* ut HB. *ins.* aut TP. 31 obitui HB. 32 moreretur O₂HTBP. 33 reddenda

CHAPTER III. *How he healed the wife of a gesith
of a desperate illness*

Among these miracles there is the case of Hemma a certain gesith of Aldfrith, dwelling in a district called *Kintis*, whose wife was almost at the point of death through her infirmity. As our holy bishop was preaching the word of God to the people, he came to the village of the above-mentioned gesith, who immediately went out to meet the bishop, and, thanking the Lord for his coming, received him and his company with kindness and ministered to them; after washing their hands and feet, he revealed to the holy bishop the sorrow and grief of all his family, namely that his wife's life was despaired of even as if she were already dead. He prayed him to bless some water, believing that by means of it, if she had been appointed to die, she would die more easily, or if life were given back she would be healed more quickly. The holy bishop sat down and blessed the water in front of them all and gave it to his priest named Beta who still lives. He took it and carried it to her chamber where, like a dead woman, she lay breathing her last. He sprinkled it over her and her bed and, opening her mouth, she tasted some of the water. She at once recovered her senses and blessed God who had sent her such guests to restore her to health. And forthwith, rising up healed, like Peter's wife's mother, she ministered to them. For she was the first of the whole household to give the chalice of joy to the bishop who had taken from her, as she lay dying, the cup of death.

uitae HTBP.	34 cicius HTB.	35 <i>ins.</i> cum aqua benedicta
aspergeret eam P.	36-37 qui HB.	38 aq. ben. O ₂ .
40 nomine Beda HTBP.	41-42 qui adhuc uiuit HBP.	39 dedit T.
44 ille HB.	45 <i>om.</i> HB.	43 <i>om.</i> T.
48 aspersitque HB.	46 uelud P.	47 trahens spiritum HB.
52 aquae O ₂ .	49 <i>om.</i> H.	50-51 aperiensque os HB.
56 stat. arr. O ₂ .	53-54 quia gustata H.	55 utique P.
<i>ins.</i> et H.	57 <i>ins.</i> et O ₂ HBP.	58 intellectum O ₂ HBP.
<i>ins.</i> recepit et B.	59 reddam O ₁ .	60 miserat T.
61 <i>om.</i> HB.	62 <i>add</i> que HB.	63 sana HB.
66 prima TP.	67 tocus TP.	64-65 et sibi prima HB.
lactitiae O ₂ .	68 familie ATP.	69 leticie O ₁ TBP.
lctitiac A.	70 ei HB.	71 expiranti P.
lacticiae H.		

III. *De sancta moniale uirgine sanata*

f. 79b Presbiter¹ Aedeluuald² qui nunc est praepositus³ cenobii⁴ quod dicitur Mailros⁵ sibi⁶ praesente⁷ alteram⁸ infirmitatis languorem⁹ sanare¹⁰ ¹¹relatu eius¹³ agnouit^{14,12}. Nam etenim¹⁵ dixit¹⁶, Quadam die cum episcopo sancto¹⁷ uenimus ad¹⁸ uicum¹⁹ ²⁰ubi²² Bedesfeld²³ dicitur. Ibi autem²¹ quaedam²⁴ puella cognata mea ²⁵et propinqua²⁶ infirmabatur. Iam enim dolorem capitis et totius²⁷ alterius lateris pene per totum anni spatium²⁸ patiebatur²⁹, quod³⁰ nullus medicus malagma³¹ corporali potuit sanare. Noster itaque³² episcopus | audiens ³³infirmitatem qua premebatur puella³⁴, rogantibus nobis misertus ³⁵est ei³⁶, unguens³⁷ eam crisma³⁸ benedictione sua consecrata³⁹, quae⁴⁰ ab illa hora cito⁴¹ uirtute proficiens⁴², dolorem de die in diem deserens, sanitati pristinae⁴³ reddita est.

 V. ⁴⁴*De sanato puero paralitico*⁴⁵

Simile quoque huic aliud⁴⁶ miraculum⁴⁷ ostensione multorum probabilium⁴⁸ uirorum qui praesentes⁴⁹ fuerant⁵⁰, ex⁵¹ quibus ⁵²est Penna⁵³ sine dubio didici dicentis⁵⁴. Quodam tempore episcopus sanctus proficiscens ab Hagustaldesae⁵⁵, tendebat ad ciuitatem quae⁵⁶ Luell⁵⁷ dicitur. ⁵⁸Mansio tamen⁶⁰ in media uia facta est⁶¹, in regione ubi⁶² dicitur Ahse^{63,59}. Namque⁶⁴ congregato populo de montanis, manum ponens super capita singulorum, liniens unctione consecrata benedixerat⁶⁵ uerbum Dei predicans⁶⁶, manserat ibi duos dies. Interea itaque uenerunt mulieres

1 prespiteri H. presbiteri P. 2 Aeðeluuald A. Ediluualdi HB. Ediluuald T. Ediliuualdi P. 3 pre... A. 4 coen... A.
 5 *ins.* relatu agnouit HB. 6 se HBP. 7 pre... O₂B. presenti T. 8 *ins.* feminam ab eo ab HB. alterum T. *ins.* feminam P.
 9 languore HBP. 10 sanatum HB. sanasse P. 11-12 *om.* HB.
 13 *om.* P. 14 annoui O₂. 15 sic HB. 16 dicit P.
 17 sanct. epis. HB. 18 *ins.* quendam HB. 19 locum P.
 20-21 in qua HB. 22 qui P. 23 Bedesfeld T. Bedesfeld P.
 24 quedam O₂HTBP. 25-26 *om.* HB. 27 tocius TP.
 28 spacium O₂HT. 29 paciebatur H. 30 quam P. quem HB.
 31 medicina HBP. 32 autem HB. 33-34 infirmantem eam HB.

CHAPTER IV. *How a nun was healed*

I learned from the personal account of the priest Aethilwald who is now prior of the monastery which is called Melrose, how another infirmity and sickness was healed when he himself was present. For he said: "On a certain day we came with the holy bishop to a village which is called *Bedesfeld*. Now there a certain maiden, a relation and kinswoman of mine, was ill; for she had suffered great pain in her head and in the whole of one side for the space of nearly a year, and no doctor could heal her with any poulticing of the body. And so our bishop, hearing of the illness with which the maiden was afflicted, on our request took pity on her, anointing her with chrism consecrated by his blessing, and she quickly recovered strength from that hour; the pain left her gradually from day to day, and she was restored to her former health."

CHAPTER V. *How a paralytic boy was healed*

There is also another similar miracle which I have plainly learned about from the account of many reliable men who were present, one of whom is Penna, who said: "At a certain time the holy bishop was making his way from Hexham to the city which is called Carlisle. Nevertheless a halt was made in the middle of the journey in a district which is called *Ahse*. For when the people had gathered together from the mountains, he placed his hand on the head of each of them, and anointing them with consecrated oil he blessed them, and remained there two days preaching the word of God. Meanwhile there came

- | | | |
|------------------------------|--|---|
| 35-36 eius HTB. ei P. | 37 ungens TP. unxit HB. | 38 crismate HBP. |
| 39 consecrato HBP. | 40 que TP. | 41 cita HBP. scita T. |
| 42 proficiscens T. | 43 pristine TBP. | 44-45 De puero paralitico |
| sanato T. | 46 <i>ins.</i> est P. | 47 <i>ins.</i> Dominus per eum operatus est HB. |
| 48 probatum O ₁ . | 49 <i>pre...</i> T. | 50 <i>ins.</i> probatum HB. |
| 51 a HB. | 52-53 ego HBP. | 54 dicentes T. haec H. |
| hec BP. | 55 Hagustaldese O ₂ . | Hagustaldese A. Hagustaldense HTBP. |
| 56 que B. | 57 Uel O ₁ O ₂ . | 58-59 <i>om.</i> HB. |
| 61 <i>ins.</i> ei TP. | 62 que P. | 60 tantum TP. |
| 64 nam HB. | nam quia TP. | 63 Æhse A. Echse TP. |
| add que T. | 65 <i>ins.</i> ct HB. | 66 <i>prae...</i> O ₂ . |

portantes quendam iuuenem, in grabato¹ iacentem. Deportaueruntque² eum in silua, haud³ procul a tentoriis⁴ nostris ubi erat sanctus episcopus, et rogauerunt eum per nuntium adiurantes⁵ in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut cum⁶ reliquiis⁷ suis sanctis⁸ benedicens⁹ eum et¹⁰ orationem funderet pro eo ad Dominum, ueniam¹¹ peccatorum suorum a Deo peteret pro quibus ligatus uindictam sustinebat. Ille¹² igitur episcopus¹³ indubitantem uidens fidem illarum expellens nos¹⁴ ab eo¹⁵ orauit ad Dominum, benedicens puerum, morbum depellens, sanitatem adiungens. Glorificauit Dominum¹⁶ Iesum Christum, adiuuantem seruum suum in se sperantem¹⁷. Surrexit enim¹⁸ puer in illa hora manducans, et¹⁹ cum mulieribus pergens²⁰, gratias agens magnificauit Dominum in seruis suis mira²¹ facientem.

VI. *De infante²² mulieris curato et²³ prophetia eius²⁴ de tota familia²⁶*

f. 80

Presbiter²⁷ Tydi²⁸ a me^{31,30} memoratus, ³² mihi³⁴ indicauit³³ dicens³⁵, Sanctus episcopus noster in quodam uico³⁶ qui dicitur Medilpong^{38,37} in mortalitate³⁹ illa, quae⁴⁰ plures | depopulauit regiones, praedicans⁴¹ uerbum Dei⁴² reliquis hominum⁴³, conuersus⁴⁴ ad me mitissime⁴⁵ dixit, Estne aliquis in uilla hac adhuc pestilentia ista⁴⁶ languens, ut exeam ad eum⁴⁷ praedicans⁴⁹ et benedicens⁴⁸ ei⁵⁰? Ego iam⁵¹ ostendens⁵² signaui⁵³ ei⁵⁴ mulierem, stantem haud⁵⁵ procul a nobis, lacrimantem et plorantem propter filium suum nuper mortuum⁵⁶, alterumque toto corpore tumescentem et in ultimo spiritu⁵⁷ anhelantem⁵⁸, inter⁵⁹ ulnas semimortuum tenentem. Ille uero sine mora surgens,

1 grabbato P. 2 deposueruntque HTBP. 3 aut O₁A.
 haut HT. hanc B. 4 O₂ *damaged and cut.* 5 om. HB.
 6 eum P. 7 reliquis B. 8-10 om. T. 9-10 deum HBP.
 11 *add que* HB. 12-13 autem HB. 14-15 foras HB.
 16 O₂ *legible again.* 17 sper. in se HB. 18 ergo HB.
 19 om. HTBP. 20 ins. et HB. 21 mirabilia HTBP.
 22 ins. cuiusdam T. 23 ins. de T. 24 ipsius T. 25-26 om. T.
 27 prespiter H. 28 Tydius HB. Tidi O₁O₂T. 29-30 ante sepe HB.

some women bearing a certain youth who lay on a litter; they carried him to the wood not far from our tents where the holy bishop was, and sent a messenger asking and adjuring him in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that he would bless him with his holy relics and would utter a prayer for him to the Lord, beseeching God's pardon for the sins by which he was bound and on account of which he endured punishment. So the bishop, seeing their unwavering faith, put us forth from him and prayed to the Lord, and, blessing the boy, he drove away the disease and restored him to health. He glorified the Lord Jesus Christ who helped His servant who trusted in Him. For the boy arose that very hour and took food, and departed with the women, thanking and magnifying the Lord who had wrought wonderful things in His servants."

CHAPTER VI. *How the infant child of a woman was healed
and of his prophecy concerning the whole family*

Tydi, the priest whom I have mentioned, told me the following: "Our holy bishop, during the plague which depopulated many places, was preaching the word of God to the people who survived in a certain village called *Medilwong*, when he turned to me and said gently: 'Is there anyone in the village still suffering from that pestilence so that I may go forth and preach to him and bless him?' I pointed out to him a woman who was standing not far from us, weeping and wailing on account of her son who was lately dead, and holding another one in her arms, with his whole body swollen, half-dead and breathing his last. He straightway rose and approached her,

31 *ins.* sepe TP. 32-33 *ind.* mihi HTB. 34 michi O₂. 35 *ins.* michi P.
36-37 *om.* HB. 38 *Medinluong* T. *Mediluong* P. 39 *immortalitate* B.
40 *ins.* apud B. que TP. 41 *predicauit* HTBP. 42-43 *om.* HB.
hominibus P. 44 *add* que HB. 45 *om.* B. 46 *illa* HB.
47-48 *et benedicam* HB. 49 *pre...* AT. *ins.* uerbum Domini P.
50 *eum* T. 51 *uero* HB. *om.* T. 52 *ostendi* HB. 53 *om.* HB.
54 *ad* P. 55 *aut* O₁A. *haut* HT. 56 *mortuo* A.
57 *om.* O₁O₂. 58 *ins.* et HB. 59 *uitam* H.

accessit ad eam, benedicens¹ osculatus est infantem², dixit³ ei⁴, O mulier noli flere. Filius tuus iste⁵ saluus erit, et nullus de⁶ uiuentibus adhuc totius⁸ familiae tuae^{9,7} pestilentia peribit. Cuius¹⁰ rei¹¹ sic factum esse¹², mulier et filius¹³ adhuc¹⁴ uitam comitem ducentēs¹⁵ testes sunt.

VII. De cuiusdam comitis seruo sanato

Nec silentio praetereundum¹⁶ existimo, quod quidam¹⁷ presbiter noster adhuc uiuens, iam tunc laicus cuiusdam comitis minister, praesente¹⁸ eo opus misericordiae¹⁹ factum recordauit²⁰ dicens²¹, Eo²² autem²³ tempore quo sanctus episcopus²⁴ inter populares uerbum Dei praedicans, cepit²⁵ pergere²⁶ a domino meo²⁷ nomine Sibba²⁸ Ecgfridi²⁹ regis³⁰ comite³¹,³² iuxta fluuium etiam quod³⁴ dicitur Tpide³⁵ habitante³⁶, inuitatus ad uicum eius cum psalmis et ymnis³⁷ cantantibus³⁸ religiose³⁹ peruenit³³. Suscepto⁴⁰ ergo⁴¹ benigne dominus meus⁴² cuiusdam serui eius⁴³ disperabilem⁴⁴ et miserabilem uitam in⁴⁵ infirmitate iam⁴⁶ depressum, quin immo in ultimo adhuc spiritum anhelantem et morientem indicauit.⁴⁷ Misertus⁴⁸ est autem sanctus episcopus⁴⁹, benedicens⁵⁰ ei aquam ministranti⁵¹, etenim⁵² mihi⁵³ praecipiens⁵⁴ dixit, Da seruo domini tui⁵⁵ infirmanti aquam⁵⁶ ⁵⁷Deo adiuuante, secundum fidem⁵⁹ nostram salutiferam⁵⁸, ut Dominus ei indulgens delicta peccatorum suorum pro quibus afflictus est⁶⁰, aut in praesenti⁶¹ uita uicturo⁶² aut in futuro saeculo⁶³ obituro requiem laboris donaberit⁶⁴. Ego iamiamque⁶⁵ praeepto⁶⁶ obediens⁶⁷, ⁶⁸per ter⁶⁹ depotauit⁷² eum⁷⁰, quem⁷¹ sine mora

1 *add que* HB. 2 *ins. et O₂HBP.* 3 *add que* T. 4 *om.* HB.
5 *om.* HB. 6-7 *tota familia tua hac* HB. 8 *om.* O₂.
totius TP. 9 *ins. hac TP.* 10 *Cui O₂T.* *Huius HB.*
11-12 *om.* HB. 13 *ins. eius O₂.* 14-15 *uiuentes HTB.*
16 *pret... AT. pract. sil. HB. praetereundo sil. P.* 17 *Baldhelm*
HTP. Baldelin B. 18 *pre... O₂TP.* 19 *miseriordie T.*
20 *recordatus est O₂. recordatus HBP.* 21 *dicit HP.* 22 *eodem T.*
23 *om.* HTB. 24 *ins. noster Luel HB.* 25 *coepit O₂H.* 26-27 *ad*
dominum meum HBP. 28 *Sibcam HP. Sibca T. Sybcam B.*
29 *Egfridi O₁O₂. Ecfridi HTBP.* 30 *om.* B. 31 *comitem HBP.*
32-33 *om.* HB. 34 *qui P.* 35 *Tuuide dicitur TP.* 36 *om.* P.

and blessing the infant, kissed it, saying to the mother: 'Woman, do not weep; your son will be saved and no one of all your household, who is still alive, will perish by the plague.' And the mother and son who are still alive are witnesses of the truth of this."

CHAPTER VII. *How the servant of a certain gesith was healed*

I consider that I ought not to pass over in silence a work of mercy which a priest of our monastery described as happening in his presence; he is still alive, but he was then a layman and the servant of a certain gesith. He says: "Now at that time when the holy bishop set out to preach the word of God among the common people, he was invited by my master Sibba, a gesith of King Ecgfrith, who lived near the river called the Tweed, and came to his village with a company of people piously singing psalms and hymns. My master received him kindly and told him of a servant of his who was wretchedly afflicted with infirmity and whose life was despaired of and who was even now dying and breathing his last. The holy bishop had pity on him and blessing some water bade me administer it to him, saying: 'Give the water to your lord's sick servant, with the help of God, according to our faith which brings salvation, and may the Lord pardon him for the sins for which he is afflicted; and either in this present world, if he is to live, or in the world to come, if he is to die, may he grant him rest from his labour.' I forthwith obeyed his command and thrice I gave him to drink and without delay (for the Holy Spirit knows

37 hymnis O ₂ A.	38 et canticis T.	et cantibus P.	39 reliose T.
40 suscepit P.	41 ins. eo HTB.	ins. eum P.	42 O ₂ <i>damaged and cut</i>
<i>and only partly legible here.</i>	ins. et P.	43 sui HB.	44 desperabilem
O ₂ HTBP. diss...O ₁ .	45 om. P.	46 om. HB.	47 indicantem O ₁ .
48-49 autem eius HB.	50 benedixit HTBP.	51 ministrante T.	<i>add</i>
que HB.	52 om. HB.	53 michi O ₂ TP.	54 pre... TB.
55 ins. hanc HB.	56 aq. inf. P.	57-58 om. HB.	59 fide O ₁ A.
60 ins. ut P.	61 pre... TB.	62 uixuro O ₁ AH.	63 sec... T.
64 O ₂ <i>legible again.</i>	concedat O ₂ .	donet HTBP.	65 namque HB.
autem T.	ins. sancti T.	66 pre... TB.	67 oboediens O ₂ .
68-69 preteritum P.	68-70 cum aqua benedicta	ipsum adii T.	
68-71 om. HB.	72 deputaui P.		

f. 80b spiritu Dei auxiliante, | ¹ ut *spiritus sanctus nescit tarda moli-*
 Ambrosii *mina*², uiuificatum atque³ antiquae⁴ sanitati⁵ redditum
 Exp. aspexi. Et⁶ adhuc uiuens ⁷Domino⁹ gratias⁸ ¹⁰agebat¹²
 euang. benedicens¹³ episcopo¹⁴, sine intermissione orauit¹⁵ pro
 sec. Lucam eo¹¹.
 n. 19 (c. 1,
 v. 39)

VIII. De die et ¹⁶ tempore horaque¹⁷ occisionis Ecgfridi¹⁸ regis

Eo¹⁹ tempore quo Ecgfridus²⁰ rex Pictorum²¹ regionem²²
 depopulans, postremo²³ tamen secundum praedestinatum²⁴
 iudicium Dei²⁵ superandus²⁶ et occidendus uastabat²⁷,
 sanctus episcopus noster²⁸ ad ciuitatem Luel^{30,29} pergens,
 uisitauit³¹ reginam illic rei effectum exspectantem³².
 Sabbato³³ ergo die, sicut presbiteri et diaconi³⁴ ex quibus
 multi adhuc supersunt adfirmauerunt³⁵, hora nona con-
 siderantibus illis³⁶ murum ciuitatis, et fontem in ea a
 Romanis mire olim constructum, secundum id³⁷ quod
 paga³⁸ ciuitatis praepositus³⁹ ducens eos reuelauit⁴⁰. Stans
 episcopus iuxta⁴¹ baculum sustentationis⁴², inclinato capite
 ad terram deorsum⁴³, et iterum eleuatis oculis ad celum⁴⁴
 suspirans⁴⁵ ait, O O O, existimo enim⁴⁶ perpetratum esse
 bellum, iudicatumque est⁴⁷ iudicium⁴⁸ de populis nostris
 bellantibus aduersum⁴⁹. Tunc iam⁵⁰ diligenter sciscitan-
 tibus⁵¹ illis quid factum esset, ⁵² scire uolentibus⁵³ occultans
 respondit, O filioli⁵⁴ mei considerate, quam admirabilis⁵⁵
 sit aer, et recolite quam inscrutabilia sunt iudicia Dei⁵⁶,
⁵⁷et reliqua⁵⁸. Itaque post paucos dies miserabile⁵⁹ et
 lacrimabile bellum in eadem ⁶⁰hora et eadem die⁶¹ qua
 illi ostensum est longe lateque nuntiatum esse audierunt.

1-2 om. HTBP. 3 adque T. 4 om. HB. 5 sanitate T.
 6 qui HB. 7-8 grat. Dom. TP. 9 om. HB. 10-11 Domino
 agit HB. 12 egit T. agit P. 13 add que P. 14 ins. et T.
 15 orans T. orabat P. 16-17 hora T. 18 Ecgfridi O₁. Ekfridi T.
 19 eodem T. 20 Ecgfridus O₁O₂. Ecfridus HBP. 21 Pictorum B.
 22 regem O₂. 23 capital letter in O₁. 24 pre... T.
 25 Dei iudicium H. Dei iudicium TBP. 26 altered from super-
 andum O₂. 27 astabat O₂. 28-29 Luel ciuitatem HBP.
 ad Luel ciuitatem T. 30 Lues O₁O₂. 31 uisitabat O₂.
 32 expectantem AHTBP. 33 sabbati HB. sabato T.

nothing of tardy endeavours), I beheld him brought back to life and restored to his former health by the help of the Spirit of God. He is still alive and giving thanks to the Lord and blessing the bishop, for whom he has never ceased to pray."

CHAPTER VIII. *Concerning the day and the hour
of the slaying of King Ecgfrith*

At the time when King Ecgfrith was ravaging and laying waste the kingdom of the Picts, though finally in accordance with the predestined judgment of God he was to be overcome and slain, our holy bishop went to the city of Carlisle to visit the queen who was awaiting there the issue of events. On the Saturday, as the priests and deacons declare of whom many still survive, at the ninth hour they were looking at the city wall and the well formerly built in a wonderful manner by the Romans, as Waga the reeve of the city, who was conducting them, explained. The bishop meanwhile stood leaning on his supporting staff, with his head inclined towards the ground and then he lifted up his eyes heavenwards again with a sigh and said: "Oh! oh! oh! I think that the war is over and that judgment has been given against our people in the battle." Then when they urgently asked him what had happened and desired to know, he said evasively: "Oh, my sons, look at the sky, consider how wonderful it is, and think how inscrutable are the judgments of God" and so forth. And so after a few days they learned that it had been announced far and wide that a wretched and mournful battle had taken place at the very day and hour in which it had been revealed to him.

- | | | | | | |
|----|--|-------|-----------------------------|-------|---|
| 34 | dyaconi B. | 35 | affi... O ₂ HBP. | 36 | ins. ad HTBP. |
| 37 | om. HB. | 38 | Uacha HTBP. | 39 | om. O ₂ . pre... T. |
| 40 | ins. illis P. | 41 | super B. | 42 | sustentacionis H. |
| 44 | caelum O ₂ . coelum AH. | 45 | susurrans HBP. | 43 | om. HB. |
| 47 | om. HTBP. | 48 | iuditium H. | 49 | inter se O ₂ . ins. hostem HTBP. |
| 50 | om. HB. | 51 | scisscitantibus P. | 52-53 | om. HB. |
| 55 | ammi... O ₂ BP. | 56 | Dei iudicia HB. | 54 | fili TP. |
| 59 | mirabile O ₁ O ₂ . | 60-61 | die et eadem hora HTBP. | 57-58 | om. O ₂ P. |

VIII. *De anachorita qui eadem hora obiit qua sanctus episcopus¹ prophetauit discessum suum²*

Ad eandem supradictam ciuitatem Luel³ quidam anachorita probabilis⁴ nomine⁵ Hereberht⁶, ab insulis⁷ occidentalis maris ante⁸ ad eum⁹ assidue pergens¹⁰,¹¹ ad¹³ episcopi¹⁴ nunc^{15,12} conloquium¹⁶¹⁷ tetendit. Secundum consuetudinem suam, conloquium^{19,18} spiritale²⁰ querens²¹, orationem²²²³ inter eos²⁴ frequentatam²⁵ renouauit²⁶. Igitur episcopus sanctus post multa²⁷²⁸ uerba spiritualia²⁹ quibus instruebat eum, ait ei³⁰ propheticè³¹, | hoc enim multis dixerat, O frater carissime³² loquere³³, interroga necessaria tibi. Iam³⁴ enim³⁵³⁶ ab hac hora numquam³⁸ iterum³⁹ in hoc saeculo^{40,37} sicut Paulus Effesis⁴¹ promiserat, nos⁴² inuicem⁴³ erimus uisuri⁴⁴. Tunc uero⁴⁵ anachorita⁴⁶ uolutis genibus, ante pedes eius⁴⁷, flens et lacrimans ait, Adiuro te per Iesum⁴⁸ Christum filium Dei, ut roges sanctam trinitatem ut⁴⁹ ne me in praesenti⁵⁰ saeculo⁵¹ orbatum a te⁵² post obitum tuum derelinquat, sed⁵³ in gaudium aeterni⁵⁴ regni tecum me recipiat. Cui⁵⁵⁵⁶ autem ille^{58,57} statim orans^{59,60}, respondit⁶¹ adhuc iacenti⁶², Surge, ⁶³et gaude⁶⁴. ⁶⁵Hoc enim a Domino Iesu Christo⁶⁷ secundum uerbum tuum⁶⁹ perpetratum⁶⁸ et indubitatum⁷¹ recipies^{70,66}. Ergo⁷² quid magis moror⁷³ longe⁷⁴ ambitu uerborum⁷⁵? Uno tempore unaque⁷⁶ nocte et eadem hora noctis episcopus et anachorita⁷⁷ uterque obiit, secundum promissionem episcopi, regnantes simul cum Christo in⁷⁸ secula seculorum.

f. 81

Acts
18. 21

1-2 secundum prophetiam eius A. per prophetiam predixit T.
 3 Lues O₁O₂. 4 *ins.* et fidelis HTBP. 5 cui nomen T.
 6 Heribertus HB. Herebret T. Herebertus P. 7 insula HTBP.
 8 *om.* HTBP. 9 ipsum T. 10 perrexit HB.
 11-12 ab eo HB. 13 *om.* T. 14 episcopum O₂T. 15 *om.* HB.
 16 coll. . . HTBP. 17-18 *om.* HB. 19 coll. . . O₂TP.
 20 spirituale P. 21 *om.* O₁O₂. querens H.
 22 orationumque HB. 23-24 *om.* HB. 25 frequentiam HB.
 26 renouari T. renouans HB. 27 O₂ *cut and damaged and only partly legible.* 28-29 spiritualia uerba P. spir. uerb. HTB. 30 *om.* O₁O₂.
 31 prophæticè A. propheticæ B. 32 karissime O₂TP. care HB.
 33 *ins.* et HTBP. 34 *om.* HBP. 35 *ins.* permitto iam P.

CHAPTER IX. *Concerning the hermit who died in that hour which the holy bishop had prophesied for his own decease*

At the above-mentioned city of Carlisle there was a certain worthy anchorite named Hereberht from the islands of a western lake. He had constantly on previous occasions made his way to the bishop and now again sought to have converse with him. According to his custom, he sought spiritual converse and renewed their frequent prayers together. And the holy bishop, after many spiritual words whereby he gave him instruction, said prophetically to him, as he had told many: "O beloved brother, speak and ask what things are necessary for you, for from this hour, as St Paul declared to the Ephesians, we shall never again see each other in this world". Then the anchorite, falling on his knees at his feet, with lamentation and tears said: "I adjure you by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, that you ask the Holy Trinity not to leave me in this present world bereaved of you after your death, but that He may receive me with you into the joy of the eternal kingdom." Cuthbert immediately prayed to Him and then answered him as he lay there: "Rise and rejoice, for your request has been obtained for you by the Lord Jesus Christ according to your words and you will undoubtedly receive it." Why should I delay by making a long story of this? At the same time, in the same night, and at the same hour of the night, the bishop and the anchorite both died according to the bishop's promise, and they reign together with Christ for ever and ever.

36-37 permitto HB.	38 nunq... P.	39 om. TP.	40 sec... T.
41 Effesiis HT.	Ephesiis BP.	42 ins. ab hac hora numquam in hoc seculo HB.	43-44 uisuros HB.
45 om. HB.	46-47 prostratus pedibus eius HB.	48 Ihesum P.	49 om. HBP.
50 pre... T.	51-52 om. HB.	53 O ₂ legibile again.	54 eter... TBP.
55 cum O ₂ .	56-57 om. T.	56-60 episcopus HB.	58 om. P.
59 orasset O ₂ .	61-62 om. HB.	63-64 gaudens HB.	65-66 quem (quod B) quae petisti a Domino obtinuisti HB.
67-68 impetraui O ₂ .	69-70 donatum et indultum est T.	71 indultum P.	72 om. T.
73 moret H.	74 longo HTBP.	ins. licet T.	75 om. HBP.
76 om. que P.	77 anachoreta T.	78 per immortalia HP.	

X. De eo quod uidit¹ fratris² de ligno cadentis³
ad coelum⁴ animam⁵ eleuari

Fidelissima abbatissa Aelfleda⁶ de sancto episcopo aliud scientie⁷ spiritalis miraculum mihi⁸ reuelauit. Nam cum quadam⁹ die in parrochia¹⁰ eius, ¹¹ quae dicitur Osingadun¹³ simul¹² in¹⁴ conuiuio sedentes¹⁵, uidit hominem Dei mire¹⁶ stupore in excessu mentis occupatum, cultrumque quod habebat in manu, super mensam deserens¹⁷ cecidit. At illa aliis non audientibus, humiliter¹⁸ interrogauit, quid esset quod ostensum¹⁹ ei erat^{21,20}. Ipse uero respondit, Vidi animam serui Dei ex familia tua²² inter manus angelorum ad celum²³ efferri, et in choro angelorum²⁴ sanctorum martyrum²⁵ collocatam²⁶. Interroganti autem²⁷ ei quo nomine uocaretur, respondit, Tu²⁸ enim³⁰ mihi³³ cras^{32,29} celebranti³⁴ missam nominabis eum. Itaque, in illa hora abbatissa³⁵ mittebat nuntium ad cenobium³⁶ suum, interrogare quis ex fratribus nuper esset defunctus. Ille autem omnes uiuentes illic inuenerat. Postremo tamen³⁷ diligenter inquirentes³⁸, unum ex fratribus eorum in pastoralibus³⁹ | habitaculis de summo⁴⁰ cacumine ligni deorsum cadentem⁴¹ fracto⁴² corpore exanimem audierunt⁴³. Nuntius autem crastina die reuersus⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ad abbatissam⁴⁶, res ut erat⁴⁷ gesta⁴⁸ referebat. Illa⁴⁹ uero⁵⁰ statim ad episcopum sanctum⁵¹ cucurrit. Dedicanti namque eo⁵² die ibi aecclesiam⁵³ et missam cantantibus⁵⁴, tunc⁵⁵ in⁵⁶ eo loco⁵⁷ ubi dicitur, *Memento Domine famulorum*⁵⁸, anhelans in basilicam peruenit, nomenque fratris⁵⁹ qui dicebatur Hadpuald^{61,60} indicauit, intellegens⁶² in eo non solum⁶³ in hoc⁶⁴ prophetiae⁶⁵ spiritum⁶⁶, sed et in omnibus apostolicam⁶⁷

f. 81 b

1 ins. animam T. 2-3 om. T. 4 celum T. 5 om. T.
6 Aelfleda A. Elbflada HTBP. 7 scientiae O₂AHB.
8 michi O₂TP. 9 quodam HTBP. 10 parrochia O₂.
11-12 om. HB. 13 Osingadum TP. 14 cum P.
15 sederet HB. 16 miro HTBP. 17 om. HB. 18 om. B.
19-20 erat ei O₂. fuerat ei HBP. 21 fuerat T. 22 sua HB.
23 caelum O₂A. coelum AH. 24 ins. ac O₂. om. HTBP.
25 martirum P. 26 collocatum O₂A. collocari HB.
27 quoque HB. om. TP. 28-29 cras michi HB. 30 om. T.
31-32 cras michi P. 33 michi O₂T. 34 cael... O₂.

CHAPTER X. *How he saw the soul of a brother, who fell from a tree, being carried to Heaven*

The most faithful abbes Aelfflaed related to me another miracle of spiritual knowledge concerning the holy bishop. For when on a certain day, she was sitting feasting with him at a place in his diocese called Ovington she saw the man of God in a trance and seized with ecstasy; and the krife which he had in his hand dropped and fell on to the table. Then unheard by the others, she humbly asked him what it was that had been revealed to him. He answered: "I saw the soul of a servant of God from your household being carried to heaven in the hands of angels and being set amid the choir of angels, saints, and martyrs. When she asked his name he replied: "You will name him to me to-morrow when I am celebrating mass!" And that same hour the abbes sent a messenger to her monastery to ask which of the brethren had lately died, but he found them all alive there. Finally, after diligent enquiries, they heard that one of the brethren in the shepherds' huts had fallen down from the top of a tree and was dead, all his bones being broken. Now the messenger on the next day returned to the abbes and told her what had happened. She immediately ran in to the holy bishop, who was dedicating a church there on that day and, as they were singing mass, at the place where it says, "Remember, Lord, thy servants", she came breathless into the church and declared the name of the brother, who was called Hadwald, realising not only that in this matter there was in him a spirit of prophecy, but also perceiving in all things his

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 35 abbas HBP. | 36 coen... O ₂ . | 37 autem B. | 38 inquirens HB. |
| 39 pastoribus HB. | 40 summa HB. | 41 <i>changed from</i> cadens O ₂ . | |
| cadens O ₁ AT. | 42 <i>ins. toto</i> HTBP. | 43 audiuit HB. | |
| 44 reuertens B. | 45-46 abbatisse T. | abbatissae HB. | abbati P. |
| 47 erant HB. | 48 gestae H. | geste B. | 49 ille P. |
| 51 <i>om. T.</i> | 52 eodem P. | 53 ecclesiam TBP. | 54 <i>changed to</i> cantanti |
| O ₂ . cantanti HTBP. | 55 <i>om. HB.</i> | 56 O ₂ <i>damaged and cut and only partly legible.</i> | 58 <i>ins. et reliqua</i> HTBP. |
| 59-60 <i>om. HB.</i> | 57 ea loca O ₁ . | eodem loco P. | 62 intelligens O ₂ HTBP. |
| 63-64 <i>om. HB.</i> | 61 Haduuuald TP. | 65 prophetic T. | 66 <i>ins. inesse</i> T. |
| 67 aposcolicam T. | | | |

prouidentiam agnoscebat¹, quae² et mortem eius multis modis euidenter³ praedixit.

XI. *De eo quod de episcopatu sponte⁴ ad pristinam uitam reuersus est⁵*

Igitur post duos annos episcopatus⁶ sui secularem honorem sponte deserens, prophetali⁷ spiritu Dei imbutus, uite⁸ obitum prouidens⁹, pristinae¹⁰ solitariae¹¹ conuersationis¹² amore inlectus,^{14,13} ad insulam unde olim coacte¹⁵ abstractus est, iterum reuertebatur. Conloquio¹⁶ et ministerio¹⁷ angelorum contentus, fungens¹⁸ ¹⁹spem fidemque²⁰ ad Deum plene ponens²¹ ²²languente iam corpore quadam infirmitate depresso²⁴ solus manebat²³.

XII. *De eo²⁵ qui disenterio²⁶ infirmitate²⁷ liberatus est*

In ultimo itaque tempore²⁸ infirmitatis suae²⁹, fratrem quendam fidelem³⁰ et probatum qui ³¹adhuc ³³uiuens palhstod³⁵ dicitur^{34,32}, desyntirie³⁶ languore infirmantem, specialiter³⁷ ad se uenire, et ministrare intus³⁸ clausus³⁹ praecepit. Ille uero gratanter accedens, primo tactu eius, sicut ⁴⁰memorans frequenter⁴¹ cum lacrimis indicare solet, plene⁴² omnem grauitatem languoris⁴³ deseruisse eum⁴⁴, ⁴⁵qui prius depressus quasi morti addictus⁴⁶, sanitati⁴⁷ ⁴⁸se uite^{50,49} redditum esse⁵¹, sentiens, cum gratiarum actione⁵² fratribus indicauit.

1 esse HB. 2 quia HBP. 3 om. T. 4 suo T. 5 sit T.
6 episcopii HBP. 7 O₂ legibile again here. changed from
prophetalis A. 8 uitae O₂. 9 prae... O₂. 10 pristina TP.
11 solitarie TP. 12-13 locum desiderans T. 14 illectus HBP.
15 coactus HTBP. 16 coll... HBP. 17 mynisterio A.
18 fungens HB. figens T. 19-20 spe fideque P. 21 potens
HBP. om. T. 22-23 quamuis corporis infirmitate languens HB.
24 depresso T. 25 fratre AT. 26 de sinterio A. et sinteria TP.

apostolic foresight whereby he also clearly foretold his own death in many ways.

CHAPTER XI. *How, of his own accord, he returned from his bishopric to his former mode of life*

So after two years he resigned of his own will the worldly honours of his bishopric, for being filled with the prophetic spirit of God, he foresaw his death and, being attracted by the love of his former solitary way of life, he returned to the island from which he had formerly been withdrawn by compulsion. So he remained alone, satisfied with the converse and ministry of angels, full of hope and putting his trust wholly in God, though his body was now infirm and afflicted with a certain sickness.

CHAPTER XII. *Concerning the one who was healed of dysentery*

And so during the last period of his illness, he ordered a certain faithful well-trying brother, still surviving and called Walhstod, who at that time suffered from dysentery, to come specially to minister to him in his cell. He gladly consented and at the saint's first touch, as he frequently narrated, recalling the story with tears, the grievous sickness entirely deserted him, and though afflicted before and, as it were, given up to death, he felt himself to be restored to life and health, and thankfully informed the brethren.

27 om. AT. 28 om. HB. 29 sue TP. *ins. tempore* HB. 30 om. P.
 31-32 om. H. 33-34 uiuit HB. 35 Ualhstod TP. 36 syntirie *changed*
from syntiru O₁ and synterie A. sinteriae O₂. de sentinae HB. desinterie T.
 dissenterie P. 37 om. HB. 38 sibi HB. 39 clauso HB. 40-41 ipse HB.
 42 *capital letter in* O₁. 43 languorem T. 44 eum deseruisse HB.
 45-46 om. HB. 47 *add que* HB. sanitate TP. 48-49 uite se P.
 50 uitae O₂. om. HB. 51 om. HB. 52 accione T.

XIII. *De eo quod sine labore¹ migravit ad Dominum
et in basilica² nostra honorifice³ sepultus est*

f. 82

Postquam ergo sanctae⁴ memoriae⁵ Cudberhtus⁶ episcopus peracta communione eleuatis oculis et manibus ad coelum⁷, | commendans⁸ Domino⁹ animam suam, ¹⁰emittens¹² spiritum¹¹, sedensque¹³ sine gemitu obiit¹⁴ in uiam¹⁵ patrum, a nauigantibus ad insulam nostram¹⁶ delatus, toto corpore lauato, capite¹⁷ sudario circumdato, oblata¹⁸ super sanctum pectus¹⁹ posita, uestimento²⁰ sacerdotali indutus, in obuam Christi calciamentis suis praeparatus²¹, in sindone²² cerata curatus²³, animam habens cum Christo gaudentem²⁴, corpus incorruptibile²⁵ requiescens²⁶, et²⁷ quasi dormiens in sepulchro²⁸ lapideo, honorabiliter²⁹ in basilica³¹ deposuerunt³⁰.

XIII. *De eo quod post xi annos corpus
eius integrum inuenerunt*

³²Nam etenim³³ post annos³⁴ xi³⁵ spiritu sancto suadente³⁶ et docente³⁷ consilio a decanibus³⁸ facto, et a³⁹ sancto episcopo Eadberhto⁴⁰ ⁴¹licentia data⁴², reliquias ossium sancti Cudberhti⁴³ episcopi totius⁴⁴ familiae⁴⁵ probatissimi uiri de sepulchro⁴⁶ proposuerunt eleuare. Inuenerunt itaque in prima apertione sepulchri⁴⁷, quod dictu mirum est totum corpus tam⁴⁸ integrum, ⁴⁹quam⁵¹ ante annos xi⁵² deposuerunt⁵⁰. Non enim⁵³ marcescente⁵⁴ ⁵⁵et senescente cute et arescentibus⁵⁶ neruis ⁵⁷strennue⁵⁹ corpus erectum et rigidum est⁵⁸, sed⁶⁰ membra⁶¹ ⁶²plena uiuaciter^{64,63} in

1 dolorē T. 2-3 om. T. 4 sancte TBP. 5 memorie TBP.
6 Cudbertus O₁. Cuðberhtus A. Cuthbertus HBP. 7 caelum
O₂. celum A. Deum HTBP. 8 commendasset HB.
9 dominum O₁. ei HTBP. O₂ cut and damaged and only partly legible.
10-11 om. HB. 12 add que P. 13 sedens HB. 14 ab... P.
15 add que HB. 16 ins. est HB. 17 caput P. 18 oblato O₁O₂A.
19 pect. sanct. HTBP. 20 uestimenta O₁O₂A.
21 praeparatis O₁. preparatis O₂A. 22 syndone B.
23 gloss above uel uolutus O₁AT. uolutus O₂. inuolutus HBP.
24 gaudentium O₁A. 25 incorruptibilem O₁A. 26 om.

CHAPTER XIII. *How he departed to be with the Lord without a struggle and was honourably buried in our church*

But after Bishop Cuthbert of holy memory had taken communion and lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, he commended his soul to the Lord, and, sitting there, he breathed his last, and without a sigh went in the way of his fathers. He was carried by ship to our island; but first his whole body was washed, his head wrapped in a head cloth and an obley placed upon his holy breast. He was robed in his priestly garments, wearing his shoes in readiness to meet Christ and provided with a waxed shroud. His soul rejoicing in Christ, his body remained incorrupt, resting as though asleep in his stone coffin; and so they placed him with honour in the church.

CHAPTER XIV. *How after eleven years they found his body incorrupt*

After eleven years, through the prompting and instruction of the Holy Spirit, after a council had been held by the elders and licence had been given by the holy Bishop Eadberht, the most faithful men of the whole congregation decided to raise the relics of the bones of the holy Bishop Cuthbert from his sepulchre. And, on first opening the sepulchre, they found a thing marvellous to relate, namely that the whole body was as undecayed as when they had buried it eleven years before. The skin had not decayed nor grown old, nor the sinews become dry, making the body tautly stretched and stiff; but the limbs lay at rest with all the appearance of life and were

HB. <i>add que P.</i>	27 O ₂ <i>legible again.</i>	28 sepulcro T.
29-30 depos. in bas. P.	31 basilica B.	32-33 om. HB.
34 <i>ins. autem HB.</i>	35 undecim TP.	36-37 om. HB.
38 decanis P.	39 om. O ₁ O ₂ .	40 Eadberto O ₂ . Eodberto HTBP.
41-42 om. B.	43 Cudberti O ₁ . Cuðberhti A. Gudberti T. Cuthberti HBP.	44 tocius P.
47 sepulcri B.	44 om. HB.	45 familie TBP.
52 undecim TP.	48 om. HB.	46 sepulcro B.
55-56 om. HB.	53 om. HB.	49-50 om. HB.
61 memba A. menbra BP.	57-58 om. HB.	54 marcescentibus HB.
		59 strenue O ₂ TP.
		60 set T.
		62-63 quasi uiuentia HB.
		64 uiuacitate O ₂ .

articulis motabilia requiescebant. Collum ¹enim capitis² et genua crurum sicut uiuentis hominis. Eleuantes³ eum⁴ de sepulchro⁵, ut uoluerunt flectere⁶ potuerunt. Omnia autem⁷ uestimenta et calciamenta⁸ quae⁹ pelli corporis eius adhibebant, attrita non erant. Nam sudarium reuoluentes ¹⁰quo capud¹² eius cingebatur, pristinae¹³ candiditatis¹⁴ pulchritudinem¹⁵ custodiens, et ficones¹⁶ noui quibus calciatus¹⁷ est^{18,11} in basilica nostra ¹⁹contra²¹ reliquiis²² pro testimonio^{23,20} usque hodie habentur.

XV. *De eo quod ²⁴cuiusdam patris familie solus a demonio uexatus, ad reliquias eius sanatus est²⁵*

f. 82b

Dominus itaque ²⁶pro honore²⁷ ²⁸sancti³⁰ martyris^{31,29} sui post obitum eius plurimorum hominum sanitates secundum fidem eorum donauerat. Nam quidam pater familias ³²filium suum³³ a demonio³⁴ fatigatum uociferantem³⁵ et lacrimantem³⁶, lacerantemque³⁷ corpus suum in plastro ad insulam nostram uehebat, et³⁸ ad reliquias sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum Dei, ³⁹ita⁴¹ ut occulte erat edoctus⁴² a presbitero⁴³ sepe memorato nomine Tydi qui sanare filium eius, et fugare demonium⁴⁴ non ualebat⁴⁰. Igitur⁴⁵ sicut diximus clamante⁴⁶ et uociferante⁴⁷ demonioso⁴⁸, plurimorum⁴⁹ aures horror inuasit. Multis⁵⁰ namque⁵¹ disperantibus⁵² aliquod⁵³ sanitatis remedium miserabili puero posse contulere⁵⁴, quidam tamen⁵⁵ bone⁵⁶ et integre⁵⁷ fidei ad Deum spem ponens et deprecans sancti Cudberhti⁵⁸ adiutorium, misericordia commotus, aquam benedixit, et partem humi de illa fossa⁵⁹ in qua⁶⁰ lauacrum⁶¹ corporis ⁶²sancti episcopi nostri⁶³ post obitum

1-2 uero HB. 3 eleuatis O₁. eleuatus O₂. eleuantis A. ins. autem HB. 4 enim O₂. 5 sepulchro T. 6 ins. non HB. 7 etiam HB. 8 calcimenta O₁. 9 que TB. 10-11 pro reliquiis HB. 12 caput O₂TP. 13 pristini O₂. 14 candoris O₂. 15 pulcr... T. 16 uicones T. 17 caltiatus O₁. 18 om. P. 19-20 om. HB. 21 cum T. 22 reliquias O₂. 23 testimonia O₁A. 24-25 quidam demoniacus ad reliquias eius sanatus sit T. 26-27 ad honorem HB. 28-29 dilecti T. 30 om. HBP. 31 ins. Cudberti T. 32-33 om. HB. 34 daem... O₂. ins. filium HB. 35 om. HB. 36 om. HB.

still moveable at the joints. For his neck and knees were like those of a living man; and when they lifted him from the tomb, they could bend him as they wished. None of his vestments and footwear which touched the flesh of his body was worn away. They unwound the headcloth in which his head was wrapped and found that it kept all the beauty of its first whiteness; and the new shoes, with which he was shod, are preserved in our church over against the relics, for a testimony, up to this present day.

CHAPTER XV. *How the only son of a certain father, being vexed by a devil, was healed at his remains*

And so our Lord, in honour of His holy martyr, after his death granted health to many men, according to their faith. For a certain father brought his son who was afflicted with a demon, and was shouting and weeping and tearing his body, in a wagon to our island, to the relics of the holy apostles and martyrs of God; for so he had been secretly instructed to do by a priest named Tydi, often before mentioned, who had been unable himself to heal the man's son and drive out the demon. So, as we have said, the demoniac cried and shouted and very many heard it with dread. And many despaired of finding any health-giving remedy for the wretched boy. Nevertheless a certain man of good and sound faith placed his trust in God and prayed for the help of St Cuthbert; moved to pity, he blessed some water and took and sprinkled in it some of the earth from the trench in which that water had been poured, wherein the body of our holy bishop had been washed after his death. As soon as

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| 37 laceratumque O ₂ . om. que HB. | 38 om. HB. | 39-40 sed per eos |
| in O ₁ . itaque T. om. P. | 41 capital letter | 42 edoc. er. TP. |
| 44 daem... O ₂ . | 45 om. T. | 43 populo O ₁ O ₂ . |
| 47 uociferantem O ₁ A. | 48 daem... O ₂ . | 46 clamantem O ₁ A. |
| 50 ins. his A. add que T. | 51 autem HB. om. T. | 49 plurimum O ₂ . |
| 53 aliquot B. | 52 desp... O ₂ HTBP. | 54 conferri O ₂ . contingere HBP. prouenire T. |
| 55 om. HTB. | 56 bonae O ₂ . | 57 integrae O ₂ H. |
| 58 Cudberti O ₁ . Cuðberhti A. Cuthberti HBP. | 59 fossa illa HB. | |
| 60 quam HB. | 61 lavachrum HBP. | 62-63 eius HB. |

cuius effusus¹ est capiens² aspersit in eam³. Puer uero⁴ degustata⁵ aqua benedicta⁶, a garrula uoce nocte illa⁷ desinit⁸. Crastinoque⁹ die¹⁰ cum patre suo gratias agens Domino, ad reliquias¹¹ sanctorum pro quorum amore sanatus¹² se a Deo credidit, in conspectu familiae¹³ nostrae¹⁴ orauit, glorificans Dominum^{16,15} ¹⁷in sanctis suis¹⁹ ad domum¹⁸ unde uenerat sanatus²⁰ reuersus est.

Psa. 67. 36

XVI. De fratre infirmante qui²¹ pro honore
martiris²³ liberatus²² est

In honore²⁴ quoque sancti²⁵ confessoris²⁶ Dei et²⁷ incorruptibilis corporis uolente Domino²⁸ ²⁹in eo³⁰ complere quod de Iohanne euangelista³¹ ³²Christus Iesus proficiscens^{34,33} promisit³⁵, ait³⁶, *Volo* ³⁷*eum sic*³⁸ *manere*, ³⁹*donec* ⁴⁰*ueniam*, multa⁴¹ mirabilia⁴² cotidie⁴³ in praesentia⁴⁴ nostra⁴⁵ Domino prestante^{47,46} aguntur, ex quibus est quod nuper factum recolimus. Quidam namque frater⁴⁸ de familia Uuilbrordi⁴⁹ episcopi⁵⁰ trans mare⁵¹ ueniens⁵² usque ad nos⁵⁴ in hospitem⁵⁵ susceptus⁵⁶ est⁵³, ⁵⁷quem⁵⁹ manentem in hospitio⁶⁰ grauis infirmitas arripuit. Fatigatus enim longo tempore et⁶¹ postremo pene consumptus est⁶², de uita praesenti⁶³ dubitans desperauit^{64,58}. Ministro autem cenobii⁶⁵ nostri dominica⁶⁶ die dixit⁶⁷, Deduc me⁶⁸ hodie post celebratam⁷⁰ missam⁶⁹ si aliquo modo potueris⁷¹ ad locum⁷² ubi corpus⁷³ confessoris Dei requiescit⁷⁴. Credo enim sperans⁷⁵ in Deum pura fide⁷⁶, ⁷⁷mente fideli, ut aut⁷⁸ |

John

21. 22

1 effusum HTBP.	2 tollens HB.	3 eum O ₂ . ins. potumque
dedit patienti HB.	4 autem O ₂ .	5 gustata HB. 6 om. HB.
7 il. noct. O ₂ .	8 desiit O ₂ T.	desiit HB. 9 crastina
quoque O ₂ . crastinaque HTBP.		10-15 Deum benedicens
mirabilia HB.	11 requias O ₂ .	12 sanatum O ₁ O ₂ P.
13 familie T.	14 nostre O ₂ . om. T.	16 Deum P. 17-18 per
sanctos suos operantem HB.		19 ins. et T. 20 sanus O ₂ .
incolomis HB.	21-22 ad sepulchrum sancti episcopi curatus T.	
23 martyr A.	24 honorem HTBP.	25 eiusdem HB.
26-27 om. HB.	28 Deo HB.	29-30 om. H. 31 eui... O ₂ .
32-33 om. HB.	Dominus Iesus Christus perficiens P.	34 proficiens T.
	35 ins. et P.	36 dicens HB. ins. sic eum HB.

the boy had tasted the holy water, he ceased from his ravings that very night. On the following day, together with his father he gave thanks to God at the relics of the saints, for the love of whom he believed that God had healed him. He prayed in the presence of our congregation, and, glorifying the Lord in his saints, returned healed to the home whence he had come.

CHAPTER XVI. *Concerning a brother who was freed from his infirmity in honour of the martyr*

In honour also of the holy confessor of God and of his incorruptible body, since the Lord wished to fulfil in him what Christ Jesus promised, when He went away, concerning the evangelist John, saying: "I will that he remain thus until I come", many miracles are wrought daily in our midst by the power of the Lord; we recall one of these which happened lately. A certain brother of the household of Bishop Willibrord came across the sea to us and was hospitably received, but while living in the guest-house he was seized with a grave illness. He was afflicted for a long time and at last was almost worn out and in despair, and had no hope of the present life. On the Sunday he said to a servant of our monastery: "Take me to-day after the celebration of mass, if you are able by any means, to the place where the body of the confessor of God rests. For I believe and hope in God with pure faith and a faithful

37-38 om. HB.	sic eum TP.	39-40 om. HB.	et multa reliqua TP.
41 om. TP.	42 mirabili T.	43 cotidiae A.	44 pres... ATP.
45-46 om. HB.	47 praes... O ₂ .	48 om. P.	49 Uuillebrordi O ₂ .
Willibrordi H.	Willebrordi B.	Uuilibordi P.	50-51 trasmare T.
52-53 apud nos	hospitatus est HB.	54-55 hospitalitate TP.	
56 receptus P.	57-58 grauique ex longitudine itineris languore		
depressus HB.	59 capital letter in O ₁ .	60 hospiti O ₁ A.	hospicio O ₂ T.
61 om. T.	62 ins. et T.	63 pre... T.	64 desp... O ₂ TP.
65 coen... O ₂ .	66 dominico HTBP.	67 dixit die B.	
68-69 queso HB.	70 cael... O ₂ .	71-72 post celebratam missam HB.	
73 ins. sancti P.	74 req. Dei B.	75 om. HB.	76 ins. et T.
77-78 quod HB.			

f. 83 pro honore serui sui ¹ de incorruptibili³ et pleno corpore membris⁴ meis languore⁵ marcescentibus^{6,2} plenitudinem⁷ sanitatis augeat⁸, aut celestis⁹ glorie¹⁰ quam anima eius possidet¹¹, mihi¹² de uinculis¹³ liberato angustie¹⁴ partem aliquam tribuat¹⁵. Quid magis moror¹⁶ uerbis? Difficulus¹⁷ a ministro deductus, prosternens se ¹⁸ in faciem¹⁹ ante reliquias orauit. ²⁰Iamiamque facta²¹ oratione, gratias agens Domino sanatus²² surrexit. ²³Deambulansque sibi^{25,24} sine ductu alterius, ad²⁶ diuersorium rediit, et²⁷ post paucos²⁸ dies ²⁹in uoluntate Dei³⁰ sospes³¹ proficiscebat³².

XVII. *De puero qui toto corpore solutus*
³³*illic liberatus est*³⁴

Miraculum aliud simile huic silentio non praetereo³⁵, quod in praesenti³⁶ anno factum est. Fuit namque quidam adolescens paralyticus³⁷ de alio monasterio in plaustro deductus³⁸ ad³⁹ medicos edoctos⁴⁰ ⁴¹cenobii⁴³ nostri⁴². Illi enim⁴⁴ omni cura eum qui pene cunctis membris⁴⁵ mortifacis dissolutus iacebat, ⁴⁶medere ceperunt^{48,47}, nihilque⁴⁹ proficientes, ⁵⁰post longum laborem⁵¹ omnino deseruerunt, disperantes⁵² curare⁵³ eum. Puer itaque⁵⁴ desertum se⁵⁵ a medicis carnalibus ut⁵⁶ uidit, plorans et lacrimans ministro suo dixit, Primum utique⁵⁷ mihi⁵⁸ hoc malum desolutionis⁵⁹ ⁶⁰et mortificationis⁶¹ inchoans a pedibus per omnia⁶² membra⁶³ deseminauit⁶⁴. Ideo namque⁶⁵ deposco ⁶⁶ab⁶⁸ abbate⁶⁷ calciamenta⁶⁹ ⁷⁰que⁷² circumdederunt pedes⁷¹ | sancti martyris⁷³ Dei⁷⁴ incorruptibilis⁷⁵, ⁷⁶et secundum consilium eius ficones⁷⁸ detulit⁷⁷, pedibus suis⁷⁹

f. 83 b

1-2 om. HB. 3 changed to incorruptibilis A. 4 membris P.
5 changed to languores A. 6 marcessentibus A. marcentibus P.
7 ins. mihi HB. 8 conferat HB. 9 coel... O₂AH.
10 gloriae O₂AHB. 11 possedit HT. 12 michi O₂TP. 13 uinculo HTBP. 14 angustiae O₂AHB. requiei T. 15 tribuit O₁O₂A.
16 morer O₂. 17 om. T. 18-19 om. HB. 20-21 completa HB.
22 sanus O₂. satus T. ins. facile HTBP. 23-24 et HB. 25 ins. ipsi P. om. T. 26 a O₁A. 27 om. HB. 28 add que HB.
29-30 om. HB. 31 sospis O₁A. 32 proficiscebatur TP. profectus est HB. 33-34 sanatus sit T. 35 pret... AT.

heart that in honour of his servant, He will either supply from the whole and incorruptible body fullness of health to my limbs now wasting with disease; or else He will grant some share of the heavenly glory which his soul possesses, when I have been set free from the bonds of distress." To be brief, he was taken thither with difficulty by the servant, and, stretching himself on his face, he prayed before the relics, and, when he had prayed, he rose up cured and gave thanks to God. Then walking away without the assistance of anyone, he returned to the guest-house and a few days afterwards, by the will of God, went away whole.

CHAPTER XVII. *Concerning a boy who, being paralysed in every limb, was healed there*

I will not pass over in silence a miracle similar to this last which happened only this year. There was a certain youth, a paralytic, who was brought in a wagon from another monastery to the skilled physicians of our monastery. They began to try every cure on him as he lay with almost all his limbs mortified and powerless. After toiling long, they had no success and gave him up altogether, despairing of curing him. When the boy saw himself deserted by human doctors, he said to his servant with lamentations and tears: "This powerlessness and mortification first began from my feet and so spread through all my members. So I ask the abbot for the shoes which were on the feet of the holy and incorruptible martyr of God." According to his counsel, the servant brought the shoes and

36 pre... T.	37 paralyticus O ₂ . om. HB.	38 om. O ₂ .
39 om. T.	40 om. HB.	41-42 nost. cen. HTBP.
44 autem HB.	45 menbris BP.	43 coen... O ₂ .
48 coep... O ₂ A.	49 nichil O ₂ . nichilque HTBP.	46-47 ceperunt mederi HBP.
52 desp... O ₂ HTBP.	53 curari P.	50-51 tantum HB.
55 om. T.	56 om. HTBP.	54 autem ut HBP. ins. ut se T.
59 diss... HTBP.	60-61 om. HB.	57 itaque O ₂ A.
64 deseminatum est T. disseminatum est HBP.	62 ins. mea HB.	58 michi O ₂ TP.
65 itaque HB.	66-67 om. HB.	63 mebra A.
70-71 om. HB.	72 quae O ₂ A.	64 a O ₁ .
om. T.	74 adhuc HB.	69 caltiamenta O ₁ .
76-77 mihi dari. quibus acceptis HB.	75 incorruptibilia HB. incorruptibiles T.	73 martyres O ₁ . confessoris HB.
	78 uicones T.	79 om. TP.

¹ nocte illa^{3,2} circumdedit, et⁴ requieuit. Surgens⁵ in matutinis quod dictu mirum est⁶, ⁷Domino ⁹laudem stans^{10,8} cantauit¹¹, qui prius pene absque lingua nullum membrum¹² mouere potuit. Crastina autem¹³ die circuibat¹⁴ loca sanctorum martyrum, gratias agens Domino¹⁵, quod meritis¹⁶ sancti episcopi secundum fidem eius¹⁷ pristina¹⁸ sanitati redditus est.

XVIII. De uariis miraculis praetermissis¹⁹

Igitur fratres mei pauca dictaui, multa et innumerabilia omittens, ne²⁰ crapulatus aliquis et grauatus, omnia simul respueret. Nam²¹ ²²etenim de^{24,23} hoc silco quomodo ²⁵in multis locis²⁶ infirmantes demoniaci²⁷ professi sunt, pro²⁸ eo ²⁹tantum³¹ futuro deseruisse demones³², et numquam iterum possessuros³⁰, uel iterum³³ quomodo praesens³⁴ uerbo tantum³⁵ alios sanauit³⁶. ³⁷De fratribus quoque taceo³⁹ qui in corde suo proposuerunt, nullo alio scienti⁴⁰ sibi necessaria⁴¹ deponere⁴². Ille uero prophetaliter spiritu praeuenit⁴³ eos, praeparans⁴⁴ eis secundum desideria cordis eorum³⁸, antequam aliquis ⁴⁵ex eis⁴⁶ peteret eum⁴⁷. De quo spiritu Paulus dixit⁴⁸, *Nobis autem reuelauit per spiritum suum*. Necnon⁴⁹ de pane benedicto⁵⁰ in duobus locis, qualia et quanta mirabilia facta sunt dico⁵¹, ⁵²uel ⁵⁴de aquae^{55,53} potu benedicto. ⁵⁶Et post eum alio bibenti omnis⁵⁸ suauitas liquoris apparuit⁵⁷, uel quomodo diaconus⁵⁹ ⁶⁰sancti episcopi pynfridi^{62,61} a reliquiis⁶³ ⁶⁴supradicti⁶⁶ confessoris Dei⁶⁵ per duas uices de infirmitate sanatus sit. ⁶⁷Finit hoc opus, uale in Christo semper⁶⁸.

I Cor.
2. 10

1-2 om. HB. 3 uia T. 4 ins. in eis HB. 5 ins. autem HB.
6 om. P. 7-8 stans Dom. laud. HB. 9-10 stans laud. P.
11 cecinit HB. cantare cepit TP. 12 mebrum A. menbrum HBP.
13 om. HB. 14 circumibat P. 15 om. HTBP. 16 merita
O₁. per merita T. pro meritis P. 17 suam HB.
18 pristinae O₂AB. 19 pre... T. add et iterum additis aliorum
assertionibus fidelissimorum T. 20 nec O₁O₂A.
21 om. HB. 22-23 om. P. 24 om. HTB. 25-26 om. HB.
27 daem... O₂. 28 om. HB. 29-30 adueniente se liberatos HB.
31 ins. in P. 32 daem... O₂. 33 om. HB. 34 pre... O₂TBP.

he put them on his feet that night and rested. He arose in the morning and, marvellous to relate, he stood up and sang praise to the Lord, he who before could hardly move any of his members except his tongue. On the next day he went round the places of the sacred martyrs, giving thanks to the Lord because he had been restored to his former health, according to his faith, through the merits of the holy bishop.

CHAPTER XVIII. *Of various miracles omitted*

So, my brethren, I have related a few things and have left out innumerable others, lest anyone should be surfeited and overburdened and should reject them all. For I have said nothing of how, in many places, people afflicted with demons have declared that the demons deserted them for his sake and would never possess them again, and further how, when he was present, he healed others with a mere word. I say nothing either of the brethren who decided in their own hearts and without the knowledge of others, to ask him for what they required; and he, by his prophetic spirit, forestalled them, providing for them according to the desires of their heart before any of them asked for anything. Of this spirit Paul said: "He revealed it to us by His Spirit." Nor do I tell what great miracles were wrought in two places by bread he had blessed; nor of the draught of water blessed by him, and how it appeared to another who drank after him to have all the sweetness of wine; nor how a deacon of the holy bishop Winfrith was healed of his infirmity on two occasions by the relics of the above-mentioned confessor of God. This work is ended. Fare well ever in Christ.

35 tamen P.	36 om. HB.	37-38 uel quomodo desideria fratrum
preueniens HB.	39 sileo O ₂ .	40 <i>changed from</i> sciente A. sciente TP.
41 necessario O ₁ O ₂ A.	42 deposscere P.	43 pre. . . T.
44 pre. . . AT.	45-46 eum HB. om. P.	47 indulserit HB.
48 dicit HB.	49 nec HB. nec nunc P.	50 benedicta O ₁ .
51 om. O ₂ .	52-53 et de HB.	54-55 ea que T. de aque A. de aqua que P.
56 om. P.	56-57 om. HB.	58 ins. suauis O ₁ .
60-61 quidam HB.	62 Uinfridi T. Uuinfridi P.	63 reliquis O ₁ O ₂ A.
64-65 eius HB.	66 ins. con P.	67-68 om. O ₂ HTBP.

ins. Explicit liber quartus in uita sancti Cudberhti episcopi et confessoris O₂.

VITA SANCTI CUTHBERTI
AUCTORE BEDA



BEDE'S LIFE OF
ST CUTHBERT

VITA SANCTI CUTHBERTI
AUCTORE BEDA



p. 1 Prologus beati Bedae¹ presbiteri in uitam Sancti Cuthberti².

p. 2 **D**OMINO sancto ac beatissimo patri Eadfrido episcopo³, sed⁴ et omni congregationi⁵ fratrum qui in Lindisfarnensi⁶ insula Christo deseruiunt⁷, Beda⁸ fidelis uester conseruus salutem. Quia iussistis dilectissimi ut⁹ libro quem de uita beatae¹⁰ memoriae patris nostri Cuthberti¹¹ uestro rogatu composui¹², praefationem aliquam¹³ in fronte iuxta morem¹⁴ praefigerem¹⁵, per quam¹⁶ legentibus uniuersis et uestrae uoluntatis desiderium¹⁷, et oboeditionis nostrae pariter assensio¹⁸ fraterna claresceret, placuit in capite praefationis¹⁹ et uobis qui nostis ad memoriam reuocare, et eis²⁰ qui ignorant haec forte legentibus notum facere, quia nec sine certissima exquisitione²¹ rerum gestarum aliquid de tanto uiro²² scribere, nec tandem ea | quae scripseram sine subtili²³ examinatione testium indubiorum passim transcribenda²⁴ quibusdam dare praesumpsi²⁵, quin potius primo diligenter exordium, progressum, et terminum gloriosissimae conuersationis ac uitae illius ab his²⁶ qui nouerant inuestigans²⁷. Quorum etiam nomina in ipso libro aliquotiens²⁸ ob²⁹ certum cognitae ueritatis inditium³⁰ apponenda³¹ iudicauī, et³²

1 Capitals are preserved as in O₉, but are added in the case of proper names and titles of God. The punctuation represents that of O₉.

2 Incipit prefatio Bede presbiteri de uita sancti Cuthberti Lindisfarnensis episcopi ad Eadfridum episcopum C₁VHO₄. Incipit prologus in uita sancti Cuthberti episcopi P₁. Incipit prologus in librum uitae beati patris Cuthberti Lindisfarnensis episcopi C₃. Incipit prefatio in librum uitae beati patris Cuthberti Lindisfarnensis episcopi O₈O₃M.

3 om. O₉.

4 set O₃.

5 congregationi O₃. and

throughout O₃ t is written as c before i.

6 Lindisfarnensis P₁. Lindis-

pfarnensi C₃. Lyndisfarnensi O₃.

7 deserunt, uī above V.

8 Baeda VH.

9 ins. in C₁VHP₁O₄.

10 ac is represented

in O₉ by ꝥ, also occasionally æ. It is everywhere e in O₃. beati C₁.

THE LIFE OF ST CUTHBERT

BY BEDE



The prologue of the blessed priest Bede to the life of St Cuthbert.

TO the holy and most blessed father, Bishop Eadfrith, and also to the whole congregation of brethren who serve Christ on the island of Lindisfarne, Bede, your faithful fellow-servant, sends greeting.

Since, beloved friends, you have bidden me put, as is customary, some kind of preface to the book which I have composed, at your request, concerning the life of our father Cuthbert of blessed memory, that thereby all readers might see your will and pleasure as well as my brotherly assent and obedience thereto, I decided in the prefatory chapter to remind you who know, and to inform those readers who perchance do not know, that I have not presumed to write down anything concerning so great a man without the most rigorous investigation of the facts nor, at the end, to hand on what I had written to be copied for general use, without the scrupulous examination of credible witnesses. Nay rather, it was only after first diligently investigating the beginning, the progress, and the end of his most glorious life and activity, with the help of those who knew him, that I began at last to set about making notes: and I have decided occasionally to place the names of these my

11 Cudberhti C₁. Cuthberchti V. Cuthberhti H. Cutberti O₄. 12 comp... C₁VH. 13-14 iux. mor. in fron. C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 pre... O₈. 16 gloss above scilicet praefationem VH. 17 des. uol. C₁VHP₁O₄. 18 adsentio C₁VH. 19 pre... C₃O₈. 20 om. O₄. 21 adquisicione, uel ex above V. exquisicione O₃. 22 ins. potui C₁O₉ (above). 23 ...issima C₁VHP₁O₄. 24 trans... C₁P₁. 25 praesumsisse O₉. praesumsi P₁. praesumpsisse C₃M. presumpsisse O₈O₃. 26 hiis O₃. 27 inuestigasse O₉C₃O₈O₃M. vi above C₁. inuestigauit P₁. 28 aliquoties C₁P₁O₄. aliquociens O₃. 29 ins. indicium C₁VHP₁. ins. inditium O₄. 30 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. indicium O₃. 31 adp... C₁V. 32 om. C₁VHP₁O₄.

p. 3 sic¹ demum ad scedulas manum mittere incipio. At digesto opusculo sed adhuc in scedulis retento², frequenter et reuerentissimo fratri nostro Herefrido presbitero huc aduentanti, et aliis qui diutius cum uiro Dei conuersati uitam illius optime³ nouerant, quae scripsi legenda atque ex tempore praestiti retractanda⁴, ac nonnulla ad arbitrium eorum prout uidebantur sedulus emendauit, sicque⁵ ablatis omnibus⁷ scrupulorum ambagibus ad purum⁶, certam ueritatis indaginem simplicibus explicitam sermonibus commendare membranulis⁸, atque ad⁹ uestrae quoque fraternitatis praesentiam asportare curauit, quatinus uestrae auctoritatis¹⁰ iudicio uel emendarentur falsa¹¹, uel probarentur uera esse, quae scripta sunt. Quod cum Domino adiuuante¹² patrarem, et coram senioribus ac doctoribus uestrae congregationis libellus biduo | legeretur, ac sollertissime per singula ad uestrum pensaretur examen, nullus omnimodis inuentus est sermo qui mutari debuisset, sed cuncta quae scripta erant communi consilio decernebantur¹³ absque ulla ambiguitate¹⁴ legenda, et his¹⁵ qui religionis studio uellent ad transcribendum¹⁶ esse tradenda. Sed et alia multa nec minora his¹⁷ quae¹⁸ scripsimus praesentibus¹⁹ nobis ad inuicem conferentes, de uita et uirtutibus beati uiri superintulistis, quae prorsus memoria²⁰ digna uidebantur, si non deliberato ac perfecto operi noua interserere, uel supradicere minus congruum atque indecorum esse constaret. Dehinc ammonendum²¹ uestrae almitatis coronam ratus sum, ut sicut ipse munus oboedientiae²² meae quod iubere estis dignati promptus soluere non distuli, ita uos quoque ad reddendum²³ mihi²⁴ uestrae intercessionis praemium pigri non sitis, sed²⁵ cum eundem librum²⁶ relegentes, pia sanctissimi patris memoria uestros animos

1 *add que* P₁. 2 *ret. in sced.* C₁VHP₁O₄. 3 *optimae* C₁.
 4 *retr. praes.* C₁VHP₁O₄. 5-6 *scrup. amb. ad pur. abl.* C₁VHP₁O₄.
 7 *om.* C₁P₁. *above* VHO₄. 8 *memb. . .* C₁VHO₈O₃M. 9 *above*
 C₁V. 10 *autoritatis* P₁. 11 *om.* C₁VHP₁O₄. 12 *iuuante* C₁
 VHP₁O₄. 13 *gloss above* id est iudicabantur VH. 14 *dubietate*

authorities in the book itself, to show clearly how my knowledge of the truth has been gained. Further, when my little work was arranged, though still kept in the form of notes, I often showed what I had written both to our most reverend brother, the priest Herefrith, when he came hither, and to others who had lived some considerable time with the man of God and were fully conversant with his life, so that they might read and revise it at their leisure; and I diligently amended some things in accordance with their judgment, as seemed good to them. And thus I made it my business to put down on parchment the results of my rigorous investigation of the truth, expressed in simple language quite free from all obscurities and subtleties, and to bring what was written into the presence of your brotherhood, in order that it might be corrected if false, or, if true, approved by the authority of your judgment. And when I had done this with the help of the Lord, and my little work had been read for two days before the elders and teachers of your congregation and carefully weighed in every detail under your examination, no word of any sort was found which had to be changed, but everything that was written was pronounced by common consent to be, without any question, worthy of being read, and of being delivered to those whose pious zeal moved them to copy it. But, consulting together in our presence, you brought forward many other facts concerning the life and virtues of the blessed man no less important than those which we have written down, which well deserved to be mentioned if it had not seemed scarcely fitting and proper to insert new matter or add to a work which was planned and complete.

Furthermore I have thought you should be reminded of that which will crown your kindness, so that, just as I myself did not delay to fulfil with promptitude the task which you thought fit to lay upon my obedience, so you also may not be slow to grant me the reward of your intercession: but reading the same book, and by the pious memory of the holy father

C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	15 hiis O ₃ .	16 transs... C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	17 om. C ₁ VH.
hiis O ₃ .	18 quam VH.	19 pre... VO ₈ .	20 memoriae
C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	21 ...endam VHO ₄ M. adm... C ₃ .	22 obed... O ₃ M.	
23 reddendam C ₁ .	24 michi O ₄ M.	25 set C ₃ O ₃ .	26 libellum

C₁VHP₁O.

ad desideria regni coelestis ardentius attollitis¹, pro mea quoque paruitate memineritis diuinam exorare clementiam, quatinus et nunc pura mente desiderare, et in futuro perfecta beatitudine merear *uidere bona Domini in terra uiuentium*, sed et me² defuncto pro redemptione³ | animae⁴ meae quasi pro⁵ familiaris et uernaculi uestri orare et missas facere, et nomen meum inter uestra scribere dignemini. Nam et tu sanctissime antistes⁶ hoc te mihi⁷ promississe iam retines. In cuius etiam testimonium futurae conscriptionis religioso fratri nostro Gudfrido⁸ mansionario praecepisti, ut in albo⁹ uestrae sanctae congregationis meum nunc¹⁰ quoque nomen apponeret¹¹. Sciat autem sanctitas uestra quia uitam eiusdem Deo dilecti patris nostri quam uobis prosa editam dedi, aliquanto quidem breuius, sed eodem tamen ordine rogantibus¹² quibusdam e nostris fratribus heroicis¹³ dudum uersibus edidi. Quos si uos habere delectat, a nobis exemplar accipere potestis. In cuius operis praefatione¹⁴ promisi me alias de uita et miraculis eius latius esse scripturum. Quam uidelicet promissionem in praesenti¹⁵ opusculo, prout Dominus¹⁶ dederit¹⁷ adimplere satago¹⁸. Orante¹⁹ pro nobis²⁰ beatitudinem²¹ uestram²² Dominus omnipotens custodire²³ dignetur incolumem²⁴, dilectissimi fratres et domini mei. Amen^{25,26}. |

p. 5 I. ²⁷Quomodo puer Dei Cuthbertus²⁹ per infantem sit predicto episcopatu ammonitus^{30,28}.

II. Quomodo genu dolente claudus effectus sit³¹, et angelo medicante³² sanatus.

1 adt... C₁VHP₁. 2 om. O₉. 3 redemp...
 C₁VHP₁C₃O₈O₄M. redempcionem O₃. 4 anime C₁HP₁O₃.
 5 om. C₁VHP₁O₈O₄. 6 antestis VH. 7 michi O₄M.
 8 Guthfrido C₁VHC₃O₄. Cuthfrido P₁. 9 halbo P₁. 10 tunc O₄.
 11 adp... C₁V. 12 changed in later hand from regnantibus C₁.
 13 eroicis P₁. 14 pre... O₈. 15 pre... O₈. 16 Deus O₈O₃M.
 17 dedit O₄. 18 sategi O₄. 19 orantem O₉C₃O₈O₃M.
 ins. ergo C₁VHC₃O₄. ins. me VH. P₁ illegible to end of Prologue.
 20 uobis VH. 21 changed to beatitudine C₁. beatitudine O₄.
 22 changed to uestra C₁. uestra O₄. 23 ins. uos C₁O₄.

uplifting your hearts to a more eager desire for the heavenly kingdom, you may remember also to intercede with the divine clemency on behalf of one so insignificant, that I may be worthy, now, with a pure heart to long for, and hereafter, in perfect bliss, "to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living". Moreover when I am dead, deign to pray for the redemption of my soul, and to celebrate masses as though I belonged to your family and household, and to inscribe my name among your own. For, most holy bishop, you remember that you have already promised me this, and, in witness to my future enrolment, you gave orders to our pious brother Guthfrith the sacrist that he should even now place my name in the register of your holy congregation. You should also know, holy father, that the life of this same father of ours, the beloved of God, which I have given you in a prose version, I also formerly produced, at the request of some of our brethren, in heroic verse, somewhat shorter indeed, but similarly arranged: if it would please you to have it, you can obtain a copy from us. In the preface of that work, I promised that I would write more fully on another occasion about his life and miracles, and in the present work I am striving to fulfil that same promise, so far as the Lord permits. So I pray on our behalf, my beloved brethren and masters, that the almighty Lord may vouchsafe to keep you in perfect blessedness. Amen.

I. How Cuthbert, the child of God, was warned by an infant and his bishopric foretold.

II. How he became lame as the result of a diseased knee and was cured by the ministration of an angel.

24 incolumes C₁O₄. 25 om. VH. *There are no separate lists of chapters in HM.* 26 ins. Explicit prologus libri sequentis Deo gratias, fiat. Incipiunt capitula libri sequentis C₁. Explicit praefatio Bedae presbiteri de uita sancti Cuthberhti Lindisfarnensis episcopi H. Explicit prologus. Liber de uita et miraculis necnon et de transitu beati patris Cuthberti Lindispharnensis episcopi C₃. Incipiunt capitula libri de uita et miraculis sancti Cuthberti O₈. Explicit prologus. Incipiunt capitula libri sequentis O₄. 27-28 Quomodo ipse octennis puer per trinum infantem de constancia animi et episcopatu sit premonitus O₃. 29 Cuthberhtus V. 30 adm...C₁VO₄. 31 sit. eff. P₁O₃. 32 ins. sine mora O₃.

III. Quomodo uentis oratione mutatis rates oceano¹ delapsas² reuocauerit⁴ ad litus³.

III. Quomodo cum pastoribus positus animam sancti Aidani⁵ episcopi ad coelum⁷ ab angelis ferri⁸ aspexerit^{9,6}.

V. Quomodo iter faciens cibos¹⁰ Domino procurante perceperit.

VI. Quale¹¹ ei testimonium¹³ uenienti ad monasterium¹⁵ Boisilus¹⁶ uir sanctus¹⁷ perhibuerit¹⁸.

VII. Quomodo angelum hospicio¹⁹ suscipiens dum panem querit ministrare²⁰ terrenum, coelesti²¹ ab eodem²² remunerari meruerit²³.

VIII. Quod²⁴ sanato²⁵ a languore Cuthberto²⁶ Boisilus²⁷ moriturus, quae illi²⁸ essent²⁹ uentura praedixerit.

IX. Quam sedulus erga ministerium uerbi³⁰ Cuthbertus³¹ extiterit.

X. Quomodo animalia maris in quo pernox orauerat³² illi egresso³³ praeberint³⁴ obsequium, et frater qui haec uidebat prae timore languescens eius³⁵ sit³⁶ oratione recreatus.

XI. Quomodo nautis tempestate praecclusis³⁷ serenum mare³⁸ ad certum diem³⁹ praedixerit et orando cibos⁴⁰ impetrauerit.

XII. Quomodo iter⁴¹ faciens⁴² aquila ministra uiaticum et percepturum se esse praedixerit, ⁴³et perceperit⁴⁴.

XIII. Quomodo praedicans populis fantasticum⁴⁵ subito ignem diaboli et praeuiderit⁴⁶ uenturum, et uenientem extinxerit⁴⁷.

XIII. Quomodo flammam domus cuiusdam ⁴⁸uero ⁵⁰igne^{52,49} ardentis⁵¹ orando⁵³ restrinxerit⁵⁴.

XV. Qualiter demonium⁵⁵ ab uxore⁵⁶ perfecti necdum adueniens eiecerit.

I in oceanum O₃. 2-3 ad lit. reuoc. O₃. 4 reuocarit C₁C₃O₄.
 reuocauit V. 5-6 in celum ferri uidit O₃. 7-8 ferri ab ang.
 C₁VP₁O₄. 9 uidit P₁. 10 cybos P₁. 11 quod C₁VO₄.
 quomodo P₁. 12-13 test. illi O₃. 14-15 ad mon. ueni. O₃.
 16 Boisil C₁VP₁O₄. Boysilus O₃. 17 *ins.* in spiritu
 C₁VP₁C₃O₈O₃O₄. 18 prophetauerit C₁VP₁. *ins.* utque ipse ibidem
 susceptus conuersatus sit O₃. 19 ospitio P₁. hospicio O₈O₃O₄.
 20 ministare O₉. 21 cel. . . O₈O₃. 22 eo O₃.
 23 meruit O₉. 24 quomodo O₃. 25 saluato C₁VP₁C₃O₈O₄.

III. How he changed the winds by prayer and brought the rafts, which had been carried out to sea, safe to land.

IV. How, being in the company of some shepherds, he saw the soul of the holy Bishop Aidan carried to heaven by angels.

V. How, while he was on a journey, he received food through God's care.

VI. What manner of testimony the holy man Boisil gave to him as he came to the monastery.

VII. How he entertained an angel, and whilst seeking to minister to him earthly bread, was thought worthy to be rewarded by him with heavenly bread.

VIII. How Cuthbert was healed of sickness and how Boisil, when about to die, prophesied things which were to come to him.

IX. How Cuthbert was diligent in the ministry of the word.

X. How the animals of the sea, in which he had passed the night in prayer, ministered to him when he came out, and how a brother who saw it, being ill through fear, was restored by his prayers.

XI. How he promised the sailors who were cut off by the storm that the sea would be calm by a certain day, and how his prayer for food was answered.

XII. How, while making a journey, he prophesied that he would receive provisions on the way by the ministrations of an eagle, and how it came to pass.

XIII. How, when he was preaching to the people, he suddenly foresaw that a phantom fire would come from the devil, and how he extinguished it when it came.

XIV. How by his prayers he checked the flames of a certain house which was really on fire.

XV. How he drove out a demon from the wife of a reeve, even before his arrival.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 26 Cudberhto C ₁ . | Cuthberhto V. | 27 Boisil C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ . | Boisilus O ₃ . |
| 28 eum C ₁ . | ei VP ₁ O ₃ O ₄ . | 29 erant O ₃ . | 30 <i>ins.</i> Dei O ₃ . |
| 31 Cudberhtus C ₁ V. | 32 orauerit C ₁ P ₁ . | 33 regresso C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ . | |
| 34 prohibuerint C ₃ . | preb... VO ₈ . | 35 illius O ₃ . | 36 <i>ins.</i> iterum O ₃ . |
| 37 pre... VO ₈ . | 38 <i>om.</i> O ₃ . | 39 <i>om.</i> O ₉ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ . | |
| 40 cybos P ₁ . | 41 <i>ins.</i> ad predicandum O ₃ . | 42 <i>ins.</i> ab above V. | |
| 43-44 <i>om.</i> C ₃ O ₈ . | 45 phantasticum O ₃ . | 46 pre... VO ₈ . | |
| 47 ext. uen. O ₄ . | 48-49 <i>om.</i> O ₃ . | 50-51 ard. ig. V. | 52 igni O ₄ . |
| 53 oratione C ₁ VP ₁ O ₃ O ₄ . | 54 restinxerit C ₁ VP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ . | extinxerit O ₃ . | |
| 55 daem... O ₄ . | 56 <i>ins.</i> cuius O ₃ . | | |

XVI. How he lived and taught in the monastery at Lindisfarne.

XVII. How he drove out the demons and made himself a dwelling-place on the island of Farne.

XVIII. How he produced water from dry land by his prayers and how he lived as a hermit.

XIX. How, with a word, he drove away the birds from the crops which he had sown with his own hand.

XX. How the ravens atoned for the injury which they had done to the man of God by their prayers and by a gift.

XXI. How even the sea ministered to his necessities.

XXII. How he gave instruction in the way of salvation to many who came to him and showed the weakness of the snares of the ancient foe.

XXIII. How the abbess Aelflaed and one of her nuns were healed of their infirmity by means of his girdle.

XXIV. How in answer to the same Aelflaed, he made predictions about the life of King Ecgfrith and about his own bishopric.

XXV. How, when he was elected to the bishopric, he cured the ailing servant of a gesith with holy water.

XXVI. Of his manner of life in his bishopric.

XXVII. How, though absent in the body, he saw in spirit the destruction of King Ecgfrith and of his army, in accordance with his own prediction.

XXVIII. How he predicted his own death to Hereberht the hermit and obtained this man's company from the Lord by his prayers.

XXIX. How through his priest he cured the wife of a gesith with holy water.

XXX. How he cured a girl of pains in the head and the side by anointing her with oil.

20-21 eius filia P₁. 22 infirmitatae O₉. 23 Aelflaede C₁P₁. Aelfede V. Elfede O₈. Aelfledae O₄. 24 Ec... O₉. Eg... P₁O₄O₈O₃. 25-26 Quomodo uiro Dei comes Ecgfridi regis in uia occurrit et quomodo per gustum aquae quam benedixit infirmus sanatus est V. 27 Quomodo O₃. 28 *ins.* per se O₃. 29 Eg... O₉P₁O₈O₃O₄. 30 *om.* O₃. 31-32 in spiritu uiderit absenti (*absens* O₄) C₁VP₁O₄. *absens uiderit in spiritu* O₃. 33 Hereberhto C₁VP₁. 34 anachorite O₈. 35 *opt...* O₃. *ins. sine mora* O₃.

XXXI. Quomodo ¹per panem² ab eo benedictum³ sit infirmus⁴ sanatus⁵.

XXXII. Qualiter oblatum sibi in itinere iuuenem moriturum orando reuocauerit⁶ ad ⁷sospitatem uitae^{9,8}.

XXXIII. Quomodo tempore mortalitatis morientem puerum matri¹⁰ sanum restituerit.

XXXIII. Quomodo¹¹ animam cuiusdam qui de arbore cadendo mortuus est, ad coelum¹² ferri conspexerit. |

p. 7 XXXV. Quomodo aquam gustando¹³ in uini saporem conuerterit.¹⁴

XXXVI. Quomodo inoboedientes¹⁵ ei quosdam fratres tempestas maris obsederit.

XXXVII. Quanta egrotus¹⁶ temptamenta¹⁷ pertulerit quidue de sepultura sua¹⁸ mandauerit migraturus¹⁹.

XXXVIII. Quomodo ministrum suum a profluuio uentris²⁰ ²¹ipse egrotus sanauerit²².

XXXIX. Quae ultima fratribus²³ mandata²⁴ dederit, et ut²⁵ percepto uiatico inter uerba orationis spiritum reddiderit.

XL. Quomodo iuxta prophetiam psalmi quem eo moriente cantauerant²⁶ Lindisfarnenses sint²⁷ impugnati²⁸, sed Domino iuuante protecti.

XLI. Quomodo puer demoniacus sit humo cui lauacrum²⁹ corporis³⁰ infusum est in aquam³¹ missa³² sanatus.

XLII. Quomodo corpus ipsius post undecim³³ annos sine corruptione sit³⁴ repertum.

XLIII. Quomodo corpus Eadberti³⁵ in tumulo uiri sancti³⁶ ponentes, sarcophagum³⁷ illius desuper posuerunt³⁸.

XLIII. Qualiter aegrotus³⁹ ad tumbam eius⁴⁰ orando sit⁴¹ curatus⁴².

XLV. Quomodo paraliticus sit⁴³ per eius calciamenta⁴⁴ sanatus.

1-2 pane O₈.

3 benedicto O₈.

4 inf. sit O₄.

5 curatus O₃.

6 reuocaret C₁VO₄.

7-8 uitam C₁VP₁O₄.

9 uite O₈.

10 om. O₃.

11 qualiter C₁VP₁.

12 cel... O₈O₃.

13 bibendo P₁.

14 conuerteret O₈.

15 inobed... O₈.

16 aegrotans O₄.

17 temptamenta P₁.

18 sua sep. C₁VP₁O₄.

XXXI. How a sick man was healed with bread which he had blessed.

XXXII. How, by his prayers, he recalled to life a dying youth who was brought to him when he was on a journey.

XXXIII. How, during the time of plague, he restored a dying boy in sound health to his mother.

XXXIV. How he beheld the soul of a certain man, who was killed by falling from a tree, being carried to heaven.

XXXV. How, by tasting water, he gave it the flavour of wine.

XXXVI. How a storm at sea detained certain brethren who were disobedient to him.

XXXVII. What trials he endured while sick and what he commanded concerning his burial, when about to depart this life.

XXXVIII. How, though sick himself, he healed his attendant of diarrhoea.

XXXIX. Of his last commands to his brethren and how, when he had received the viaticum, he yielded up his spirit in prayer.

XL. How, in accordance with the prophecy of the psalm which they had been singing when he died, the Lindisfarne brethren were attacked but, with the help of the Lord, were protected.

XLI. How a demoniac boy was healed by an infusion of some of that soil on which was poured the water wherein his body had been bathed.

XLII. How his body was found incorrupt eleven years afterwards.

XLIII. How the body of Eadberht was placed in the tomb of the holy man, and the sarcophagus of the saint placed upon it.

XLIV. How a sick man was cured by praying at his tomb.

XLV. How a paralytic was healed by his shoes.

19 <i>om.</i> C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	20 <i>ins.</i> uir beatus O ₃ .	21-22 sanauerit
egrotus C ₁ VP ₁ O ₃ O ₄ .	23 <i>om.</i> O ₈ .	24 uerba O ₄ .
25 ut et O ₈ .	26 cantauerunt O ₈ .	27 sunt C ₃ .
29 lauacram O ₄ .	30 <i>ins.</i> eius C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	31 aqua C ₁ VP ₁ .
32 misso C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	33 <i>ins.</i> sit C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	34 <i>om.</i> C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .
35 Eadberhti C ₁ V. Edberti O ₈ .	<i>ins.</i> episcopi C ₁ VP ₁ O ₃ O ₄ .	36 Dei
C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	37 sarcoph. . . C ₁ VP ₁ O ₃ .	sarchophagum O ₈ .
38 . . .erint	39 eg. . . C ₁ VP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ .	40 illius P ₁ .
C ₁ .	41 sit or. C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	
42 sanatus O ₃ .	43 <i>om.</i> O ₃ .	44 <i>ins.</i> sit O ₃ .

XLVI. Qualiter anachorita Felgildus¹ operimento parietis eius² a uultu tumore est³ mundatus⁴. |

p. 9 I. ⁵ *Quomodo puer Dei Cuthbertus⁷ per infantem sit predicto episcopatu ammonitus^{8,6}*

Principium nobis scribendi de uita ⁹et miraculis¹⁰ beati patris¹¹ Cuthberti¹² Ieremias¹³ propheta consecrat, qui anachoreticae perfectionis statum glorificans ait, *Bonum est uiro cum portauerit iugum ab adolescentia sua¹⁴, sedebit¹⁵ solitarius et tacebit¹⁶, quia¹⁷ leuabit¹⁸ se super se*. Huius nanque¹⁹ boni dulcedine accensus uir Domini Cuthbertus²⁰, ab ineunte adolescentia iugo monachicae institutionis collum subdidit, et ubi oportunitas²¹ iuuuit, arrepta etiam conuersatione anachoretica²², non paucio tempore solitarius sedere²³, atque ob sua ueritatem diuinae contemplationis ab humanis tacere delectabatur alloquiis. Sed²⁴ ut haec in maiori²⁵ aetate posset²⁶, superna illum gratia ad uiam ueritatis paulatim a primis iam puericiae²⁷ incitauerat annis. Siquidem usque ad octauum aetatis annum, qui post infantiam puericiae²⁷ primus est, solis paruulorum²⁸ ludis et lasciuiae mentem dare nouerat, ita ut illud beati Samuelis²⁹ tunc de ipso posset testimonium dici. *Porro Cuthbertus³⁰ necdum sciebat Dominum, neque reuelatus fuerat ei sermo Domini*. Quod in praeconium laudis dictum est puericiae³¹ illius, qui aetate³² maior perfecte iam cogniturus erat³³ Dominum, ac sermonem Domini reuelata cordis aure percepturus, Oblectabatur ergo ut diximus

1 Felgildus C₁VP₁. Felgendus P₁. 2 ins. sit C₁VP₁O₄.
 3 om. C₁VP₁O₄. sit O₈O₃. 4 On p. 8 in O₉ are the chapter headings of nine miracles, two from the Ecclesiastical History, the other seven being post-Bedan. ins. Incipit liber de uita et miraculis sancti Cuthberti Lindisfarnensis episcopi C₁O₄. There are no separate chapter headings in C₁P₁. Incipit liber de uita sancti Cuthberti episcopi Lindispharnensis ecclesiae H. Liber de uita et miraculis necnon et de transitu beati patris Cuthberti Lindispharnensis episcopi (Lindisfarnensis M) C₃M. 5-6 Quomodo ipse octennis puer per trimum infantem de constantia animi et episcopatu sit premonitus C₃M. Quomodo ipse puer a puero pro instabilitate corripiebatur O₄. omit chapter heading O₈O₃. 7 Cuthberhtus V. Cuhbertus H. 8 episcopatu adm. . . VH.

XLVI. How the hermit Felgild was cured of a swelling in the face by the covering of his wall.

CHAPTER I. *How Cuthbert, the child of God, was warned by an infant and his bishopric foretold*

The prophet Jeremiah consecrates for us the beginning of our account of the life and miracles of the blessed father Cuthbert when, praising the hermit's state of perfection, he says: "It is good for a man to have borne the yoke in his youth; he shall sit in solitude and be silent because he will raise himself above himself." For being stirred up by the sweetness of this blessing, Cuthbert the man of God submitted his neck from early youth to the yoke of monastic discipline; and at a favourable opportunity, he also took to the hermit's way of life, rejoicing to sit in solitude for no short time, and, for the sake of the sweetness of divine contemplation, to be silent and to hear no human speech. But in order that he might be able to do these things in his later years, the heavenly grace had urged him little by little into the way of truth, from the earliest years of his boyhood. For up to the eighth year of his age, which is the end of infancy and the beginning of boyhood, he could devote his mind to nothing but the games and wantonness of children, so that it could be testified of him as of the blessed Samuel: "Now" Cuthbert "did not yet know the Lord, neither was the word of the Lord yet revealed unto him." This was spoken as a prelude to the praise of his boyhood, for, when he became older, he was to know the Lord perfectly and to receive the word of the Lord, when once the ears of his heart had been

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9-10 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ M. | 11 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ M. |
| 12 Cudberhti C ₁ . Cuthberhti V. Cuthberhti H. Cudberti O ₄ . | |
| 13 Hieremias C ₁ VHC ₃ O ₈ O ₄ . Iheremias M. | 14 ins. si above C ₁ . |
| 15 sederit (uel -bit above) P ₁ . | 16 tacuerit (uel -cebit above) P ₁ . |
| 17 ins. non (above C ₁) P ₁ . | 18 leuauit C ₁ VHM. |
| 19 namque C ₁ VHP ₁ . | 20 Cudberhtus C ₁ . Cuthberhtus VH. Cudbertus O ₄ . |
| 21 opp... C ₃ O ₃ . | 22 annachoretica (na above) V. |
| 23 om. O ₉ . | 24 set O ₃ . |
| 25 ins. implere above V. maiore O ₈ . | 26 posset acetate O ₄ . |
| 27 pueritiae C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₄ M. | 28 puerorum P ₁ . |
| 29 Samuhelis M. | 30 Cudberhtus C ₁ . Cuthberhtus VH. Cudbertus P ₁ . |
| 31 pueritiae C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₄ M. | 32 etate O ₃ . |
| | 33 er. cog. P ₁ . |

iocis¹ ² et uagitibus³, ⁴ et iuxta⁵ quod aetatis⁶ ordo
 poscebat, paruulorum conuenticulis interesse cupiebat,
 ludentibus colludere⁷ desiderabat, et quia agilis natura
 atque acutus erat ingenio, contendentibus ludo sepius
 preualere⁸ consueuerat, adeo ut fessis nonnunquam⁹
 caeteris¹⁰ ille indefessus adhuc si quis¹¹ ultra secum uellet¹²
 certare, quasi uictor laetabundus¹³ inquireret. Siue enim
 saltu, siue cursu, siue luctatu, seu quolibet alio membro-
 rum¹⁴ sinuamine se exercerent¹⁵, ille omnes aequuos¹⁶,
 et nonnullos | etiam maiores a se gloriabatur esse superatos.
 Cum enim esset paruulus, ¹⁷ut paruulus sapiebat, ut paruulus
 cogitabat¹⁸, qui postmodum factus uir, plenissime ea quae
 paruuli erant deposuit. Et quidem diuina dispensatio¹⁹
 primitus elationem animi puerilis digno se²⁰ pedagogo²¹
 compescere dignata est. Nam sicut beatae memoriae
 Trumwine²² episcopus ab ipso Cuthberto²³ sibi dictum
 perhibebat, dum quadam die solito luctamini²⁴ in campo
 quodam non modica puerorum turba²⁵ insisteret, in-
 teresset et ipse, et sicut ludentium leuitas²⁶ solet contra
 congruum naturae statum uariis flexibus membra²⁷ plerique
 sinuant, repente unus de paruulis triennis ferme ut
 uidebatur accurrit²⁸ ad eum, et quasi senili constantia
 coepit²⁹ hortari³⁰ ne iocis et otio indulgeret, sed stabilitati
 potius mentem simul et membra³¹ subiugaret. Quo³²
 monita spernente, luget ille³³ corruens in terram, et faciem
 lacrimis rigans. Accurrunt³⁴ consolaturi caeteri³⁵, sed³⁶
 ille³⁷ perstat in fletibus. Interrogant quid haberet repen-
 tinum, unde tantis afficeretur lamentis. At ille tandem
 exclamans, consolanti se Cuthberto³⁸, Quid inquit³⁹ sanc-
 tissime antistes⁴⁰ et presbiter Cuthberte⁴¹ haec⁴² et naturae

p. 11

1 Cor.

13. 11

1 *ins.* et iuxta C₁M.

2-3 uagitiri V. uagari H.

4-5 *om.*C₁VHP₁C₃O₄M.6 *et...* C₁C₃O₃.7 *conl...* C₁VP₁.8 *prac...* VHO₈.9 nonnunquam C₁VHP₁.10 *cet...* VC₃O₃.11 *qui (s above)* C₁.

12 uellent VH.

13 *let...* C₃O₃M.14 *menb...* P₁O₄.15 *id est si above* V.16 *co- above* C₁. equ...C₃O₃. et aequaeuos O₄.17-18 *sap. ut paru., cog. ut paru.* VH.19 *disp. diu.* P₁.20 *om.* VH.21 *gloss above id est magistro* VH.22 Trumwine C₁VHP₁O₄. Trumwyne O₃.23 Cudberhto C₁.Cuthberhto (*first h above* V) H. Cudberto P₁.24 *luctamine* V.

opened. Therefore, as we have said, he amused himself with noisy games, and further, as was natural at his age, he loved to be in the company of children and delighted to join in their play. And because he was agile by nature and quick-witted, he very often used to prevail over his rivals in play, so that sometimes, when the rest were tired, he, being still untired, would triumphantly look round to see whether any of them were willing to contend with him again. Whether they were jumping or running or wrestling or exercising their limbs in any other way, he used to boast that he had beaten all who were his equals in age and even some who were older. For when he was a child he understood as a child, he thought as a child; but after he became a man, he put away childish things entirely. And indeed the divine providence at first deigned to check the exuberance of his childish mind by means of a fitting teacher. For Bishop Trumwine of blessed memory used to relate what had been told him by Cuthbert himself, how on a certain day, a large crowd of boys in a field were engaged in the usual contests and he himself was present: in accordance with the usual thoughtlessness of children at play, most of them were twisting their limbs into various unnatural contortions, when suddenly one of the little ones, apparently hardly three years old, runs up to him and begins to exhort him with the gravity of an old man not to indulge in idle games but rather steadfastly to control both mind and limbs. When Cuthbert scorns his warnings, he throws himself on the ground, wailing and bedewing his face with tears. The rest run up to him to console him, but he persists in his weeping. They ask him what is the reason why he is suddenly overcome with such grief. But when Cuthbert begins to console him he exclaims at length: "Why, O Cuthbert, most holy bishop and priest, do you do these

changed from luctamine H. 25 turb. puer. C₃. 26 lacu... VH.
 27 menbra P₁O₄. 28 adcurrat C₁V. accurrat H. 29 cepit C₃O₃.
 30 ortari P₁. 31 mem... C₁VHO₈O₃. 32 gloss above scilicet
 Cuthberhto VH. 33 gloss above scilicet infans VH. ipse P₁. 34 oc...
 C₁VHP₁O₄. 35 cet... O₃M. 36 et O₄. 37 gloss above
 scilicet infans VH. 38 Cudberhto C₁. Cuthberhto VH. Cudberto P₁.
 39 inquit P₁C₃O₈O₃. ins. haec C₁VHP₁O₄. gloss above praedixit VH.
 40 antestes V. *changed from* antestis H. anthistes O₃. 41 Cudberhte C₁.
 Cuthberhte VH. Cudberte P₁. 42 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. hec O₃.

- p. 12 et gradui tuo contraria geris? | Ludere te inter paruulos non decet, quem Dominus etiam maioribus natu magistrum uirtutis consecrauit. Audiens haec¹ bonae² indolis puer³, fixa intentione suscepit, mestumque infantem piis demulcens blanditiis, relicta continuo ludendi uanitate domum rediit, ac stabilior iam ex illo tempore animoque adolescentior⁴ existere coepit⁵, illo nimirum spiritu interius eius praecordia⁶ docente, qui per os infantis extrinsecus⁷ eius auribus insonuit. Nec⁸ mirandum⁹ cuiquam paruuli lasciuiam per paruulum potuisse Domino agente¹⁰ cohiberi¹¹, qui ad prohibendam¹² prophetae insipientiam¹³, ore subiugalis muti rationabilia uerba cum uoluit edidit, in cuius¹⁴ laude ueraciter dictum est, quia¹⁵
- 2 Pet. 2. 16 ex ore infantium et lactantium¹⁶ perfecisti laudem. |
- Psa. 8. 3

p. 13 II. ¹⁷Quomodo genu dolente claudus sit effectus¹⁹,
et angelo medicante ²⁰sine mora²¹ sanatus¹⁸

Matth. 25. 29 Verum quia²² omni habenti dabitur et abundabit²³, id est habenti propositum amoremque uirtutum harum copia superno munere donabitur. Quoniam puer Domini Cuthbertus²⁴, quae per hominem accepit hortamenta²⁵ sedulo corde retinebat, etiam angelico uisu et affatu confortari promeruit. Nam subito dolore genu correptum illius, acri coepit²⁶ tumore grossescere, ita ut neruis in poplite contractis, pedem primo a terra suspensum claudicans portaret, dehinc ingrauescente²⁷ molestia, omni poene²⁸ priuaretur incessu. Qui die quadam deportatus foras a ministris atque sub diuo recumbens, uidit repente uenientem ²⁹de longe³¹ equitem³⁰ albis indutum uestimentis et

1 hec O₃. 2 bone O₃. 3 gloss above scilicet Cuthberhtus VH.
4 gloss above id est mitior uel mansuetior VH. 5 cepit O₃M.
6 pre. . . VO₈. 7 exterius O₄. 8 gloss above scilicet est V.
9 mirum O₄. 10 om. P₁. 11 chohiberi C₃. 12 prohibendum VH.
13 ins. in C, VHP₁O₄. 14 gloss above scilicet Domini VH.

things so contrary to your nature and your rank? It is not fitting for you to play among children when the Lord has consecrated you to be a teacher of virtue even to your elders." The boy, being of a good disposition, listened to these words with fixed attention, and soothing the sorrowful infant with kindly caresses, he forthwith gave up the idle games and, returning home, he began from that time to be steadier and more mature in mind. That Spirit assuredly instructed his heart from within, which had sounded in his ears from without through the mouth of an infant. Nor need anyone wonder that the wantonness of a child should be checked through a child by the Lord who, when He wished, placed rational words in the mouth of a dumb beast of burden to check the madness of a prophet: and it has truly been said in praise of Him that "out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise".

CHAPTER II. *How he became lame as the result of a diseased knee and was promptly cured by the ministration of an angel*

Truly "to everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance"; that is, to him who hath the desire and love for virtues, an abundance of them shall be granted by the heavenly gift. For since Cuthbert, the child of the Lord, held fast with diligent heart what he received by exhortations through man, he also earned the privilege of being comforted by seeing and speaking with an angel. For his knee was afflicted by a sudden torment and began to swell into a painful tumour, so that the sinews contracted in the knee; at first he carried his foot hanging lamely off the ground, and then, when the trouble grew worse, he was hardly able to walk at all. On a certain day he had been carried outside by servants and was lying in the open air, when he suddenly saw a horseman coming from

15 om. O₄. 16 lactentium P₁C₃O₈O₃M. 17-18 Quomodo per
angelum curabatur O₄. 19 effectus sit VH. 20-21 om. VH. 22 om. P₁.
23 hab... C₁VHP₁C₃O₃M. 24 Cudberhtus C₁. Cuthberhtus VH.
Cudbertus P₁. 25 ornameta P₁. 26 cepit O₃. 27 ingrauascente
O₉C₃O₈. 28 om. VH. pene C₃O₃O₄M. 29-30 eq. de longe P₁.
31 de long. uen. C₃.

honorabilem uultu, sed et equum cui¹ sedebat² incomparandi decoris. Qui cum adueniens mansueto illum salutaret alloquio, addidit quasi per iocum inquirere, si aliquod tali hospiti praebere³ uellet obsequium. At ille, Iam inquit⁴ promptissime tuis cuperem⁵ astare⁶ deuotus⁷ obsequiis, sinon exigentibus culpis huius compede languoris⁸ retinerer. Diu nanque⁹ est quod molestia | genu tumentis oppressus, nulla cuiuslibet medicorum industria possum sanari. Qui desiliens equo ac genu languidum diligentius considerans, Coque inquit¹⁰ triticeam in lacte farinam, et hac confectione calida tumorem superungue, et sanaberis. Et his¹¹ dictis, ascendens equum abiit. Ille iussis obtemperans, post dies paucos¹² sanatus est, agnoui¹³ que angelum fuisse qui haec sibi¹³ monita dedisset, mittente illo qui quondam Raphaellem¹⁴ archangelum ad sanandos¹⁵ Tobiae¹⁶ uisus destinare dignatus est. Quod si cui uidetur incredibile angelum in equo apparuisse¹⁷, legat historiam¹⁸ Machabeorum, in qua angeli in equis, et ad Iudae Machabei, et ad ipsius templi defensionem aduenisse memorantur. |

p. 14
Tob. c. II
2 Mach. 11. 8

p. 15 III. ¹⁹Quomodo uentis oratione mutatis rates²¹ delapsas²² reuocauerit²⁴ ad litus^{23, 20}

Ab hoc autem tempore deuotus Domino puer sicut ipse postea familiaribus suis attestari²⁵ solebat, sepe in angustiis se uallantibus orans²⁶ Dominum, angelica meruit opitulatione defendi. Nec²⁷ non etiam pro aliis in²⁸ periculo constitutis quia benigna pietate supplicabat, exaudiebatur ab illo, qui clamantem pauperem²⁹ exaudire, et ex omnibus tribulationibus eius consuevit eripere. Est denique monasterium non longe ab hostio³⁰ Tini fluminis³¹ ad meridiem situm, tunc quidem uiro³⁰rum, nunc autem mutato ut

Psa. 33. 18

1 quo P₁. 2 insidebat O₄. 3 pre... O₈O₄M. 4 inquit P₁O₃.
5 cup. tu. C₁VHP₁. 6 adstare C₁V. changed from adstare H. asstare P₁O₄. 7 changed from deuotis C₁. 8 lang. comp. C₁VHP₁O₄.
9 namque C₁VHO₃. 10 inquit O₃. 11 huius O₃. 12 pauc. dies O₄.
13 sibi hec O₃. 14 Raphael V. 15 ...das C₁. ...dum P₁.
16 Tobie O₃. 17 apar... P₁. 18 hystoriam O₈.

afar, dressed in white robes and honourable of countenance, and the horse, too, on which he sat was of incomparable grace. He approached and saluted Cuthbert with gentle words and then enquired, as if in jest, whether he was willing to minister to such a stranger. But Cuthbert said: "Most readily would I rise and offer you devoted service, if I were not restrained by the fetter of this weakness, the penalty for my sins. I have long been afflicted by this trouble of a swelling in the knee and no doctor with all his care can heal me." The stranger jumped from his horse and examined the afflicted knee very carefully. Then he said: "Boil some wheaten flour in milk, spread this poultice while hot upon the swelling, and you will be healed." With these words he mounted his horse and departed. Cuthbert followed his commands and in a few days was healed. He recognised that he who had given him this advice was an angel, sent by One who once deigned to send the archangel Raphael to cure the eyes of Tobias. And if it should seem incredible to anyone that an angel appeared on horseback, let him read the history of the Maccabees in which angels on horseback are said to have appeared to defend Judas Maccabaeus and the temple itself.

CHAPTER III. *How he changed the winds by prayer and brought the rafts, which had been carried away, safe to land*

From this time the boy was wholly given to the Lord, and, as he was afterwards wont to testify to his friends, often prayed to the Lord when surrounded by difficulties and was counted worthy to be defended by angelic assistance; and moreover, because he prayed with kindly piety for others who were placed in danger, he was heard by Him who is wont to hear the cry of the poor and to "deliver him out of all his troubles". Now there is a monastery not far from the mouth of the Tyne, on the south side, filled with a noble company, in those days

19-20 Quomodo orando rates a tempestate liberauit O ₄ .	21 ins.
oceanum VH. ins. in oceanum C ₃ O ₈ . in oceanum O ₃ M.	22-23 ad lit.
reuoc. C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ M.	24 reuocauit VH.
ad C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	25 adt... V.
29 peccatorem O ₄ .	26 ins.
30 ostio P ₁ O ₄ M.	27 gloss above id est similiter VH.
	28 in C ₁ .
	31 flum. Tini C ₃ O ₂ .

solet¹ per tempora rerum statu, uirginum Christo ser-
 uientium nobili examine pollens. Qui uidelicet famuli
 Christi dum ligna monasterii usibus apta per memorati
 alueum fluminis de longe ratibus ueherent, iamque e
 regione eiusdem monasterii uehendo deuenirent, ac rates
 ad terram educere² conarentur, ecce³ uentus⁵ subito⁴ ab
 casu⁶ tempestiuus⁷ assurgens⁸, abripuit rates, atque
 ad hostium^{11,10} fluminis trahere coepit. Quod uidentes e
 monasterio fratres, emissis in¹² fluuiio¹³ nauiculis, eos qui |
 in ratibus laborabant adiuuare nitebantur, sed ui fluminis
 ac uentorum uiolentia superati nequaquam ualebant. Unde
 facta desperatione humani adiutorii, confugerunt¹⁴ ad
 diuinum. Egressi nanque¹⁵ de monasterio, et labentibus
 in oceanum¹⁶ ratibus collecti in proxima obice¹⁷ flectebant
 genua, supplicantes Domino¹⁸ pro his¹⁹ quos in tantum
 mortis discrimen iamiamque²⁰ irruere²¹ cernebant. Sed²²
 prouisione diuina, quamuis²³ diu precantium uota sunt
 dilata, ut uidelicet quanta esset in Cuthberto²⁴ uirtus
 precandi patesceret. Stabat enim in altera amnis²⁵ ripa
 uulgaris turba non modica, in qua stabat et ipse²⁶. Quae
 cum aspectantibus cum tristitia²⁷ monachis raptas porro
 per mare cerneret rates, adeo ut quasi quinque aues
 paruulae, quinque enim erant²⁸ rates, undis insidentes ap-
 parerent²⁹, coepit³⁰ irridere³¹ uitam conuersationis eorum,
 quasi merito talia paterentur, qui communia mortalium
 iura spernentes, noua et ignota darent statuta uiuendi.
 Prohibuit³² probra deridentium Cuthbertus³³, Quid agitis
 iniquens fratres, maledicentes his³⁴ quos in loctum³⁵ iam
 trahi uidetis? Nonne melius esset et humanius Dominum |
 pro eorum deprecari salute³⁶, quam de illorum gaudere

p. 17

1 adsolet changed in later hand to assolet C₁. assolet P₁O₄. 2 ed.
 ad ter. P₁. 3-4 sub. uent. C₁VHP₁. 5 om. O₄.
 6 ins. uentus O₄. 7 gloss above uel -uosus O₄. 8 ads. . . C₁V.
 9-10 changed to ab hostio VH. 11 ostium P₁M. 12 om. VHP₁.
 13 fluuium C₃O₈O₃M. 14 fugerunt C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 namque
 C₁VHP₁C₃O₃. 16 oceanum O₃M. 17 gloss above id est
 litore VH. 18 Dominum P₁. 19 hiis O₃. 20 iam C₁P₁O₄.
 21 changed in later hand from irruere C₁V. 22 set O₃.
 23 gloss above scilicet precantur V. 24 Cudberhto C₁. Cuthberhto

of men but now, changed like all else by time, of virgins who serve Christ. Now once these same servants of Christ were bringing from afar in rafts, along the bosom of the river, wood suitable for the use of the monastery. They had already in their course reached a point opposite the same monastery, and were attempting to bring their rafts to land, when lo! a sudden storm of wind, arising from the west, dragged their rafts away and began to carry them off towards the mouth of the river. When the brethren in the monastery saw this, they launched some boats on the river and attempted to help those who were toiling on the rafts, but they were overcome by the force of the river and the violence of the winds and could do nothing. So, despairing of human help, they fled to the divine. Therefore, while the rafts were drifting out to sea, they left the monastery and, gathering on the nearest rock, they knelt down interceding with God on behalf of those whom they perceived to be even now in imminent risk of death. But though the answer to their prayers was long delayed, it was by divine providence, in order that it might be made plain how much virtue there was in Cuthbert's prayers. For on the other bank of the river stood no small crowd of the common people, and he was standing among them. These were watching the rafts on which the monks were sadly gazing, being carried so far out to sea that they looked like five tiny birds riding on the waves, for there were five rafts. Thereupon they began to jeer at the monks' manner of life, as if they were deservedly suffering, seeing that they despised the common laws of mortals and put forth new and unknown rules of life. Cuthbert stopped the insults of the blasphemers, saying: "Brethren, what are you doing, cursing those whom you see being carried away even now to destruction? Would it not be better and more kindly to pray to the Lord for their safety rather than to rejoice over their

VH. Cudberto P₁. 25 *changed from annis* C₁. ampnis O₃.
 26 *gloss above scilicet* Cuthberchtus V. *gloss above scilicet* Cuthberhtus H.
 27 *tristicia* P₁C₃O₈M. 28 *om.* VH. 29 *apar...* P₁.
 30 *cepit* O₃. *caep...* C₁VP₁. *gloss in margin scilicet turba uulgaris* VH.
 31 *changed in later hand from inridere* C₁. *inridere* V. 32 *ins.* Cuthberhtus
 VO₄. *ins.* Cuthbertus H. 33 Cudberhtus C₁. *om.* VHO₄. Cudbertus P₁.
 34 *hiis* O₃. 35 *laet...* P₁. *let...* O₈. 36 *sal. precari* C₁VHP₂Q₄.

periculis? At illi rustico et animo et ore stomachantes aduersus eum, Nullus inquit hominum pro eis roget¹, nullius eorum misereatur Deus, qui et ueteres culturas hominibus tulere, et nouas² qualiter obseruare³ debeant nemo nouit⁴. Quo accepto responso, ipse oraturus Dominum genua flexit, caput⁵ in terram declinauit, statimque retorta uis uentorum, rates cum his⁶ qui ducebant gaudentibus integras ad terram eiecit, et iuxta ipsum monasterium in loco oportuno⁷ deposuit. Videntes autem rustici erubuerunt de sua infidelitate, fidem uero uenerabilis Cuthberti⁸ et tunc laude digna predicabant, et deinceps predicare⁹ nullatenus cessabant, adeo ut frater¹⁰ quidam nostri monasterii probatissimus¹¹ cuius ipse^{13,12} haec¹⁴ relatione didici, sese haec^{16,15} ab uno ipsorum¹⁷ rusticae simplicitatis uiro, et simulandi prorsus ignaro, coram multis sepe¹⁸ assidentibus¹⁹ audisse narrauerit.

IV. *Quomodo cum pastoribus positus animam sancti Aidani²⁰ episcopi²¹ ad coelum²² ab angelis ferri²³ aspexerit²⁴ |*

p. 18

At ubi gubernatrix uitae²⁵ fidelium gratia Christi uoluit famulum suum artioris²⁶ propositi subire²⁷ uirtutem, altioris praemii gloriam promereri²⁸, contigit eum remotis in montibus²⁹ commissorum sibi pecorum agere custodiam. Qui dum nocte quadam dormientibus sociis ipse iuxta morem³⁰ peruigil in oratione duraret, uidit subito fusum de coelo³¹ lumen medias longae³² noctis interrupisse tenebras in quo³³ coelestium³⁴ choros agminum terras³⁵ petisse, nec³⁶ mora rapta³⁷ secum anima claritatis eximiae³⁸,

1 oret O₄. 2 nouae VH. 3 obseruari VHO₄. 4 *Note in margin in sixteenth-century hand: "Eadem uox papistarum nostri temporis"* C₁. 5 capud C₁P₁. 6 hiis O₃. 7 opp... C₃O₃.
 8 Cudberhti C₁P₁. Cuthberhti VH. 9 praec... O₈.
 10 *in margin* Nomen fratris Baella C₃O₃. 11-12 *om.* P₁.
 13 *se ipsum in later hand above* C₁. 14-15 *om.* C₁P₁. *ins. above* V.
 16 hec O₃. 17 illorum C₃. 18 saepe C₁VH.
 19 *ads...* C₁V. *ins. se* P₁. 20 *ins.* Lindisfarnensis C₃O₃M.

dangers?" But they fumed against him with boorish minds and boorish words and said: "Let no man pray for them, and may God have no mercy on any one of them, for they have robbed men of their old ways of worship, and how the new worship is to be conducted, nobody knows." When Cuthbert heard this reply, he knelt down to pray to God, bending his head to the ground, and immediately the violent wind turned about and bore the rafts safe and sound to land, amid the rejoicings of those who were guiding them, and left them in a convenient place near the monastery itself. When the countryfolk saw this, they were ashamed of their own unbelief, but forthwith they duly praised the faith of the venerable Cuthbert, and thereafter never ceased to praise it. In fact a very worthy brother of our monastery, from whose lips I heard the story, declared that he himself had often heard these things related in the presence of many by one of these same people, a man of rustic simplicity and absolutely incapable of inventing an untruth.

CHAPTER IV. *How, being in the company of some shepherds, he saw the soul of the holy Bishop Aidan carried to heaven by angels*

Now when Christ, whose grace is the guide of the life of the faithful, wished his servant to subject himself to the power of a more rigorous dispensation, and to earn the glory of a greater reward, it happened that he was keeping the flocks committed to his care on some distant mountains. On a certain night while his companions were sleeping, he himself was keeping watch and praying according to his custom, when he suddenly saw a stream of light from the sky breaking in upon the darkness of the long night. In the midst of this, the choir of the heavenly host descended to the earth, and taking with them, without

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 21-22 om. O ₄ . | 23 ferri ab ang. VHC ₃ O ₈ O ₃ M. | 24 uidit O ₄ . |
| 25 om. P ₁ . | 26 arctioris (c above V) HC ₃ . arcioris O ₄ . | 27 adire P ₁ . |
| 28 gloss above scilicet et VH. | 29 in margin Juxta flumen Ledit C ₃ O ₃ . | |
| 30 changed from montem P ₁ . | 31 celo O ₃ . | 32 longe O ₃ M. |
| 33 gloss above scilicet uidit V. | 34 cel... O ₃ M. | 35 terram C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . |
| 36 naec V. gloss above id est sine VH. | | 37 sumpta C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . |
| 38 eximie C ₃ O ₃ . | | |

p. 19

supernam¹ redisse² ad³ patriam. Compunctus⁴ est multum | hoc uisu Deo⁵ dilectus adolescens, ad subeundum⁶ gratiam⁷ spiritualis exercitii⁸, ac promerendae⁹ inter magnificos uiros uitae¹⁰ felicitatisque perennis^{12,11}, confestimque¹³ Deo laudes gratiarumque referens actiones, sed¹⁴ et socios ad laudandum Deum fraternam exhortatione¹⁵ prouocans, Heu miseri inquit¹⁶ qui somno¹⁷ et inertiae¹⁸ dediti, non meremur semper uigilantium ministrorum Christi cernere lucem. En ipse cum modico noctis tempore peruigil orarem, tanta Dei magnalia conspexi. Aperta est ianua coeli¹⁹, et inductus²⁰ illuc²¹ angelico comitatu spiritus²² cuiusdam sancti, qui nunc nobis in infima caligine uersantibus, supernae mansionis gloriam ac regem illius Christum perpetuo beatus intuetur. Et quidem hunc uel episcopum quemlibet sanctum, uel eximium de fidelium numero uirum fuisse existimo, quem tantae splendore lucis, tot²³ ducentium choris angelorum coelos²⁴ allatum²⁵ uidi. Haec dicens uir Domini²⁶ Cuthbertus²⁷, non parum corda pastorum ad reuerentiam diuinae laudationis accendit, agnouitque mane facto antistitem Lindisfarnensis aecclesiae²⁸ Aidanum²⁹ magnae³⁰ 31 utique uirtutis³² uirum, per id³³ temporis quo uiderat raptum de corpore, coelestia³⁴ regna petisse, ac statim commendans suis pecora³⁵ | quae pascebat³⁶ dominis, monasterium petere decreuit.

p. 20

1 coelestem C₁VHP₁. 2 gloss above scilicet et VH. repedasse P₁.
 3 om. C₁. ins. above V. 4 comp. . . . C₁VHO₃. 5 om. P₁.
 6 . . . dam C₁VHP₁. 7-8 exerc. spiritualis C₁VH. exerc. spiritualis
 P₁O₄. 9 . . . dam P₁. . . de O₃. 10-11 perhennis felicitatem P₁.
 12 perhennis O₃. 13 que erased V. om. que H. 14 set O₃.
 15 exort. . . C₁VH. 16 inquit O₃. 17 sompno O₃.
 18 inertie O₃. 19 celi O₃. 20 gloss above scilicet est VH.
 21 changed from illic V. illic C₁P₁. 22 anima P₁. 23 gloss above

delay, a soul of exceeding brightness, returned to their heavenly home. The youth beloved of God was strongly moved by this vision to subject himself to the grace of spiritual discipline and of earning everlasting life and happiness amid God's mighty men, and immediately he gave praise and thanks to God and also called upon his companions with brotherly exhortation to praise the Lord. "Alas," said he, "wretches that we are, who are given up to sleep and sloth and are not worthy to behold the glory of those servants of Christ who are ever watchful. For I myself, though I was watching in prayer for but a short part of the night, have nevertheless seen the wonders of God. The gate of heaven was opened and the spirit of a certain saint was conducted thither with an angelic retinue; and while we dwell in utter darkness, he now, blessed for ever, beholds the glory of the heavenly abode and Christ its King. And indeed I think that it was either some holy bishop or some specially distinguished man from among the number of the faithful, whom I saw carried to heaven amid the splendour of so great a light and accompanied by so many bands of angels." With these words Cuthbert, the man of the Lord, kindled the hearts of the shepherds in no little measure to the worship and praise of God. And in the morning, learning that Aidan, bishop of the church at Lindisfarne, a man of specially great virtue, had entered the Kingdom of Heaven at the very time when he had seen him taken from the body, Cuthbert forthwith delivered to their owners the sheep which he was tending and decided to seek a monastery.

scilicet et VH. 24 *changed to* coelis V. coelis H. celos O₃. 25 *changed in later hand from* adlatum C₁. adlatum V. illatum P₁. 26 Dom. uir O₄.
 27 Cudberhtus C₁. Cuthberhtus VH. Cudbertus P₁. Cutbertus O₄.
 28 ecclesie O₃. 29 *changed from* Aedanum C₁. Aydanum O₃. Aedanum V.
 30 magne O₃. 31-32 *om.* O₄. 33 *gloss in margin* id est spatium V.
gloss above scilicet spatium H. 34 cel... C₃O₃. 35 *om.* O₄.
 36 *ins.* pecora O₄.

V. *Quomodo iter faciens cibos Domino
procurante perceperit*¹

Matth. 6. 33
p. 21

Cunque² nouum uitae³ continentioris ingressum sedulo iam corde meditaretur, affuit⁴ gratia superna, quae animum eius artius⁵ in proposito firmaret, ac manifestis edoceret indiciis⁶ quia *quaerentibus*⁷ *regnum Dei et iustitiam*⁸ *eius*⁹, ea quae ad uictum corporis¹⁰ pertinent, beneficio¹² diuinae¹¹ prouisionis *adiciuntur*. Quadam nanque¹³ die dum¹⁴ iter solus ageret, diuertit hora tertia¹⁵ in uillam quam eminus positam forte repperit, intrauitque domum cuiusdam | religiosae matris familias, paululum ibidem quiescere desiderans, et iumento potius cui¹⁶ sedebat quam sibi alimentum poscere curans. Erat enim¹⁷ tempus incipientis brumae¹⁸. Suscepit ergo eum mulier benigne, rogauitque sollicite ut prandium parare atque illum reficere liceret. Negauit uir Domini, Non possum inquiens adhuc manducare, quia dies ieiunii¹⁹ est. Erat nanque²⁰ sexta sabbati, qua plerique fidelium ob reuerentiam dominicae passionis usque ad horam nonam²¹ solent protelare ieiunium. Perstitit in rogando mulier hospitalitatis studio deuota, Ecce inquiens²² itinere quo uadis nullum uiculum, nulla hominum habitacula repperies²³. Et quidem longum restat iter, neque ante solis occubitum ualet consummari. Unde precor²⁴ antequam egrediaris accipias cibos²⁵, ne tota die ieiunium sustinere uel etiam procrastinare cogaris. At ille quamuis²⁶ multum rogante femina rogantis instantiam religionis amore deuincens²⁷ ieiunus²⁸ uiam repetiit, ieiunus²⁹ diem duxit ad uesperam. Cunque³⁰ instante iam uespera³¹ cerneret se iter quod proposuerat eodem die non posse finire³², neque ulla³³ in proximo³⁴ hominum hospicia³⁵

1 perceperit VHO₄. 2 cum... C₁VHP₁C₃O₈O₃M. 3 uite O₃.
4 changed from adfuit C₁. adfuit V. 5 arctius C₃. ins. suo VH.
6 inditiis P₁O₈M. 7 quer... P₁C₃M. 8 iusticiam P₁C₃O₈M.
9 ins. et VH. 10-11 ins. above C₁. in margin V. 12 munere P₁.
13 namque C₁VHP₁O₃. 14 cum M. 15 tertia P₁C₃O₈O₄M.
16 quo (changed from cui C₁) P₁. 17 autem P₁. 18 brume O₃.

CHAPTER V. *How, while he was on a journey, he received food through God's care*

While, with diligent heart, he was now meditating entrance into a stricter course of life, the heavenly grace was present to confirm his spirit more resolutely in his decision and to show, by manifest signs, that to those who seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, those things which appertain to the nourishment of the body are added by the favour of divine providence. For on a certain day, while he was travelling alone, he turned at the third hour into a village some distance away which he happened upon by chance. And he entered the house of a certain religious housewife, wishing to rest there for a little and purposing to ask for food for the horse on which he was riding, rather than for himself; for it was the beginning of the winter season. The woman received him kindly and earnestly begged him to allow her to prepare him a morning meal to refresh him. The man of God refused saying, "I cannot eat yet because it is a fast day." For it was Friday, a day on which most of the faithful are accustomed to protract their fast until the ninth hour out of reverence for the passion of the Lord. The woman, being given to hospitality, persisted in her entreaties. "Look", she said, "you will find no village and no human habitation on the road you are taking; and you have a long journey before you, which you cannot finish before sunset. So I pray you to accept food before you set out, so that you may not be compelled to fast the whole day or even wait until to-morrow." But though the woman urged him greatly, his love of religion overcame the urgency of her entreaty, and he set out once more fasting, and fasted the whole day until evening. And when, with evening at hand, he discovered that he could not finish the journey he had undertaken on the same day, and that there were no

19 <i>ins.</i> dies C ₃ .	20 <i>namque</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₃ .	21 <i>non.</i> hor.
C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ .	22 <i>inquit</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ . <i>ins.</i> in (<i>above</i> V) H.	23 <i>rep.</i> . .
O ₉ . <i>repperiens</i> O ₃ .	24 <i>prae.</i> . . H.	25 <i>cybos</i> HP ₁ .
26 <i>quan.</i> . . P ₁ .	27 <i>restitit</i> C ₁ P ₁ O ₄ . <i>altered from</i> <i>restitit</i> VH. <i>ins.</i> et P ₁ .	
28-29 <i>om.</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ .	30 <i>cumque</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ M.	31 <i>uespere</i> C ₁ P ₁ O ₄ .
32 <i>fin.</i> <i>non poss.</i> . . P ₁ .	33 <i>om.</i> P ₁ .	34 <i>proxima</i> C ₁ .
35 <i>hospitia</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₄ M.		

p. 22

ubi manere posset adesse, ecce subito | iter faciens, uidit iuxta pastorum tuguria¹, quae aestate² infirmiter posita, tunc iam deserta patebant³. Huc propter manendum ingrediens⁴, equum in quo uenerat alligauit ad parietem, collectumque foeni⁵ fasciculum quem tecto uentus abstulerat, edendum illi apposuit⁶, ipse orando horam ducere coepit⁷. At subito inter psallendum⁸ uidit equum⁹ elato sursum capite, tecta casae¹⁰ carpentem ore iusumque¹¹ trahentem atque inter cadentia foena¹² tecti inuolutum pariter decidere lintheum¹³. Volensque dinoscere certius quid esset, finita oratione accessit, et inuenit inuolutum lintheo¹⁴ dimidium¹⁵ panis calidi et carnem, quae ad unam sibi refectionem¹⁶ sufficere possent. Laudemque decantans beneficiis coelestibus¹⁷, Deo inquit gratias¹⁸ qui et mihi¹⁹ pro eius amore²⁰ ieiunanti et meo comiti coenam²¹ providere²² dignatus est. Diuisit ergo fragmen panis quod inuenit, partemque eius dimidiam equo²³ dedit, reliquum suo esui²⁴ reseruauit, atque ex illo iam die promptior factus est ad ieiunandum, quia nimirum intellexit eius dono sibi refectionem procuratam in solitudine, qui quondam Heliam²⁵ solitarium, quia nullus hominum aderat qui ministraret, eiusdem modi cibo²⁶ per uolucres | non paucio tempore paut. Cuius *oculi super* timentes *eum, sperantes autem in misericordia eius, ut eripiat a morte animas eorum, et alat eos in fame*. Haec²⁷ mihi²⁸ religiosus²⁹ nostri monasterii quod est ad hostium³⁰ Wiri³¹ fluminis presbiter nomine Inguuald³², qui nunc longe gratia senectutis magis corde mundo³³ coelestia³⁴ quam terrena carnalibus contemplatur aspectibus, ab ipso Cuthberto³⁵ iam tunc episcopo se audisse³⁶ perhibuit.

I Kings
17. 6

p. 23

Psa. 32.
18, 19

1 tug. past. M. 2 est... P₁C₃O₃. 3 in margin: Loedra locus uocatur in quo uidua manebat ad quem sanctus Cuthbertus itinerans ueniebat. Aloquent uero locus dicitur ubi equus tecti fasciculum carpebat et mappulam cum pane calido candente et carne extraxerat O₃.
4 changed from ingressu P₁. 5 faeni VP₁. feni O₈O₃. 6 adp... C₁V. ins. et P₁. 7 caepit VP₁. cepit O₃. 8 ...andum C₁. psalmodiam VH. 9 aequum O₉. 10 case O₃. 11 changed from iosumque C₁. iosumque VH. gloss above vel u H. 12 faena VP₁. fena O₃M. 13 lintheum C₁VHC₃O₃. 14 lintheo O₉VHC₃O₃. h above V. 15 dimidio P₁. 16 ref. sibi M. 17 cael... C₁VHP₁. cel... C₃O₃. 18 ins. ago VH. 19 michi O₄.

lodgings in the neighbourhood where he could stay, he suddenly saw, as he made his way along, some shepherds' huts close by, which had been roughly built during the summer time and were then lying open and deserted. He entered one in order to shelter there, and fastening to the wall the horse he had been riding, he collected a bundle of straw which the wind had removed from the roof, and gave it to the horse to eat. He himself began to spend the time in prayer, when suddenly in the midst of his psalm-singing, he saw the horse lift up its head, seize the thatching of the house with its mouth and drag it down. Amid the straw falling from the roof, he saw a folded cloth fall as well; wishing to discover more certainly what it was, he drew near, when his prayer was finished, and found, wrapped in the cloth, half a loaf still warm, and some meat, sufficient for one meal for himself. Then he uttered praises for the heavenly favours. "Thanks be to God", he said, "who has deigned to provide a supper for me who am fasting out of love for Him, and also for my comrade." So he divided the piece of bread which he found and gave half of it to the horse and the rest he kept for his own food: and from that day he became readier than ever to fast, because indeed he understood clearly that this food had been provided for him in a solitary place, by the gift of Him who once for many days fed Elijah in solitude, with food of the same kind, through the ministrations of birds, there being no man there to minister to him. "His eyes are upon them that fear Him and that hope in His mercy, in order that He may snatch their soul from death and feed them in a time of famine". These things a priest named Ingwald, a monk of our monastery at Wearmouth, related that he had heard from Cuthbert himself, who was then a bishop. This Ingwald now, thanks to a lengthy old age, no longer with carnal eyes gazes on things earthly, but rather, with a pure heart, contemplates things heavenly.

20 amore eius H. 21 caenam C₁VHP₁. cenam O₃. 22 preuidere VH.
 23 aequo O₉. 24 usui O₈. 25 om. P₁. 26 cybo P₁. 27 Hec O₃.
 28 michi O₄. 29 ins. et C₁P₁. 30 ostium VHP₁. 31 Uiri *changed to*
 Uuiri C₁. Uuiri H. Uiri O₃. 32 Inguald *changed to* Inguuald C₁. Ingwald
 C₃O₈O₃M. 33 mun. cord. M. 34 cel. . . C₃O₃. 35 Cuthberhto
 VH. Cudberhto C₁. Cudberto P₁. Cuhberto C₃. 36 ins. se P₁.

VI. *Quale¹ testimonium illi² ³ad monasterium uenienti⁴ Boisilus⁵ ⁶uir sanctus in spiritu prohibuerit^{8,7}, ⁹utque ipse ibidem ¹¹susceptus uel conuersatus sit^{12,10}*

p. 24 Interea uenerabilis Domini seruus relictis seculi rebus monasterialem properat subire disciplinam, utpote coelesti¹³ uisione ad appetenda perpetuae gaudia beatitudinis¹⁴ incitatus, ad tolerandam pro Domino esuriem sitimque temporalem, epulis inuitatus¹⁵ coelestibus¹⁶. Et quidem Lindisfarnensem aecclesiam¹⁷ multos habere sanctos uiros, quorum doctrina et exemplis instrui posset nouerat, sed fama preuentus¹⁸ Boisili sullimium¹⁹ uirtutum monachi et sacerdotis Mailros petere maluit. Casuque contigit, ut cum illo perueniens equo desilisset²⁰, ingressurusque ad orandum²¹ aecclesiam²², ipsum pariter equum²³ et hastam²⁴ quam tenuerat manu ministro dedisset²⁵, necdum enim habitum deposuerat saecularem, Boisilus ipse prae foribus monasterii consistens prior illum uideret²⁶. Preuidensque²⁷ in spiritu quantus conuersatione esset futurus quem cernebat, hoc unum dixit astantibus²⁸, Ecce seruus Dei, imitatus illum qui uenientem ad se Nathanael²⁹ intuitus, *Ecce* John I. 47 *inquit³⁰ uere³¹ Israelita³² in quo dolus non est*, sicut religiosus ac ueteranus Dei famulus³³ et presbiter³⁴ Sigfridus solet attestari³⁵, qui eidem Boisilo haec³⁶ dicenti inter alios asstabat³⁷, tunc in ipso monasterio³⁸ adolescens primis adhuc monachicae³⁹ uitae⁴⁰ rudimentis institutus, nunc in nostro p. 25 id est⁴¹ Gyruensi⁴² monasterio perfectum in Christo |agens uirum et ⁴³inter ⁴⁶egra^{45,44} spiritus extremi⁴⁷ suspiria laetum⁴⁸ uitae alterius sitiens⁴⁹ introitum. Nec plura loquens Boisilus peruenientem mox⁵⁰ ad se⁵¹ Cuthbertum⁵²

1 quod ei VH. 2 om. VH. sibi O₄. 3-4 uen. ad mon. VH. ad conuersationem uenienti O₄. 5 Boisil VH. Boysilus C₃. 6-7 dedit O₄. 8 prophetauerit VH. 9-10 om. VHO₄. 11-12 uixerit M. 13 cel... O₃. 14 om. P₁. 15 incitatus P₁. 16 cel... O₃. 17 aecl... V. ecc... O₃. 18 prae... H. 19 subl... C₁VHO₄. 20 desilisset VH. 21 adorandum HP₁. 22 aecl... V. 23 om. C₁P₁O₄. 24 changed to astam V. 25 gloss above scilicet cum VH. 26 uidit P₁. 27 prae... H. 28 ads... C₁V. ass... P₁O₄. 29 Nathanael VH. Nathanaelem P₁. 30 inquit O₃. 31 uir VH. 32 Israhel... C₁VHP₁M. 33 seruus O₄. 34 presbiter P₁.

CHAPTER VI. *What manner of testimony the holy man Boisil gave to him in the spirit, as he came to the monastery, and how he was received and lived there*

Meanwhile the reverend servant of the Lord, having forsaken the things of the world, hastens to submit to monastic discipline, since he had been urged by the heavenly vision to seek the joys of eternal bliss and to endure temporal hunger and thirst for the Lord's sake as one who had been invited to the heavenly feasts. And though he knew that the church at Lindisfarne contained many holy men by whose learning and example he might be instructed, yet learning beforehand of the fame of the sublime virtues of the monk and priest Boisil, he preferred to seek Melrose. And by chance it happened that, having jumped down from his horse on reaching the monastery, and being about to enter the church to pray, he gave both his horse and the spear he was holding to a servant, for he had not yet put off his secular habit. Now Boisil himself, who was standing at the gates of the monastery, saw him first; and foreseeing in spirit how great the man whom he saw was going to be in his manner of life, he uttered this one sentence to those standing by: "Behold the servant of the Lord!" thereby imitating Him who, looking upon Nathanael as he came towards Him, said: "Behold an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile." Thus is wont to testify that pious and veteran servant and priest of God, Sigfrith, who was standing with others near Boisil himself when he said these words. Sigfrith was then a young man in that monastery, having learned as yet only the first rudiments of monastic life; now he is in our monastery, namely Jarrow, living the life of a perfect man in Christ and, amid the feeble sighs of his latest breath, thirsting for a joyful entry into another life. Without saying more, Boisil forthwith kindly received Cuthbert on his arrival, and when the latter had explained the

35 adt... C ₁ V.	at... P ₁ .	36 hec O ₃ .	37 astabat C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ M.
ads... C ₁ VH.	38 mon. ipso O ₄ .	39 monachice O ₃ .	40 uite O ₃ .
41 ins. in O ₄ .	42 Gyruuensi C ₁ .	Giruuensi O ₄ .	Giruensi P ₁ O ₃ .
Girwensi C ₃ .	43-44 integra V.	45 aegra HP ₁ O ₈ M.	46-47 ext.
spir. aeg. O ₄ .	48 letum O ₃ .	49 siciens O ₉ O ₃ .	50 om. O ₄ .
51 ins. mox O ₄ .	52 Cudberhtum C ₁ V.	Cuthberhtum H.	Cudbertum P ₁ .

benigne suscepit, causamque¹ itineris exponentem, quia uidelicet monasterium saeculo praetulerit benignius² secum retinuit. Erat enim praepositus eiusdem monasterii. Et post dies paucos adueniente uiro beatae³ recordationis Eata⁴ tunc presbitero et abbate monasterii ipsius, postea Lindisfarnensis⁵ aecclesiae⁶ simul et eiusdem loci antistite, indicauit ei de Cuthberto⁷, et quia boni propositi animum gereret⁸ exposuit, obtinuitque⁹ apud eum, ut accepta tonsura, fratrum iungeretur consortio¹⁰. Quod ingressus monasterium, confestim aequalem¹¹ caeteris¹² fratribus uitae¹³ regularis obseruantiam tenere, uel etiam artioris¹⁴ disciplinae studiis supergredi curabat, legendi uidelicet, operandi, uigilandi, atque orandi sollertior. Sed et iuxta exemplum¹⁵ Samsonis¹⁶ fortissimi quondam Nazarei *ab omni quod inebriare¹⁷ potest sedulus¹⁸ abstinebat*. Non autem¹⁹ tantam escarum ualebat subire continentiam, ne²⁰ necessariis minus idoneus²¹ efficeretur operibus. Erat enim robustus corpore, et integer uiribus²², atque²³ ad quaecunque²⁴ uolebat aptus²⁵ exercitia laboris. |

Judges c.
Num. 6. 3¹³

p. 26

VII. ²⁶*Quomodo angelum hospicio²⁸ suscipiens, dum panem querit²⁹ ministrare terrenum, coelesti³⁰ ab eo³¹ remunerari meruit^{32,27}*

Cunque³³ post aliquot annos regi Alchfrido³⁴ placeret, pro redemptione³⁵ animae³⁶ suae³⁷ locum quendam regni sui qui uocatur in Ripum³⁸ ad construendum³⁹ ⁴⁰ibidem⁴² monasterium⁴¹ Eatan⁴³ abbati donare⁴⁴, tollens idem abbas quosdam e⁴⁵ fratribus secum, in quibus et Cuthbertum⁴⁶, condidit⁴⁷ ibi⁴⁸ quod petebatur⁴⁹ monasterium⁵⁰,

1 *ins.* sui C₁VHP₁O₄. 2 benignus C₁VP₁O₄. 3 beate O₃.
4 Heata P₁. Eatha O₃. 5 Lyndisfarnensis O₃. 6 eccl... C₁O₃.
accl... V. 7 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P₁.
8 *changed in later hand from* generet C₁. 9 opt... VH. - 10 cons.
iung. C₁VHP₁O₄. 11 equ... O₃. 12 cet... VC₃O₃.
13 uite O₃. 14 arctioris (c above V)HC₃. altioris O₈. 15 ex-
empla M. 16 Sampsonis O₃. 17 inebriari C₁. 18 *om.* P₁.
19 *ins.* above C₁. 20 *om.* C₁P₁. *ins.* ut (above C₁) P₁. 21 *from*
here to end of chapter in different hand V. ydoneus O₃. 22 *ins.* et
above V. 23 *om.* C₁VP₁. et H. 24 quaecumque C₁VHP₁C₃O₃.

reason of his journey, namely that he preferred the monastery to the world, Boisil still more kindly kept him. For he was the prior of that same monastery. And after a few days, when Eata of blessed memory arrived, who was then a priest and the abbot of the monastery and afterwards both abbot and bishop of the church at Lindisfarne, Boisil told him about Cuthbert, declaring that his mind was well disposed, and obtained permission from him for Cuthbert to receive the tonsure and to join the fellowship of the brethren. And entering this monastery, he sought at once to observe the rules of the regular life equally with the other brethren, or even to excel them in zeal for a stricter discipline, being more diligent in fact in reading and working, in watching and praying. Moreover in accordance with the example of Samson the strong, who was once a Nazarite, he sedulously abstained from all intoxicants; but he could not submit to such abstinence in food, lest he should become unfitted for necessary labour. For he was robust of body and sound in strength and fit for whatever labour he cared to undertake.

CHAPTER VII. *How he entertained an angel and whilst seeking to minister to him earthly bread, was thought worthy to be rewarded by him with heavenly bread*

Some years after, it pleased King Alhfrith for the redemption of his soul to give Abbot Eata a certain place in his kingdom which is called Ripon in which to build a monastery. This same abbot took with him certain of the brethren, amongst whom was Cuthbert, and founded there the desired monastery, instituting

25 *changed from* aptas C₁. 26-27 Quomodo angelum hospitio suscepit O₄.
 28 hospitio VHM. 29 quaer... H. 30 cael... VH. cel... O₃.
 31 eodem VH. 32 meruerit VHC₃O₈O₃M. 33 cumque
 C₁VHP₁C₃O₃O₄M. 34 Alhfrido C₁VH. Alhcfrido O₄.
 35 redemtionis P₁C₃. 36 anime O₃. 37 sue O₃. 38 Hrypum
 C₁VH. Hripum P₁C₃O₈M. Rypum O₄. 39 edibus M. 40-41 *ins.*
above V. 42 *om.* M. 43 Eatano O₈O₃M. Eata O₄. 44 *changed to*
donabat C₁. 45 *ex P₁.* 46 Cudberhtum C₁. Cuthberhtum (*first*
h above V) H. Cudbertum P₁. *gloss above scilicet tulit VH.* 47 *changed*
from condi C₁. 48 *ins.* monasterium O₄. 49 pact... V. 50 *om.* O₄.

p. 27

atque eisdem quibus antea¹ Mailros institutis disciplinae regularis imbuit. Ubi famulus Domini Cuthbertus² suscipiendorum officio praepositus hospitem probandae³ suae⁴ gratia deuotionis, angelum Domini suo suscepisse fertur hospicio⁵. Exiens enim⁶ primo mane de interioribus monasterii aedibus ad hospitem⁷ cellulam⁸, inuenit inibi⁹ | quendam sedentem iuuenem, quem hominem estimans¹⁰ solito mox humanitatis more suscepit. Nam lauandis manibus aquam dedit, pedes ipse abluit, lintheo¹¹ extersit, fouendos humiliter manibus suo in sinu composuit¹², atque ut horam diei tertiam¹³ etiam cibo¹⁴ reficiendus expectaret rogauit, ne si ieiunus iret, fame pariter et frigore lassaretur hiberno. Putabat nanque¹⁵ hominem nocturno itinere simul et flatibus defessum¹⁶ niueis, illo requiescendi gratia diluculo diuertisse¹⁷. Negauit ille, et se cito iturum quia longius esset mansio ad quam properaret, respondit. At Cuthbertus¹⁸ diu multumque¹⁹ rogans, tandem adiuratione addita diuini nominis, ad manendum coegit. Statimque ut expletis horae²⁰ tertiae²¹ precibus²², uescendi tempus aderat, apposuit²³ mensam, sumendas obtulit²⁴ escas, Et obsecro te inquit frater reficias, dum rediens panem calidum affero²⁵. Spero enim quia iam cocti sint²⁶. At ubi rediit, non inuenit hospitem quem edentem reliquerat. Explorat uestigia qua²⁷ iret, sed nulla uspiam inuenit²⁸. Recens²⁹ autem nix³⁰ terram texerat³¹, quae facillime uiantis iter proderet³², et quo declinaret monstraret³³. Stupefactus ergo uir Dei³⁴, et secum querens³⁵ de facto, reposuit mensam in conclaui. Quod ingressus, contínuo obuiam habuit *miri odoris fragrantiam*³⁶.

p. 28
Greg.

Dial. iv. 16

1 gloss above scilicet imbuit VH. 2 Cudberhtus C₁P₁. Cuthberhtus (first h above V) H. 3 probande O₃. 4 sue O₃. 5 hospicio C₃O₈. 6 etenim C₁VHO₄. 7 ospitum P₁. 8 cellam P₁. 9 ibi O₃. 10 aest... VHM. 11 lintheo HO₃. 12 comp... C₁VH. 13 terciam C₃O₈O₄M. 14 cybo HP₁. 15 namque C₁VHP₁O₃. 16 defessus O₉C₁P₁C₃O₈. 17 devert... H. changed from aduenisse P₁. 18 Cudberhtus C₁. Cuthberhtus (first h above V) H. Cudbertus P₁. 19 om. que C₁VHP₁O₄. 20 hore O₃.

therein the same rules of discipline as were observed at Melrose. Cuthbert, the servant of the Lord, was appointed guestmaster and is said to have entertained in his guesthouse an angel of the Lord who was sent to test his devotion. Going out in the early morning from the inner buildings of the monastery to the guests' chamber, he found a certain youth sitting within, and, thinking that he was of the race of men, he speedily welcomed him with his accustomed kindness. He gave him water to wash his hands; he washed his feet and wiped them with a towel and placed them in his bosom so as to chafe them humbly with his hands; and asked him to wait until the third hour of the day and be refreshed with food, lest, if he went away fasting, he might faint from hunger as well as from the wintry cold. For he thought that the man had been tired both by a night journey and by the snow-laden winds, and that he had turned aside thither at dawn to rest. The youth refused, answering that he would go quickly because the dwelling to which he was hastening was very far away. But Cuthbert, after he had asked him many times, at length compelled him to remain by adjuring him with the divine name; and as soon as the prayers were finished at the third hour and the time for food had come, he placed a table before him and offered him food to eat, saying: "I pray you, brother, refresh yourself while I go and bring you a warm loaf, for I expect that they are now baked." But when he returned, he did not find the guest whom he had left eating; he searched for his footsteps to see whither he had gone, but he found none at all, though fresh snow had covered the earth which would very easily betray the steps of a person walking over it and would show whither he had turned. The man of God was amazed and wondering within himself concerning this event, he replaced the table in the store-house. And as he entered, he immediately encountered a wonderfully fragrant odour. Looking round

21 terciae C₃O₈O₄. 22 praec... H. 23 adp... C₁V. 24 optulit C₃.
 25 *changed in later hand from adfero*/C₁. adfero V. 26 sunt modo C₁VH.
 sunt P₁O₄. 27 quo VH. 28 cernit C₁VHP₁. *gloss above uel cernit* O₄.
 29 recentes C₁O₄. 30 niues C₁O₄. niuis H. 31 texerant C₁O₄.
 32 proderent C₁O₄. 33 monstrarent C₁O₄. 34 Domini C₁VHP₁.
 35 quaer... HO₈. 36 fragrantiam C₁P₁O₃. fraglantiam VHC₇O₈O₄M.

Circumspiciens autem unde esset orta tanta nidoris¹ suauitas, uidit iuxta positos tres panes calidos insoliti candoris et gratiae, pauensque talia secum loquitur, Cerno quod angelus Dei² erat quem suscepi⁴, pascere non pasci ueniens. En³ panes attulit⁵, quales terra gignere nequit. Nam et lilia candore, et rosas odore, et mella praecellunt sapore. Unde constat quia non de nostra tellure orti, sed de paradiso⁶ uoluptatis sunt allati⁷. Nec mirum quod epulas in terris sumere respuerit humanas, qui aeterno⁸ uitae⁹ pane fruitur in coelis¹⁰. Itaque uir Domini de ostensa miraculi uirtute conpunctus¹¹, maiorem ex eo uirtutum operibus curam impendebat¹². Crescentibus autem uirtutibus, creuit et gratia coelestis¹³. Denique saepius¹⁴ ex eo tempore angelos uidere et alloqui¹⁵, sed et esuriens cibis¹⁶ speciali¹⁷ sibi munere¹⁸ a Domino praeparatis meruit refici. Nam quia affabilis et iocundus erat moribus¹⁹, plerumque²⁰ dum ad²¹ exemplum uiuendi praesentibus²² patrum praecedentium²³ gesta referret, etiam quid sibi doni spiritualis²⁴ superna pietas contulerit, humiliter interserere solebat. Et aliquando^{25,27} quidem palam, aliquando²⁶ autem uelate²⁸, quasi sub persona | alterius id facere curabat. Quod tamen qui audire, quia de se ipso dixerit intelligebant²⁹, iuxta exemplum magistri³⁰ gentium, qui modo aperte suas uirtutes replicat, modo sub praetextu alterius personae loquitur dicens³¹, *Scio hominem in Christo ante annos quattuordecim³² raptum usque ad tertium³³ coetum³⁴,³⁵ et caetera illius loci³⁶.*

p. 29

2 Cor.

12. 2

1 odoris VH.

5 adt. . . C₁.sunt HP₁O₄.10 cel. . . C₃O₃.13 cel. . . O₃.

adloqui V.

18 om. C₁VHP₁.2-3 om. P₁.

6 paradyso HM.

8 aeternae P₁. eterno O₃.11 comp. . . O₈O₄M.

14 saepius VH.

16 cybis HP₁.19 mor. erat C₁VHP₁O₄.

4 suscepi V.

7 adlati sunt C₁V. allati9 uite O₃.12 inp. . . C₁VH.15 changed from adloqui C₁.17 specialibus C₁VHP₁.

20 plerumque

to see whence so sweet an odour had arisen, he saw near by three warm loaves of unusual whiteness and excellence. And trembling, he said to himself: "I see that it was an angel of God whom I received and that he came to feed and not to be fed. Behold, he has brought loaves such as the earth cannot produce; for they excel the lily in whiteness, the rose in fragrance, and honey in taste. Hence it follows that they have not come from this earth of ours but they have been brought from the paradise of joy. Nor is it wonderful that he should refuse to partake of our human feasts on earth, when he enjoys the eternal bread of life in heaven." And so the man of God, being moved by the manifest virtue of this miracle, gave the greater heed for this reason to works of virtue; and as his virtues grew so also grew the heavenly grace. For from that time he was very often held worthy to see and talk with angels, and when hungry, to be refreshed by food prepared for him by the Lord as a special gift. He was affable and pleasant in his manners, and while for the most part he would relate the deeds of the fathers who had departed as an example of godly living to those still alive, yet he was also wont to add in all humility something about any spiritual gift which the heavenly grace had bestowed on himself; sometimes he would do so openly, but sometimes he would also be at pains to do this in a veiled manner, as though it had happened to another person. Nevertheless those who heard understood that he was speaking of himself after the example of the teacher of the Gentiles, who now recounts openly his own virtues, and now speaks under the guise of another person, saying: "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, such an one caught up even to the third heaven", and so on.

C₁VHP₁C₃O₈O₃O₄. 21 *om.* C₁. 22 *pre...* VO₈. 23 *pre...* VM.
 24 *changed from* spiritalis C₁. spiritalis VH. 25-26 *om.* C₁VH.
 27-28 *om.* P₁. 29 *changed from* intellegebant C₁. intellegebant VH.
 ins. Hoc igitur P₁. 30 *gloss above* scilicet Pauli VH. 31 *om.*

C₁VHP₁O₄. *gloss above* scilicet dicens VH. 32 ^{or} III decim P₁.

XIII VO₄. quatuordecim C₃M. 33 ^{um} III V. tercium P₁C₃O₈O₄M.
 34 cael... C₁V. cel... C₃O₃. 35-36 *om.* C₁VHP₁O₄.

VIII. ¹ *Quod*³ *sanato*⁴ *a languore Cuthberto*⁵, *Boisilus*⁶
*moriturus*⁷, *quae illi*⁸ *essent*¹⁰ *uentura*¹¹ *praedixerit*^{12,2}

Interea quia fragilis est et more freti uolubilis omnis saeculi¹³ status, instante subito turbine, praefatus abbas Eata¹⁴ cum Cuthberto¹⁵ et caeteris¹⁶ quos secum adduxerat fratribus domum repulsus est, et locus monasterii quod condiderat aliis ad incolendum monachis datus¹⁷. Nec memoratus athleta¹⁸ Christi mutatione¹⁹ loci²⁰ | mutauit mentem ab arrepto²¹ semel proposito militiae²² coelestis²³, uerum diligentissime iuxta quod et ante facere consueuerat, beati Boisili dictis pariter auscultabat et actis²⁴. Quo tempore sicut Herefridus familiaris eius presbiter et abbas quondam monasterii Lindisfarnensis²⁵ ipsum referre solitum testatur, morbo pestilentiae²⁶ quo tunc plurimi per Britanniam²⁷ longe lateque deficiebant, correptus est. At fratres monasterii illius totam pro eius uita et salute precantes²⁸ duxere noctem²⁹ peruigilem. Omnes enim quasi hominis sancti³⁰ necessariam sibi eius adhuc in carne praesentiam rebantur³¹. Quod dum ipsi mane quidam de illis indicaret³², nam nescio³³ eo fecerant, respondens statim, Et quid iaceo inquit³⁴. Neque enim³⁵ dubitandum³⁶ est, quia tot taliumque uirorum preces³⁷ Deus non³⁸ despexerit. Date baculum et caligas. Statimque³⁹ exurgens⁴⁰, coepit⁴¹ temptare⁴² incessum baculo innitens, et crescente per dies uirtute sanitatem quidem recepit⁴³, sed quia tumor qui in femore⁴⁴ parebat, paulatim a superficie detumescens corporis, ad uiscerum interiora perlapsus est, toto pene⁴⁵ uitae⁴⁶ suae⁴⁷ tempore aliquantulum interan-

1-2 Quomodo Boisilus moriturus Cuthberto quae ei uentura erant praedixit O₄. 3 quomodo C₃O₈O₃M. 4 saluato VH. 5 Cuthbercto V. Cuthberhto H. 6 Boisil VH. Boisilus C₃. 7 ins. omnia C₃O₈O₃M. 8 om. VH. ei C₃O₈O₃M. 9-11 uentura erant M. 10 erant C₃O₈O₃. 12 pre... O₈. praedixit M. 13 sec... O₃. 14 Eatha O₃. Eta M. 15 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cuthberto P₁. 16 cct... C₁VO₃. 17 datur VHP₁. 18 adhletha C₁P₁C₃. changed from adhletha VH. 19 mutacione O₄. 20 locorum C₁VHP₁O₄. 21 arrepto P₁. 22 militiae C₃O₈. militie O₃. 23 cael... C₁. cel... O₃. 24 uel -bus above C₁. actibus P₁. 25 Lyndisfarnensis O₃. 26 pestilencio O₃.

CHAPTER VIII. *How Cuthbert was healed of sickness and how Boisil, when he was about to die, prophesied things which were to come to him*

Meanwhile because the whole state of the world is frail and unstable as the sea when a sudden tempest arises, the aforesaid Abbot Eata with Cuthbert and other brethren whom he had brought with him was driven home, and the site of the monastery, which he had founded, was given to other monks to dwell in. Yet this same champion of Christ did not change his mind as a result of this change of place, nor abandon his determination once taken to wage the heavenly warfare; but most diligently he paid heed both to the words and the deeds of the blessed Boisil as he had been accustomed to do before. At that time (as Herefrith, a priest who belonged to his community and who was once abbot of the monastery of Lindisfarne, testifies that Cuthbert was wont to relate), he was stricken down with the plague which at that time carried off very many throughout the length and breadth of Britain. Now the brethren of that monastery spent the whole night in watching and praying for his life and safety; for they all thought that inasmuch as he was a holy man, his continued presence in the flesh was necessary to them. When one of them told him about this in the morning—for they had done it without his knowledge—he replied forthwith: "And why do I lie here? for doubtless God has not despised the prayers of so many good men. Give me my staff and shoes." And immediately he arose and began to try to walk, leaning upon his staff; and as his strength grew from day to day, he recovered his health; but as the swelling which appeared in his thigh gradually left the surface of his body, it sank into the inward parts and, throughout almost the whole of his life, he continued to feel some inward

27 Britanniam C₁. Britanniam VO₃M. 28 praec... H. 29 noct.
 dux. C₁VHP₁O₄. 30 Dei P₁. 31 changed to reuerbantur O₉ in
later hand. 32 indicarent O₉. 33 nesciente C₁VHP₁. 34 inquit O₃.
 35 inquit O₈O₃. 36 putandum C₁VHP₁O₄. 37 praeces O₈.
 38 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 39 confestimque C₁VHP₁. 40 exurgens C₁VHP₁.
 41 caep... VP₁. cep... O₃M. 42 temptare P₁O₄. 43 recaep... V.
 44 ins. eius C₁VHP₁O₄. 45 pacne C₃. 46 uite O₃. 47 sue O₃.

p. 31
2 Cor. 12. 9
Gal. 5. 6
p. 32

eorum non cessabat¹ sentire dolorem, uidelicet ut iuxta apostolum *uirtus in infirmitate perficretur*. Quem cum famulus Domini Boisilus² a ualitudine sanatum cerneret³, ait, Vides frater quia liberatus es a molestia qua laborabas, et dico tibi quod ea iam ultra tangendus non es, neque hoc moriturus in tempore. Simulque moneo ut quia me mors uicina praestolatur⁴, discere⁵ a me aliquid quamdiu docere⁶ ualeam non omittas. Non enim plus quam septem dies sunt, quibus mihi⁷ ad docendum sanitas corporis et linguae suppetat⁸ uirtus. Respondit Cuthbertus⁹ nichil¹⁰ hesitans de ueritate dictorum¹¹ illius, Et quid rogo optimum mihi¹² est legere, quod tamen una¹³ ualeam consummare septimana¹⁴? At ille, Iohannem inquit¹⁵ euangelistam¹⁶. Est autem mihi¹⁷ codex habens quaterniones septem, quas singulis diebus singulas possumus Domino adiuuante legendo, et quantum opus est inter nos conferendo percurrere. Factumque¹⁸ est ut dixerat. Quam ideo lectionem tam citissime complere ualebant, quia solam in ea *fidei quae per dilectionem operatur* simplicitatem, non autem questionum profunda tractabant. Completa ergo post dies septem¹⁹ lectione, memorato morbo arreptus²⁰ uir Domini Boisilus²¹ diem peruenit ad ultimum, et hoc magna cum²² exultatione transcenso²³ ad²⁴ | gaudium²⁵ perpetuae lucis intrauit. Ferunt illum his²⁶ septem²⁷ diebus omnia Cuthberto²⁸ quae ei futura restabant, exposuisse. Propheticus nanque²⁹ ut dixi, et mirac sanctitatis erat homo. Denique³⁰ praefatae³² acerbitatem³¹ pestilentiae triennio priusquam ueniret, Eatano³³ abbati suo praedixit³⁴ ³⁵fuisse³⁷ futuram³⁶, nec se illa tollendum³⁸ celauit, ipsum uero abbatem suum non ea³⁹ moriturum sed illo potius morbo quem dissenteriam⁴⁰ medici appellant, ueridico ut

1 cessauit (uel -bat above) C₃.2 Boisil VH. Boisilus C₃.3 cern... san... C₃. 4 gloss in margin id est expectat uel praesens est V. same gloss above H. pre... O₄M. 5 docere M. 6 dicere M.7 michi O₄. 8 subp... C₁VHP₁.9 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. Cudbertus P₁. 10 nihil C₁VHP₁.11 changed from doctorum C₁. 12 michi O₈O₄M. 13 ins.septimana O₄. 14 om. O₄. 15 inquit O₃. 16 acuang... O₉.cuuang... C₁P₁. 17 michi O₄. om. M. 18 om. que

pains, so that, in the words of the apostle, "strength was made perfect in weakness".

When the servant of the Lord, Boisil, saw that he had been healed of his sickness, he said: "You see, brother, that you have been freed from the affliction by which you were beset, and I declare to you that you will not be stricken again nor will you die now: and at the same time, since death is upon me, I admonish you to lose no opportunity of learning from me so long as I am able to teach you. For not more than seven days remain in which I shall have sufficient health of body and strength of tongue to teach you." Cuthbert, never doubting the truth of his words, answered: "And what, I ask you, is it best for me to read, which I can yet finish in one week?" He replied: "The evangelist John. I have a book consisting of seven gatherings of which we can get through one every day, with the Lord's help, reading it and discussing it between ourselves so far as is necessary." They did as he said. They were able to finish the reading so quickly because they dealt only with the simple things of the "faith which worketh by love" and not deep matters of dispute. So when the reading had been completed in seven days, Boisil the man of the Lord, having been attacked by this said disease, reached his last day and, having spent it in great gladness, he entered into the joy of perpetual light. It is said that he declared all Cuthbert's future to him during these seven days: for, as I have said, he was a prophet and a man of marvellous sanctity. And in fact he had predicted this virulent pestilence to his abbot Eata three years before it appeared, and did not hide the fact that he himself would be carried off by it; but he declared that the abbot himself would not die of this but rather of a disease which the doctors call dysentery, and, as events proved, his prophecy was true. But

C₁VHP₁O₄. 19 sept. di. C₁VHP₁O₄. VII V. 20 arr. morb.
 C₁VHP₁O₄. 21 Boisil VH. 22 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 23 transcurso O₄.
 24 om. VHO₄. 25 gaudia VHO₄. 26 hiis O₃. 27 VII V.
 28 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P₁. 29 namque C₁VHP₁.
 30-31 acerb. praef. O₄. 32 prefate O₃. 33 Eatan (n above V) HP₁.
 Eata O₄. 34 pre... M. 35-36 fut. fuisse O₄. 37 om. P₁.
 38-39 nec C₁VHP₁. 40 dyssinterian C₁. dyssinteriam VH.
 dissenteria P₁. dissinterian O₄.

rerum exitus docuit sermone praemonuit. Sed et Cuthberto¹ inter alia, quia episcopus esset ordinandus insinuauit. Unde idem Cuthbertus² postmodum in secessu anachoreseos positus, dicere quidem nulli uolebat quia episcopum eum praedixerat³ futurum, sed tamen uisitantibus se⁴ aliquotiens⁶ fratribus⁵, solebat multo cum dolore protestari⁷ quia Etiam⁹ si fieri possit¹⁰ ut in caute permodicam^{11,8} domunculam¹² habens deliteam¹³, ubi circumferentes¹⁴ me undique fluctus oceani tumescentis¹⁵ a cunctorum mortalium uisu¹⁶ pariter et cognitione secludant¹⁷, nec¹⁸ sic quidem liberum me¹⁹ ab insidiis mundi fallentis estimo²⁰, sed ibi quoque quia qualibet ex causa filargiria²¹ me temptans abripere possit uereor.

p. 33

IX. *Quam sedulus erga | ministerium uerbi
Cuthbertus²² extiterit²³*

Post obitum uero²⁴ dilecti Deo²⁵ sacerdotis Boisili memoratum praepositi officium Cuthbertus²⁶ suscepit, et per aliquot annos spirituali²⁷ ut sanctum decebat exercens industria, non solum ipsi monasterio regularis uitae²⁸ monita, simul et exemplum²⁹ praeferebat³⁰, sed et uulgus circumpositum longe lateque a uita stultae³¹ consuetudinis, ad coelestium³² gaudiorum³³ conuertere curabat amorem. Nam et multi fidem quam habebant, iniquis profanabant³⁴ operibus, et aliqui etiam tempore mortalitatis neglecto fidei quo imbuti erant sacramento, ad erratica idolatriae³⁵ medicamina concurrebant, | quasi missam a Deo conditore plagam per incantationes uel alligaturas, uel alia quaelibet³⁶ demoniacae³⁷ artis archana cohibere ualerent³⁸. Ad utrumque ergo corrigendum errorem crebro ipse de monas-

p. 34

1 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P₁. 2 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. Cudbertus P₁. 3 praedixerit C₁VHP₁O₄. pre... O₈. 4-5 frat. aliq. P₁. 6 ...ties C₁VHP₁. 7-8 in different hand V. 9-10 om. C₁P₁. 11 ...ica C₁P₁C₃O₈O₃. 12 ...ula C₁P₁. 13 delitheam O₃. 14 circumferente P₁. circumfrentes C₃. 15 changed from tumescentes C₁. tumescentes P₁. 16 changed from uisa C₁. 17 recludant VH. claudant P₁. 18 changed from nes C₁. ne VHO₄. 19 me lib. C₁P₁. 20 aest... C₁VH. 21 filargiria VO₈. philargiria O₄.

amongst other things, he suggested to Cuthbert that he would be made a bishop. So, in after days, when he was living a hermit's life, Cuthbert would not tell anyone that Boisil had predicted to him that he should be a bishop: but nevertheless, to the brethren who sometimes visited him, he used to declare with much sorrow: "Even if I could possibly hide myself in a tiny dwelling on a rock, where the waves of the swelling ocean surrounded me on all sides, and shut me in equally from the sight and knowledge of men, not even thus should I consider myself to be free from the snares of a deceptive world: but even there I should fear lest the love of wealth should tempt me and somehow or other should snatch me away."

CHAPTER IX. *How Cuthbert was diligent in the ministry of the word*

So after the death of Boisil the priest beloved of God, Cuthbert undertook the office of prior which we have mentioned before, and, for a number of years, he was busy with spiritual works, as befitted a holy man; and not only did he give the monastery itself counsels concerning life under the rule and an example of it, but he sought moreover to convert the neighbouring people far and wide from a life of foolish habits to a love of heavenly joys. For many of them profaned the faith they held by wicked deeds, and some of them also at the time of the plague, forgetting the sacred mystery of the faith into which they had been initiated, took to the delusive cures of idolatry, as though by incantations or amulets or any other mysteries of devilish art, they could ward off a blow sent by God the creator. So he frequently went forth from the monastery to correct the errors of both kinds of sinners, sometimes riding on a horse

22 Cuthberhtus VH. *om.* O₄. 23 exstiterit O₃. 24 ergo C₁VHP₁O₄.
 25 Deo dil. C₃. 26 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. Cudbertus P₁.
 27 spiritali C₁VH. 28 uite O₃. 29 exempla VHO₄.
 30 pre... O₈. 31 stulte O₃. 32 cael... C₁. ccl... M. celeste O₃.
 33 *ins. in margin* H. 34 prophanabant P₁C₃O₃. 35 ydolatrie O₃.
 36 que... O₃. 37 demonice C₁. *altered from* demonice V. demoniace O₃.
 38 possent O₄.

terio egressus aliquotiens¹ equo² sedens, sed sepius pedes³ incedens, circumpositas ueniebat ad uillas⁴, et uiam ueritatis praedicabat errantibus, quod ipsum⁵ etiam Boisilus⁶ suo tempore facere consueuerat. Erat quippe moris eo tempore populis Anglorum, ut ueniente in⁷ uillam clerico uel presbitero cuncti ad eius imperium uerbum audituri confluerent, ⁸libenter ea quae¹⁰ dicerentur audirent^{11,9}, libentiusque¹² quae audire et intelligere¹³ poterant operando sequerentur. Porro Cuthberto¹⁴ tanta erat¹⁵ docendi peritia¹⁶, tantus¹⁷ amor persuadendi quae coeperat¹⁸, tale uultus angelici lumen, ut nullus praesentium¹⁹ latebras ei sui cordis celare²⁰ praesumeret, omnes palam quae gesserant confitendo proferrent²¹, quia nimirum haec²² eadem illum latere nullomodo²³ putabant, et confessa *dignis* ut imperabat *poenitentiae*²⁴ *fructibus* abstergerent²⁵. Solebat autem ea maxime loca peragrare²⁶, illis predicare²⁷ in uiculis, qui in arduis asperisque montibus procul positi aliis horrore erant ad uisendum, et paupertate pariter ac rusticitate sua doctorum prohibebant accessum. Quos tamen ille pio libenter mancipatus labori²⁸, tanta doctrinae²⁹ excolebat industria, ut de monasterio egrediens, sepe³⁰ ebdomada³¹ integra, aliquando duabus uel tribus, nonnunquam³² etiam mense pleno domum non rediret, sed demoratus in montanis³³ plebem rusticam uerbo predicationis simul et exemplo uirtutis ad coelestia³⁴ uocaret.

Luke 3. 8

p. 35

1 n above V. aliquoties O₄. 2 aequo O₉. 3 pedibus VH.
 4 uillulas P₁. 5 ipse O₉. 6 Boisilus C₃. 7 om. C₁VH.
 ad P₁. 8-9 om. P₁. 10 que O₃. 11 gloss above scilicet
 ut VH. 12 om. que O₄. 13 intellegere C₁V. changed from
 intellegere H. 14 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P₁.
 15 om. O₄. 16 pericia C₃. 17 ins. erat O₄. 18 cep. . .

but more often going on foot, and came to the neighbouring villages and preached the way of truth to these wanderers, just as Boisil had been accustomed to do in his time.

Now it was the custom at that time amongst the English people, when a clerk or a priest came to a village, for all to gather together at his command to hear the word, gladly listening to what was said, and still more gladly following up by their deeds what they could hear and understand. So great was Cuthbert's skill in teaching, so great his love of driving home what he had begun to teach, so bright the light of his angelic countenance, that none of those present would presume to hide from him the secrets of his heart, but they all made open confession of what they had done, because they thought that these things could certainly never be hidden from him; and they cleansed themselves from the sins they had confessed by "fruits worthy of repentance," as he commanded. Now he was wont to penetrate those parts especially and to preach in those villages that were far away on steep and rugged mountains, which others dreaded to visit and whose poverty as well as ignorance prevented teachers from approaching them. And giving himself up gladly to this pious labour, he attended to their instruction with such industry, that, leaving the monastery, he would often not return home for a whole week, sometimes even for two or three weeks, and even occasionally for a full month; but he would tarry in the mountains, summoning the rustics to heavenly things by the words of his preaching as well as by the example of his virtue.

P ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ .	19 pre... VO ₈ O ₄ .	20 caelare O ₄ .
21 <i>gloss above</i> scilicet ut V.	pro. conf. O ₄ .	22 hec O ₃ .
23 null. lat. O ₄ .	24 pen... P ₁ O ₈ .	25 <i>gloss above</i> scilicet ut VH.
extergent O ₄ .	26 <i>gloss above</i> et VH.	27 prae... O ₈ .
28 labore VH.	29 om. O ₄ .	30 saepe VH.
31 ebdomade C ₁ P ₁ .	32 nonnumquam C ₁ VHO ₄ .	33 <i>gloss above</i>
scilicet locis VH.	34 cael... C ₁ . cel... C ₃ O ₈ .	

X. *Quomodo animalia maris*¹ in quo pernox orauerat³, illi egresso⁴ praebuerint⁵ obsequium, et⁶ frater qui haec⁷ uiderat⁸ prae⁹ timore languescens eius¹⁰ sit oratione recreatus²

p. 36

Cum uero¹¹ sanctus uir in eodem monasterio uirtutibus signisque succresceret, fama¹² operum¹³ eius circumquaque¹³ crebresceret, erat sanctimonialis femina et mater ancillarum Christi nomine Ebbae¹⁴, regens monasterium quod situm est in loco quem Coludi urbem nuncupant, religione pariter et nobilitate cunctis honorabilis. Nanque¹⁵ erat soror uterina regis Oswiu¹⁶. Haec¹⁷ ad uirum Dei mittens, rogauit ut se suumque monasterium gratia exhortationis¹⁸ inuisere dignaretur. Nec negare potuit, quod ab eo caritas ex ancillae¹⁹ Dei corde poposcit²⁰. Venit igitur ad locum, diesque aliquot ibi permanens, uiam iusticiae²¹ quam precabatur²² omnibus actu pariter et sermone pandebat. Qui cum more sibi solito quiescentibus noctu caeteris²³ ad orationem solus exiret, et post longas intempestae²⁴ noctis uigilias tandem instante hora communis sinaxeos²⁵ domum rediret, quadam nocte unus e fratribus eiusdem monasterii cum egredientem illum silentio cerneret, clanculo²⁶ secutus eius uestigia, quo iret²⁷, quidue agere²⁸ uellet dinoscere querebat²⁹. At ille egressus³⁰ monasterio sequente exploratore³¹ descendit ad mare, cuius ripae³² monasterium idem³³ superpositum erat. Ingressusque³⁴ altitudinem maris, donec ad collum usque et³⁵ brachia unda tumens assurgeret³⁶, peruigiles undisonis³⁷ in laudibus tenebras noctis exegit. Appropinquante³⁸ autem diluculo, ascendens in³⁹ terram denuo coepit⁴⁰ in litore⁴¹ flexis⁴² genibus orare. Quod dum⁴³ ageret⁴⁴, uenere continuo duo de profundo maris qua-

p. 37

1-2 illi inde egresso obsequium praebuerint O₄. 3 orauerit VH.
 4 regresso VH. 5 pre... HO₈. 6 ins. ut C₃O₈O₃. 7 hec O₃.
 8 uidebat VHC₃O₈O₃M. 9 pre O₈. 10 uel illius above C₃.
 11 ergo O₄. 12 changed from uirtutum P₁. 13 circumquaque
 C₁VHP₁M. 14 Aebbe C₁VHP₁. Ebbe C₃O₈O₃M. Aebbae O₄.
 15 namque C₁VHP₁O₃. 16 Osuii C₁P₁. Oswyu O₃. Osuii
 VO₄. changed from Osuii to Osuii H. 17 hec O₃. 18 exorta-
 tionis VHC₃. 19 ancille C₃O₃M. 20 poposcerat C₁P₁O₄.
 21 iustitiae C₁VH. 22 predicabat (di above V) P₁. praedicabat H.

CHAPTER X. *How the animals of the sea, in which he had passed the night in prayer, ministered to him when he came out, and how a brother who saw it, being ill through fear, was restored by his prayers*

Now while the holy man was going from strength to strength in that monastery by his signs and miracles, and the fame of his works had spread everywhere, there was a nun, a mother of the handmaidens of Christ, called Aebbe, who ruled over the monastery situated in a place called Coldingham, a woman honoured among all as well for her piety as for her noble birth, for she was own sister of King Oswiu. She sent to the man of God asking that he would deign to visit her and her monastery for the sake of exhorting them. Nor could he deny the loving request of the handmaiden of God. So he came to the place and remained there some days and opened up to them all the path of righteousness about which he preached, as much by his deeds as by his words. Now, according to his custom, while the others were resting at night, he would go out alone to pray, and after watching long throughout the dead of night, he would return home just at the hour of common worship; and on a certain night one of the brethren of the same monastery, seeing him go silently out, followed in his footsteps secretly, seeking to discover whither he meant to go and what he intended to do. Cuthbert left the monastery with the spy following him and went down to the sea, above whose shores the monastery was built; going into the deep water until the swelling waves rose as far as his neck and arms, he spent the dark hours of the night watching and singing praises to the sound of the waves. When daybreak was at hand, he went up on to the land and began to pray once more, kneeling on the shore. While he was doing this, there came forth from the depths of the sea

23 cet... VO ₃ M.	24 intempeste O ₃ .	25 syn... C ₁ VHO ₈ O ₃ O ₄ .
26 gloss above uel e uestigio, id est celeriter, uelociter, festinanter, cito, ocius, prope V.	27 ire VHC ₃ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ M.	28 changed from ageret P ₁ .
29 quaer... VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₄ .	30 ins. c P ₁ .	31 changed in later hand from exploratione C ₁ .
32 ripe P ₁ O ₈ O ₃ .	33 id. monast. O ₄ .	
34 ingrediensque C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	35 ac VH. ins. ad P ₁ O ₈ .	36 ads...
C ₁ V.	37 undisonis O ₃ .	38 adp... C ₁ VP ₁ .
40 caep... C ₁ VP ₁ . cep... O ₃ .	41 litt... C ₃ O ₃ O ₄ M.	42 fexis P ₁ .
43 cum P ₁ .	44 faceret P ₁ .	

drupedia quae uulgo lutraeae¹ uocantur. Haec² ante illum strata in arena³, anhelitu suo pedes eius fouere coeperunt⁴,
⁵ac uillo satagebant extergere⁶. Completoque⁷ ministerio, percepta ab eo benedictione patrias sunt relapsa sub undas. Ipse⁸ quoque mox⁹ domum reuersus, canonicos¹⁰ cum fratribus ymnos¹¹ hora competente¹² compleuit¹³. At frater qui eum de speculis¹⁴ prestolabatur, percussus pauore ingenti, uix prae angustia¹⁵ premente domum nutante gressu peruenit. Primoque mane accedens ad eum sese in terram strauit, ueniam de reatu stulti ausus cum lacrimis flagitauit¹⁶, nil dubitans illum nosse quid ipse¹⁷ noctu egerit, quidue¹⁸ pateretur. Cui ille, Quid inquit¹⁹ habes frater? Quid fecisti? Num nostrum iter nocturnum lustrando explorare temptasti? Sed²⁰ ea solum conditione²¹ tibi hoc indulgeo²² commissum, si promiseris te quae uidisti nulli ante meum obitum esse dicturum. In quo nimirum | praecepto²³ eius secutus est exemplum, qui discipulis in monte gloriam suae²⁴ maiestatis ostendens ait, *Nemini dixeritis uisionem, donec filius hominis a mortuis resurgat*. Promittentem²⁵ ergo quae iusserat fratrem benedixit, pariterque culpam et molestiam quam temerarius incurrerat²⁶ abstersit²⁷. Qui uirtutem quam uiderat ipso uiuente silentio tegens, post obitum eius plurimis indicare curabat²⁸.

p. 38

Matth.

17. 9

1 lutraeae C₁P₁O₈O₄M. lutrae VH. lutree O₃. 2 Hec O₃.
 3 harena C₁VHC₃O₄. 4 ceperunt (above) V. cep... P₁O₈M. om. O₄.
 5-6 om. C₁VHP₁. 7 comp... VH. 8-9 om. C₁VHO₄. uero P₁.
 10 changed from canonicas C₁. canonicas P₁. 11 hymnos C₁VH.
 ymnos O₃. 12 comp... C₁V. competenti HP₁. 13 comp... VH.
 14 gloss above ofperd stopum V. 15 ins. sc P₁O₄. 16 gloss above
 uel postulauit O₃. 17-18 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 19 inquit O₈O₃.

two four-footed creatures which are commonly called otters. These, prostrate before him on the sand, began to warm his feet with their breath and sought to dry him with their fur, and when they had finished their ministrations they received his blessing and slipped away into their native waters. He forthwith returned home and sang the canonical hymns with the brethren at the appointed hour. Meantime the monk who stood watching him from the cliffs was stricken with such deadly fear and weighed down with such distress, that he could scarcely reach home with faltering footsteps; and in the early morning he approached Cuthbert and, stretching himself on the ground, tearfully entreated his pardon for the guilt of his foolish daring, not doubting that Cuthbert knew what he had done that night and why he was suffering. Cuthbert said to him: "What is the matter, brother? What have you done? Have you attempted to view and spy upon my nightly journey? But I will grant you pardon for this fault only on one condition, that you promise you will not tell anyone about what you have seen before my death." In this command he followed the example of Him who, when He showed the glory of His majesty to the disciples on the mount, said: "Tell the vision to no man until the Son of Man be risen again from the dead." So the promise being given, he blessed the brother, and freed him both from the fault and from the affliction which he had so rashly incurred; and the brother kept silence about the miracle he had seen so long as Cuthbert was alive, but after the saint's death he took care to tell it to many.

20 *ins.* et M.

23 *pre.* . . . VM.

26 *incurrerat* VHP₁.

C₁VHP₁O₄.

21 *condicione* C₁VH.

24 *su. glor.* C₁VHP₁O₄.

27 *changed from* abstergit C₁.

22 *ind. tib. hoc* P₁.

25 *promittente* P₁.

28 *curauit*

CHAPTER XI. *How he promised the sailors who were cut off by the storm that the sea would be calm by a certain day, and how his prayer for food was answered*

Meanwhile the man of God began to grow strong in the spirit of prophecy also, to foretell the future and to describe to those with him events that were happening elsewhere. Now at a certain time, having left the monastery on account of some necessity which arose, he came by boat to the land of the Picts who are called Niduari, accompanied by two brethren, one of whom afterwards became a priest. It was he who made known to many the miracle which the man of God worked at that place. Now they came thither after Christmas day, expecting that they would return quickly because the state both of the winds and waves was favourable. For this reason, that is in view of their early return, they did not take provisions with them. But things turned out very differently from what they expected. For as soon as they reached land a fierce tempest arose, which entirely prevented their return. And so they languished for some days amid the dangers of hunger and of cold, but the man of God refused to spend this time of leisure in sluggish sloth or give himself up to idle slumber, choosing rather to spend the night in prayer. Now when the most sacred day of the Epiphany was at hand, he spoke to his companions with persuasive words, for he was of a pleasant and kindly disposition: "Why, I ask, do we remain inactive and slothful and not seek some way of safety in every direction? Lo! the land is grim with snow and the sky with clouds; the heavens rage with adverse winds and the sea with waves. We ourselves are in want and there is no man to refresh us. So let us importune the Lord with prayers, that as He once opened up a path in the Red Sea for His people and fed them in a wondrous manner

21 cybaria H.	22 tamquam C ₁ VH.	23 ocus VH.	24 om. P ₁ .
25 pre... O ₈ .	26 cumque C ₁ VHP ₁ M.	27 gloss in margin	panhaledan
V. gloss above id est debilitarent H.	28-29 om. O ₄ .	30 luxus VH.	
31 ocia P ₁ .	32 somno P ₁ .	33 inertī P ₁ .	34 set O ₃ .
35 orationibus P ₁ .	36 aparitionis P ₁ .	37 quacumque C ₁ VHP ₁ .	
ins. parte (in margin V) H.	38 cael... C ₁ V.	cel... C ₃ O ₃ .	39 ...sus
C ₁ VH.	40 aeq... VHO ₄ M.	41 pracc... VH.	

p. 40

orantes ut nostri quoque misereatur in periculis. Credo si non nostra fides titubat non uult nos hodierna die ieiunos permanere¹, quam² ipse per tot ac tanta suae miracula maiestatis illustrare³ curauit. Precorque eamus alicubi quaerentes⁴, quid nobis epularum in gaudium suae festiuitatis prestare dignetur. Haec⁵ dicens, eduxit eos sub ripam⁶ quo ipse noctu peruigil orare consueuerat. Ubi aduenientes inuenerunt tria frustra⁷ delphininae⁸ carnis, quasi humano ministerio secta, et preparata ad cocturam, flexisque genibus gratias egerunt Domino⁹. Dixit autem Cuthbertus¹⁰, Videtis dilectissimi quae sit gratia confidendi¹¹ et sperandi¹² in Domino? Ecce et cibaria¹³ famulis suis preparauit¹⁴, et ternario quoque numero¹⁵ quot diebus hic residendum sit nobis¹⁶ ostendit. Sumite ergo munera quae misit nobis¹⁷ Christus et abeuntes¹⁸ reficiamus nos maneamusque intrepidi, certissima enim nobis post triduum serenitas coeli¹⁹ et maris adueniet. Factum est ut dixerat. Manente triduo tempestate perualida, quarto demum die tranquillitas promissa secuta est, quae illos secundis²⁰ flatibus patriam referret.

XII. ²¹ *Quomodo iter faciens²³ aquila ministra uiaticum et²⁴ percepturum se esse praedixerit²⁵ et perceperit^{26,22}*

p. 41

Quadam quoque die cum predicaturus iuxta consuetudinem suam populis, de monasterio exiret uno comite puero, iamque diu gradiendo fatigatis²⁷ non parum adhuc restaret itineris, quousque ad uicum quo tendebant peruenirent, ait ad puerum temptans eum, Dic age sodalis ubi hodie refici disponas, an habeas aliquem in uia ad quem diuertere ualeas hospitem? At ille respondens, Et haec²⁸ ipsa

1 in *erased* C₁. 2 *gloss above* scilicet diem VH. 3 *inl.* . . . C₁VH.
 4 *quer.* . . . C₁VP₁C₃O₃O₄M. 5 *hec* C₃O₃. 6 *ripa* C₁P₁.
 7 *changed from* frustra O₉. frustra C₃. fusta O₃. 8 *delfininae*
 P₁C₃. delphinine O₃. 9 *Deo* C₁VHP₁. 10 *Cudberhtus* C₁V.
 Cuthberhtus H. Cudbertus P₁. 11 *fidendi* C₁P₁. *fidenti* VH.
 confitendi C₃. *ins. Dei* C₁VHP₁. 12 *speranti* VH. 13 *cybaria* H.

in the desert, so He may also have mercy on us in our danger. I believe that, if our faith does not waver, He will not allow us to remain fasting to-day, a day which He has illuminated with so many wondrous tokens of His majesty. Let us go somewhere, I beg you, and find out what banquet He will deign to bestow upon us, so that we may keep His festival with joy." With these words he led them to the shore on which he was accustomed to spend the night in prayer. And when they came there, they found three pieces of dolphin's flesh looking as though some human hand had cut and prepared them for cooking; and kneeling down they gave thanks to God. Then Cuthbert said: "You see, beloved, what divine favour comes from trusting and hoping in the Lord. Look how He has prepared food for His servants, and has also showed us by the fact that there are three pieces, how many days we must remain here. So take these gifts which Christ has sent us and let us go and refresh ourselves and remain here undaunted, for most certainly after three days we shall get a calm sea and sky." It happened as he had said; a very fierce tempest lasted for three days and, on the fourth day, the promised calm arrived to bring them to their own country with favourable breezes.

CHAPTER XII. *How, while making a journey, he prophesied that he would receive provisions on the way by the ministration of an eagle, and how it came to pass*

Now on a certain day he had left the monastery to preach according to his wont, attended by a youth only; they were already tired with the long journey and no little distance still remained before they would reach the village for which they were making. He said to the boy to test him: "Come, tell me, comrade, where do you intend to refresh yourself to-day? or have you any host on the way to whom you can turn in?" But the boy answered: "I have long been silently pondering

14 prae. . . O ₃ O ₄ .	15 num. quoq. O ₉ .	16 nobis sit P ₁ .
17 nobis misit O ₄ .	18 hab. . . O ₃ .	19 caeli C ₁ V. celi O ₃ .
margin id est serenit VH.	21-22 Quomodo sibi aquila cibum	20 gloss in
ministraverit O ₄ .	23 ins. ab VH.	24 om. VH.
26 percoeperit O ₉ .	27 changed from fatigaris C ₁ .	25 pre. . . O ₈ .
		28 hec O ₁ .

p. 42

inquit mecum¹ tacito in corde tractauī, quia nec² uiatium ituri³ tulimus nobiscum, neque aliquem in⁴ itinere notum | habemus, qui nos suo⁵ recipere uelit hospitio⁶, et non parum adhuc itineris superest quod ieiuni sine molestia complere nequimus. Cui uir Domini⁷, Disce inquit⁸ filiōle fidem semper et spem habere in Domino⁹, quia nunquam¹⁰ fame perit, qui Deo fideliter seruit. Et sursum aspectans¹¹ uidensque aquilam in alto uolantem, Cernis¹² inquit¹³ aquilam ¹⁴illam porro uolantem¹⁵? Etiam per huius ministerium possibile est Domino nos hodie reficere. Talia confabulantes, agebant iter iuxta fluuium¹⁶ quendam, et ecce subito uident aquilam in ripa¹⁷ residentem¹⁸, dixitque uir Dei, Uides ubi nostra quam praedixi ministra residet¹⁹? Curre rogo, et quid nobis epularum²⁰ Domino mittente attulerit²¹ inspicere, et citius affer²². Qui accurrens²³ attulit²⁴ piscem non modicum, quem illa nuper de fluuio prendiderat²⁵. At uir Dei²⁶, Quid inquit²⁷ fecisti fili? Quare ministrae suam partem non dedisti? Seca citius²⁸ medium, et illi partem quam nobis ministrando meretur remitte. Fecit ut iusserat, tultaque²⁹ secum parte³⁰ reliqua³¹ ubi tempus reficiendi³² aderat diuerterunt ad proximum uicum, et dato ad assandum pisciculo, se pariter et eos ad quos intrabant gratissimo refecere³³ conuiuio, predicante Cuthberto³⁴ | uerbum Dei atque eius beneficia collaudante³⁵, et quia *beatus uir cuius est nomen Domini*³⁶ *spes eius et non respexit in uanitates et in*³⁷ *insanias falsas*. Ac sic resumpto itinere, ad docendum eos, quos proposuere³⁸ profecti sunt.

p. 43

Psa. 39. 5

1 mecum inquit M. 2 om. P₁. 3 ins. non P₁. 4 in above C₁.
 5 suos C₁. 6 hospicio C₃. 7 Dei C₁VHP₁O₄.
 8 inquit O₈O₃. 9 in Dom. hab. M. 10 numquam C₁VHP₁.
 11 asp. surs. C₁VHP₁O₄. 12 uidens P₁. 13 ins. hanc P₁.
 inquit O₃. 14-15 om. P₁. 16 in margin Nomen fluuii
 Iccabicide C₃. 17 in margin Nomen fluminis Tabiade V.
 18 consedis O₄. 19 resedit C₁P₁O₄. 20 changed from

this matter in my heart; for we have brought with us no provision for the journey, nor have we anyone we know on the way who will receive us hospitably, and no little part of the journey remains which we cannot complete, fasting, without suffering." Then the man of God replied: "Learn, my dear son, always to have faith and trust in the Lord; for he who serves God faithfully never perishes of hunger." And, looking up, he saw an eagle flying aloft. "Do you see that eagle," he said, "flying afar off? It is possible for God to refresh us to-day even by the ministration of that eagle." With such words they went on their way along a certain river when, lo, suddenly they see an eagle settling on the bank; and the man of God said: "Do you see where our handmaid, as I foretold, is settling? Run, I pray you, and see what food she has brought us from the Lord, and bring it quickly here." He ran up and brought a large fish which the eagle had just taken from the river. But the man of God said: "What have you done, my son? Why have you not given our handmaiden her share? Cut it quickly in half and take her the share which she deserves for ministering to us." He did as he was bidden and carried the rest with him. When the time for refreshment arrived, they turned into the next village and, giving the portion of fish to be broiled, they refreshed themselves and those too into whose house they had entered, with a most acceptable repast, while Cuthbert preached the word of God to them and praised Him for his benefits; for "blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord and who has not looked after vanity nor idle folly". And so having resumed their journey, they set out to reach those whom they purposed to teach.

epularem C ₁ .	21 adt... C ₁ .	22 adf... C ₁ V.	23 adc... C ₁ V.
24 adt... C ₁ .	25 <i>changed to</i> prederat C ₁ .	26 Domini P ₁ .	
27 inquit O ₈ O ₃ .	28 cito O ₄ .	29 allataque <i>above</i> C ₁ .	tulitque VH.
uel allata <i>above</i> P ₁ .	lataque O ₈ .	30 partem VH.	31 reliquam VH.
32 refitiendi P ₁ .	33 reficiebant VH.	34 Cudberhto C ₁ V.	
Cuthberhto H.	Cudberto P ₁ .	35 conl... C ₁ V.	36 <i>om.</i> P ₁ .
37 <i>om.</i> P ₁ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ M.	38 proposuerat P ₁ .		

XIII. ¹ *Quomodo predicans populis fantasticum subito ignem diaboli et praeuiderit*³ uenturum, et uenientem extinxerit²

p. 44
 Sulpicii
 Seueri
 Vita S.
 Martini
 c. 22

Eodem tempore dum congregatis in quadam uillula per plurimis uerbum uitae⁴ predicaret⁵, praeuidit⁶ subito in spiritu antiquum hostem ad retardandum opus salutis adesse. Moxque eius insidias quas futuras intellexit, docendo preoccupare⁷ curauit. Nanque⁸ inter ea quae disputauerat, repente huius modi monita inse|ruit, Oportet karissimi⁹ ut quotiens¹⁰ uobis mysteria¹¹ regni coelestis¹² predicantur¹³, intento haec¹⁴ corde et sensu semper uigilantissimo audiatis, ne forte *diabolus* qui *mille nocendi* habet *artes*, superuacuis uos curis ab aeternae¹⁵ salutis auditione prepediat¹⁶. Et haec¹⁷ dicens, denuo sermonis quem intermiserat ordinem repetiit. Statimque hostis ille nequissimus fantasticum deferens ignem, domum iuxta positam incendit, ita ut uiderentur faces ignium totam uolitare¹⁸ per uillam¹⁹, ac iuuante²⁰ uento fragor aera concutere. Tum exiliens quasi ad extinguendum²¹ ignem turba pene²² tota quam docebat, nam paucos ipse manu missa retinuit, certatim aquas²³ iactabat. Nec tamen unda uera²⁴ falsas potuit restinguere flammam²⁵, donec orante uiro Dei Cuthberto²⁶ fugatus²⁷ auctor fallaciarum²⁸ ficta²⁹ secum incendia *uacuas* reportaret in *auras*. Quod uidens turba multum salubriter erubuit, rursusque ad uirum Dei ingressa, flexis genibus instabilis animi ueniam precabatur, confitens se intellexisse quia diabolus ab impedienda³⁰ salute humana ne ad horam uacaret. At ipse confirmans inconstantiam fragilium, rursus quae³¹ coeperat³² uitae monita exequitur³³.

Vergil.
 Aen.
 XII. 592

1-2 Quomodo fantasticum ignem diaboli extinxerit O₄. 3 pre... HO₈. 4 uite O₃. 5 praec... VHO₈. 6 praec... VHO₈.
 7 preoccupare P₁. praec... VHO₈. 8 namque C₁VHP₁O₈.
 9 car... C₁VH. 10 quoties C₁VHP₁O₄. gloss above uel n H.
 11 misteria P₁C₃O₈O₃M. 12 cael... C₁V. cel... O₃. 13 praec... HO₈. 14 hec C₃O₃. 15 eterne C₃O₃. 16 praec... HO₈.

CHAPTER XIII. *How, when he was preaching to the people, he suddenly foresaw that a phantom fire would come from the devil, and how he extinguished it when it came*

At the same time, when he was preaching the word of life to a crowd of people in a certain little village, he suddenly foresaw in the spirit that the ancient enemy would be present to hinder the work of salvation, and forthwith he set out to forestall, by his teaching, the snares which he knew would come. For he suddenly broke into the discourse he was giving with warnings of this kind: "Beloved, it is necessary, as often as the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven are preached to you, that you should listen with attentive mind and most watchful ear, lest haply the devil, who has a thousand wiles for injuring you, should with vain cares hinder you from hearing about your eternal salvation." And with these words he once more took up the thread of the discourse which he had interrupted, and at once that most evil foe, producing a phantom fire, set light to a house near by, so that firebrands seemed to be flying all through the village and, fanned by the wind, their crackling rent the air. Then almost the whole crowd that he was teaching leapt up intending to extinguish the fire, though he himself kept back a few with outstretched hand: the rest eagerly threw on water, but with all their real water they could not extinguish the false flames, until at the prayers of Cuthbert the man of God, the author of lies was put to flight, carrying with him his phantom fires into the empty air. Seeing this, the crowd, filled with wholesome shame, approaching the man of God again, prayed on bended knees to be forgiven for their fickleness of mind, confessing that they realised that the devil never ceased, even for an hour, from hindering the work of man's salvation. And he, confirming the weak and inconstant, continued his interrupted discourse on the way of life.

17 hec C₃O₃. 18 uolare C₁VHP₁. 19 uillulam C₁VHP₁O₄.
 20 *gloss above* scilicet uideretur VH. 21 extinguere C₁P₁. 22 paene P₁O₈.
 23 *first a above* C₁. 24 *changed from* fera C₁. 25 ignes C₁V. 26 Cudberhto
 C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P₁. 27 *changed from* fugatos C₁.
 28 fallat... C₃. 29 cuncta VH. *gloss above* uel ficta VH. 30 inp...
 C₁V. 31 rursusque O₉. 32 caep... V. cep... P₁C₃. 33 exsequitur C₁.

p. 45

XIV. | *Quomodo flammam domus¹ cuiusdam uero igne² ardentis orando restrinxerit³*

p. 46

Greg.

Dial. I. 6

Nec tantum ignem fantasticum, sed⁴ etiam uerum quem multi frigidis fontium undis minime ualebant extinguere, ipse solus feruentibus lacrimarum riuulis compressit⁵. Si quidem dum more apostolorum gratia salutiferae instructionis uniuersa pertransiret, deuenit die quadam in domum cuiusdam⁶ deuotae⁸ Deo⁷ feminae⁹, quam crebrius inuisere curabat, quia et bonis operibus¹⁰ intentam nouerat¹¹, et ipsa eum primis pueritiae nutrebat¹² ab annis, unde et mater ab eo cognominari solebat. Habebat autem domum in occidentali parte uiculi¹³. Quam¹⁴ cum uir Domini Cuthbertus¹⁵ uerbum seminaturus intraret, repente in orientali | plaga¹⁶ eiusdem uici *per culpam incuriae* domus *incensa uehementer*¹⁷ coepit¹⁸ ardere. Nam et uentus ab eodem climate¹⁹ assurgens non modicus²⁰, abripiebat ignitos²¹ fenei²² tecti fasciculos²³, et totam late iactabat²⁴ per uillam. Iactantes aquam qui aderant²⁵ fortior flamma reppulit²⁶, longiusque fugauit. Tum praefata Dei famula²⁷ cucurrit concita ad domum in qua uirum Dei receperat, obsecrans ut orando succurreret, priusquam domus ipsius et tota simul uilla periret. At ille, Ne timeas inquit²⁸ mater, animaequior²⁹ esto, non enim tibi tuisue³⁰ haec³¹ quamlibet³² ferox³³ flamma nocebit. Statimque egressus, ante hostium³⁴ sternitur³⁵ in terram. Quo adhuc orante mutatur flatus uentorum, spiransque ab occasu totum tanti³⁶ incendii periculum ab inuasionem uillulae³⁷, quam uir Domini intrauerat reiecit. Sicque in duobus miraculis duorum

1-2 om. O₄. 3 restrinxerit C₃O₈M. extinxerit O₄. 4 set O₃.
 5 gloss above id est domauit VH. 6-7 Deo deu. P₁.
 8 deuote O₃. 9 femine O₃. gloss at top of page Nomen feminae
 Quenspið V. in margin Nomen feminae Quoinsuid C₃. Nomen
 femine Quonsuid O₃. 10 actibus C₁VHP₁O₄. 11 gloss above
 scilicet eam VH. 12 gloss above uel r H. nutrebat P₁. 13 gloss
 at top of page Nomen uiculi Hruningaham V. in margin Nomen uiculi
 Hruningaham C₃. Nomen uiculi Runingaham O₃. 14 gloss above
 scilicet domum VH. 15 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H.
 Cudbertus P₁. 16 parte P₁. 17 uehementissime C₁VHP₁.

CHAPTER XIV. *How by his prayers he checked the flames of a certain house which was really on fire*

And not only phantom fires but even real fires, which many people could not extinguish with cold water from the wells, he put out unaided with his warm streams of tears. For when, after the manner of the Apostles, he was going through all parts in order to teach the way of salvation, one day he entered the house of a certain faithful handmaid of God, whom he was careful to visit very frequently, because he knew she was given to good deeds, and also because she had brought him up from his boyhood's earliest years and was therefore called mother by him. Now she had a house in the west part of the village, and no sooner had Cuthbert the man of God entered it to sow the seed of the word than a house in the eastern quarter of the same village caught fire owing to carelessness and began to burn very fiercely. Moreover a great wind arose from the same quarter, which tore away the blazing thatch of the straw roof and carried it far and wide throughout the whole village. The fierce flame kept off those who were engaged in throwing water, and even drove them farther back. Then the said handmaiden of God ran excitedly to the house in which she had received the man of God, entreating him to help by his prayers before her house and the whole village perished together. But he said: "Do not be afraid, mother, be calmer; for this fire, however fierce, will not harm you and yours." Immediately he went out and cast himself upon the ground in front of the door; and while he was still praying, the winds changed and, blowing from the west, removed all danger of the fire attacking the house which the man of God had entered. Thus in two miracles he imitated

18 caep... VP₁. cep... O₃M. 19-20 non mod. ads... C₁VH. non
 mod. ass. P₁O₄. exurgens non mod. M. 21 ignitas P₁. *changed from*
 ignitas C₁. 22 foeni C₁. faenei VP₁C₃O₈. foenei HO₄. 23 *changed*
from fasciculas C₁. fasciculas P₁. 24 iac. lat. C₁VHP₁O₄. 25 qui ad. aq.
 O₄. 26 repulit O₄. 27 fam. Dei praef. O₄. 28 inquit P₁O₃.
 29 o *above the* m C₁. animo aequior P₁. animequior O₃. 30 *changed*
from tuisse C₁. 31 hec O₃. 32 *gloss above* scilicet sit VH.
 33 forax C₁. uorax, *gloss above* uel ferox VH. uorax P₁. 34 ostium
 VHP₁M. 35 prosternitur VH. 36 om. P₁. 37 uillule O₃.

patrum est uirtutes imitatus. In fantasticis¹ quidem praecuisis² et euacuatis incendiis, uirtutem reuerentissimi et sanctissimi patris Benedicti, qui simulatum ab antiquo hoste quasi ardentis coquinae³ incendium ab oculis discipulorum orando pepulit. In ueris⁴ uero aequae⁵ uictis ac *retortis*⁶ ignium globis⁷, uirtutem *uiri*⁸ *uenerabilis Marcellini* | *Anchonitani antistitis*⁹, qui ardente *eadem ciuitate* ipse *contra ignem positus* orando *flammas* compescuit¹⁰, quas tanta ciuium manus *aquam proiciendo*¹¹ nequiuerat¹². Nec¹³ mirandum perfectos et fideliter Deo seruientes uiros tantam *contra uim flammaram* accipere potestatem¹⁴, qui cotidiana uirtutum industria et incentiua¹⁵ suae carnis edomare¹⁶, et *omnia tela nequissimi*¹⁷ *igne*¹⁸ norunt²⁰ *extinguere*¹⁹. Quibus aptissime congruit illud propheticum, Isa. 43. 2 *Cum transieris*²¹ *per ignem*²² *non combureris*²³, *et flamma non ardebit in te*. At ego et mei similes propriae fragilitatis et inertiae²⁴ conscii, certi quidem sumus quia contra ignem materiale nil tale audemus²⁵, incerti²⁶ autem an ignem illum inextinguibilem²⁷ futurae²⁸ castigationis immunes²⁹ euadere queamus. Sed potens est et larga pietas saluatoris nostri, quae³⁰ indignis nobis et nunc ad extinguenda uiciorum³¹ incendia, et ad euadendas in futuro poenarum³² flammas, gratiam suae³³ protectionis impendat³⁴.

p. 48

XV. | ³⁵*Qualiter demonium ab uxore*³⁷ *praefecti*
*necdum adueniens eiecerit*³⁶

Verum quia³⁸ paulo superius quantum idem uenerabilis Cuthbertus³⁹ aduersum⁴⁰ simulaticias diaboli fraudes ualuerit exposuimus, nunc etiam quid aduersus uerum apertum-

1 gloss above scilicet imitatus est VH. 2 pre... O₈M. 3 coq. ard. C₁VHP₁O₄. 4 gloss above scilicet imitatus est VH. 5 aequae O₉. eque O₈M. eque O₃. 6 gloss above id est reflexis VH. 7 gloss above id est radiis VH. 8 om. M. 9 antestitis V. changed from antestitis H. episcopi O₄. 10 composuit C₁O₄. gloss above id est mitigauit VH. 11 proitiendo P₁. 12 gloss above scilicet compescere VH. 13 gloss above scilicet est VH. 14 potentiam C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 gloss above id est uoluptates VH. 16 gloss above id est refrenare VH. 17 gloss above scilicet hostes VH. 18-19 exting. nor. O₄. 20 gloss above id est cognouerunt VH.

the miracles of two of the fathers: in foreseeing and getting rid of phantom fires he imitated the miracle of the most reverend and holy father Benedict who, by his prayers, drove away from the sight of his disciples a fire kindled by the ancient foe to simulate a kitchen burning; and equally in overcoming and changing the direction of volumes of real flame, he imitated a miracle of the venerable Bishop Marcellinus of Ancona who, when that city was burning, took up his position over against the fire and prayed, thus subduing the flames which a very great crowd of citizens could not subdue by throwing water on them. Nor is it to be wondered at that such perfect men who served God faithfully, received great power against the strength of flames, when, by daily practice of virtue, they learned both to overcome the lusts of the flesh and "to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one". Them indeed this prophecy most aptly fits: "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." But I and those like me, conscious of our weakness and helplessness, are certain that we dare take no such measures against material fire; we are also uncertain whether we can escape unharmed from that inextinguishable fire of future punishment. But the loving-kindness of our Saviour is mighty and abundant; and He will use the grace of His protection even now to extinguish the flames of vices in us, unworthy though we be, and to enable us to escape the flames of punishment in the time to come.

CHAPTER XV. *How he drove out a demon from the wife of a reeve, even before his arrival*

Seeing that we have shown above how the same venerable Cuthbert had power against the illusory deceits of the devil, now we will also show what power he had also against his

21-22 in igne C₁VHO₄. 23 conb... C₁. 24 inertie O₃.
 25 haud C₁. om. P₁. 26 gloss above scilicet sumus VH. 27 ins. et C₁P₁.
 28 future O₃. 29 inm... C₁VP₁. gloss above id est indempnes VH.
 30 om. P₁. 31 uitiorum. changed from uitiarum C₁. uitiorum VHP₁C₃O₄.
 32 pen... C₃O₃M. 33 sue O₃. 34 inpendere C₁P₁. inpendat VH.
 35-36 Qualiter ab uxore praefecti demonium eiecerit O₄. 37 ins.
 cuiusdam C₃ (above O₃). 38 om. C₁P₁. 39 Cudberhtus C₁V.
 Cuthberhtus H. Cudbertus P₁. Cutbertus O₄. 40 aduersus VH.

que eius furorem ualeat explicemus. Erat praefectus Egfridi¹ regis Hildmer² nomine, uir religiosus³ cum omni domo⁴ sua deditus operibus, ideoque a beato Cuthberto⁵ specialiter⁶ dilectus, et cum itineris propinquitas congrueret, crebro ab eo uisitatus. Cuius uxor⁷ cum elemosinis et caeteris⁸ uirtutum fructibus esset intenta, subito correpta a demone⁹ acerrime coepit¹⁰ uexari, ita ut stridendo dentibus, ¹¹uoces miserabiles¹² emittendo¹³, brachia uel caetera¹⁴ sui corporis membra¹⁵ in diuersa raptando, non minimum cunctis intuentibus uel audientibus incuteret horrorem. Cunque¹⁶ iaceret explosa, et iamiamque uideretur esse¹⁷ moritura, ascendit uir eius equum¹⁸ et concitus uenit ad hominem Dei, precatusque¹⁹ est eum dicens, Obsecro quia uxor mea male habet, et uidetur iam proxima morti, ut mittas presbiterum qui illam priusquam moriatur uisitet, eique dominici²⁰ corporis et sanguinis²¹ sacramenta ministret, sed²² et corpus illius²³ hic in locis sanctis sepeliri permittas. Erubescibat enim eam confiteri²⁴ insanam quam uir Domini sobriam semper uidere consueuerat. Qui cum parumper ab eo diuerteret uisurus quem mitteret presbiterum cum illo, cognouit repente in spiritu quia non communi infirmitate sed²⁵ demonis²⁶ infestatione premeretur coniux²⁷, pro qua supplicabat. Reuersusque ad eum, Non inquit²⁸ alium mittere, sed ipse ad uisitandam eam tecum pergere debeo. Cunque²⁹ agerent iter³⁰ coepit³¹ flere homo, et dolorem cordis profluentibus in maxillam prodere lacrimis³². Timebat enim ne cum eam demoniosam³³ inueniret, arbitrari inciperet, quia non integra Domino, sed ficta fide³⁴ seruisset. Quem uir Domini blande consolatus, Noli inquit³⁵ plorare quasi inuenturus sim coniugem tuam qualem non uelim. Scio enim ipse quamuis te dicere pudeat, quia³⁶ demonio³⁷ uexatur, scio³⁸

P. 49

1 Egfridi C₁VP₁. Egfridi H. Ecfriidi O₄. 2 Hildmaer C₁VH. Hildemaer P₁. 3 religiosus V. *changed from* religiosus H. 4 *changed to* domu V. domu H. 5 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P₁. 6 spetialiter P₁. 7 *in margin* Nomen uxoris Eadsuid VC₃O₃. 8 cet... O₃. 9 daem... HC₃O₈. daemonio O₄. 10 caep... C₁V. cep... O₃. 11-12 uociferando mirabiliter P₁. 13 comedendo C₁P₁. committendo VH. 14 cet... O₃. 15 membra O₄M. 16 cumque C₁VHP₁M. 17 *om.* O₄.

undisguised and open fury. There was a reeve of King Ecgfrith called Hildmer, a man devoted to religious works together with all his household, and therefore specially beloved by the blessed Cuthbert, who, when he happened to be travelling that way, frequently visited him. His wife, though given to works of charity and other fruits of virtue, was suddenly seized upon by a demon and most cruelly afflicted, so that she gnashed her teeth and uttered piteous cries, flinging her arms and limbs about in agitation, and so inspiring no little horror in all who saw or heard her. And when she lay cast out and apparently at the point of death, her husband got on his horse and came in haste to the man of God, and entreated him, saying: "My wife is ill and seems already at the point of death; I beg you that you will send a priest to visit her before she dies and minister to her the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord; and also that you will permit her body to be buried here in holy ground." For he was ashamed to confess that she was insane because the man of God had always been accustomed to see her in her right mind. When Cuthbert had turned away from him for a short time to see what priest he should send with him, he suddenly realised in his spirit that the wife for whom the man was praying was afflicted by no ordinary infirmity but by the attack of a demon. And turning to him he said: "I must not send another but I myself must go with you to visit her." And when they were on the way, the man began to weep and to reveal the grief of his heart by the tears that flowed down his cheeks; for he feared that when Cuthbert found her possessed of a devil, he would begin to think that she had served the Lord with a feigned and not a real faith. But the man of God consoled him with gentle words. "Do not weep", he said, "as though I were about to find your wife in such a condition as I should not wish. For I know myself, though you are ashamed to say it, that she is afflicted by a demon; but I also know that before

18 *aequum* O₉. 19 *prac...* O₈. 20 *om.* C₁VHP₁O₄. 21 *ins.*
dominici C₁VHP₁O₄. 22 *set* O₃. 23 *ipsius* C₁VHP₁. 24 *profiteri* P₁.
25 *set* O₃. 26 *daem...* O₈O₄. 27 *coniunx* VHC₃O₈M. *ins. sua* P₁.
28 *inquit* P₁O₃. 29 *cumque* C₁VHM. 30 *it. ag.* C₃. 31 *caep...*
C₁VP₁. *cep...* O₃M. 32 *lac. prod.* C₁VHP₁C₃O₄. 33 *daem...* C₃O₄.
34 *fid. fict.* C₃. 35 *inquit* HO₃. 36 *ins. a* C₃. 37 *daem...* O₄.
38 *ins. enim* P₁.

etiam quia priusquam illo peruenerimus, fugato demonio¹ liberabitur, ac nobis aduenientibus cum gaudio occurrens, has ipsa² habenas sanissima mente excipiet, nosque intrare citius obsecrans, ministerium quod consueuerat³ nobis⁴ sedula impendet⁵. Neque enim tali⁶ tormento soli subiiciuntur mali, sed occulto Dei iudicio⁷ aliquotiens⁸ etiam innocentes in hoc saeculo⁹ non tantum corpore sed et¹⁰ mente captiuantur a¹¹ diabolo. Dumque haec¹² et¹³ huius modi uerba in consolationem et eruditionem illius perorante Cuthberto¹⁴ appropinquarent¹⁵ domui, fugit repente spiritus¹⁶ nequam, aduentum spiritus sancti, quo plenus erat uir Dei ferre non ualens. Cuius soluta uinculis mulier, *quasi graui*¹⁷ *experrecta*¹⁸ *de somno*¹⁹ surrexit continuo, ac uiro Dei gratulabunda occurrens, iumentum quo sedebat per frenum tenuit. Moxque ad integrum recepto uigore mentis et corporis eum cito descendere atque ad benedicendam domum suam precabatur²⁰ ingredi, deuotumque illi ministerium praebens²¹, testabatur palam quomodo ad primum freni eius²² tactum omni se molestia priscae uexationis absolutam sensisset.

p. 50

Gen.

45. 26

XVI. *Qualiter in Lindisfarnensi monasterio uixerit*²³ *uel docuerit*^{25,24} |

p. 51

Cum ergo uenerabilis Domini famulus multos in Mailrosensi monasterio degens annos, multis uirtutum spiritualium²⁶ claresceret signis, transtulit eum reuerentissimus abbas ipsius Eata²⁷ in monasterium quod in Lindisfarnensium²⁸ insula situm est, ut ibi quoque regulam monachicae perfectionis et praepositi auctoritate doceret, et exemplo²⁹ uirtutis ostenderet. Nam et ipsum locum tunc idem reuerentissimus pater abbatis iure regebat. Neque aliquis miretur quod in eadem insula Lindisfarnea,

1 daem... O8O4.

2 ipsas P1.

3 consuacu... V.

4 om. O4.

5 inp... C1.

6 hoc P1.

7 iudicio P1C3.

8 ...ies C1VP1. n above H.

9 sec... O3.

10 etiam O4.

11 om. C1. ins. later V.

12 om. C1P1. hec O3.

13 om. P1.

14 Cudberhto C1V. Cuthberhto H. Cudberto P1.

15 adp...

we arrive, the demon will be driven away and she will be freed and will come to meet us joyfully, as sound in mind as ever; and she will herself take these reins, and, bidding us enter quickly, will diligently perform her accustomed services for us; for it is not only the wicked who are subjected to such torments, but sometimes also in this world, by the inscrutable judgment of God, the innocent are taken captive by the devil, not only in body but also in mind." And when Cuthbert had spoken these and like words for his consolation and instruction, they approached his home, and the evil spirit suddenly fled, not being able to endure the coming of the Holy Spirit which filled the man of God. And the woman, being loosed from the demon's chains, thereupon rose as if wakened from a deep sleep and, running to greet the man of God, she took the horse on which he was seated by the bridle: and having wholly recovered her strength both of mind and body, she prayed him to dismount quickly and to enter and bless her home; and offering him devoted service, she openly testified how, as soon as she touched his bridle, she felt herself to be freed from all the trouble of her old affliction.

CHAPTER XVI. *How he lived and taught in the monastery at Lindisfarne*

So when the venerable servant of God had passed many years in the monastery at Melrose and had distinguished himself by the many signs of his spiritual powers, his most reverend abbot Eata transferred him to the monastery which is situated in the island of Lindisfarne, in order that there also he might both teach the rule of monastic perfection by his authority as prior and illustrate it by the example of his virtue; for the same most reverend father ruled this place also as abbot at that time. And let no one be surprised that, though we have said above that in this island of Lindisfarne, small as it is, there is found the

C ₁ VH.	16 spir. rep. O ₈ .	17 om. P ₁ .	18 changed to
expergefata V.	expergefata HC ₃ O ₈ O ₃ .		19 sompno P ₁ O ₃ .
20 prac. . . HO ₈ .	21 prebens O ₈ .		22 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .
23-24 om. O ₄ .	25 do O ₉ .	26 spiritalium C ₁ VH.	27 Eatha O ₃ .
28 Lindisfarnensi C ₃ .	Lyndisfarnensium O ₃ .		29 exempla C ₃ .

cum permodica sit et supra episcopi et nunc abbatis et¹ monachorum esse, locum dixerimus, re uera enim ita est. Nanque² una eademque seruorum Dei habitatio, utrosque³ simul tenet, immo omnes monachos tenet. Aidanus⁴ quippe qui primus eiusdem loci episcopus fuit⁵ monachus erat⁶, et monachicam cum suis omnibus uitam semper agere solebat. Unde ab illo omnes loci ipsius antistites⁷ usque hodie sic episcopale exercent officium⁸, ut regente monasterium abbate, quem ipsi cum consilio fratrum elegerint, omnes presbiteri, diacones⁹, cantores, lectores, caeterique¹⁰ gradus aecclesiastici¹¹, monachicam per omnia cum ipso episcopo regulam seruent. Quam uiuendi normam multum se diligere probauit¹² beatus papa |
 p. 52 Gregorius, cum sciscitanti¹³ per litteras¹⁴ Augustino¹⁵ quem
 Cf. H.E. I. 27 primum genti Anglorum episcopum miserat, qualiter episcopi cum suis clericis conuersari debeant, respondit inter alia, *Sed*¹⁶ *quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri*¹⁷ *non debet a*¹⁹ *clericis suis*^{20,18}, *in aecclesia*²¹ *Anglorum quae Deo auctore*²² *nuper adhuc*²³ *ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet*²⁴ *conuersationem instituere quae in*²⁵ *inicio*²⁶ *nascentis*²⁷ *aecclesiae*²⁸ *fuit patribus nostris, in quibus nullus eorum ex his*²⁹ *quae possidebant*³⁰ *aliquid suum*³¹ *esse dicebat, sed erant illis*³² *omnia communia.* Igitur ad Lindisfarnensem³³ aecclesiam³⁴ siue monasterium uir Domini adueniens, mox instituta monachica fratribus uiuendo pariter et docendo tradebat, sed et circunquaque³⁵ morantem uulgi multitudinem more suo crebra uisitatione ad coelestia³⁶ querenda³⁷ ac promerenda succendebat. Nec non etiam signis clarior effectus, plurimos uariis languoribus et tormentis comprehensos³⁸ orationum instantia priscae³⁹ sanitati restituit, nonnullos ab⁴⁰ immundorum⁴¹ spirituum uexatione non solum praesens orando, tangendo⁴², imperando,

1 ac C₁VHP₁.2 namque C₁VHP₁.3 uirosque C₁.4 Aidan C₁VHP₁O₄.5 fu. ep. P₁.6 fuit O₄.7 antestites V. *changed from antestites H.*8 offitium P₁.9 *gloss above uel i V. diaconi H.*10 cet... O₃.11 eccl... C₁O₃.12 *gloss above id est manifestauit VH.*13 sciscitante C₁VHO₄.14 litterulas C₁VHP₁.15 Augustino C₁VH.16 set O₃.17-18 a cler. su. non deb. P₁.19-20 su. cler. O₄.

seat of a bishop, now we say also that it is the home of an abbot and monks; for it is actually so. For one and the same dwelling-place of the servants of God holds both; and indeed all are monks. Aidan, who was the first bishop of this place, was a monk and always lived according to monastic rule together with all his followers. Hence all the bishops of that place up to the present time exercise their episcopal functions in such a way that the abbot, whom they themselves have chosen by the advice of the brethren, rules the monastery; and all the priests, deacons, singers and readers, and the other ecclesiastical grades, together with the bishop himself, keep the monastic rule in all things. The blessed Pope Gregory showed that he greatly approved of this mode of life, when Augustine, the first bishop he had sent to the English, asked him in his letters how bishops ought to live with their clergy; for he answered amongst other things: "You, my brother, having been brought up under monastic rules, ought not to live apart from your clergy in the church of the English which, by God's help, has lately been brought to the faith; but you ought to introduce that way of living which, at the beginning of the life of the church, was found among our fathers, none of whom said that anything that he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common." So the man of the Lord came to the church or monastery of Lindisfarne, and soon equally by his life and by his doctrine taught the monastic rule to the brethren. Moreover in accordance with his custom he also by frequent visits aroused the common people round about to seek and earn heavenly rewards. He also became very famous for his miracles; for by the importunity of his prayers he restored to their former health very many who had been seized with various kinds of diseases and afflictions; and some he cured that were vexed by unclean spirits, not only when present by praying, touching, commanding and exorcizing,

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 21 eccl... C ₁ O ₃ . | 22 auct. Deo C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . | 23 om. P ₁ . |
| 24 debes VH. | 25 om. VH. | 26 initio C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ . |
| 28 eccl... C ₁ O ₃ O ₈ . | 29 hiis O ₃ . | 30 possidebat P ₁ . |
| 32 eis C ₁ VHP ₁ . | 33 Lyndisfarnensem O ₃ . | 34 eccl... C ₁ O ₃ O ₈ . |
| 35 circum... C ₁ VH. | 36 cael... C ₁ V. | 37 quaer... C ₃ O ₃ . |
| C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₈ O ₄ . | 38 comp... C ₁ V. | 39 prisce O ₃ . |
| 41 inm... C ₁ VH. | 42 tang. or. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . | 40 om. P ₁ . |

exorcizando, sed et absens uel tantum orando, uel certe
 p. 53 illa praefecti | uxor de qua supra retulimus. Erant autem
 quidam in monasterio fratres, qui priscae¹ suae² con-
 suetudini quam regulari mallent obtemperare custodiae³.
 Quos tamen ille modesta patientiae⁴ suae uirtute superabat,
 et cotidiano exercitio paulatim ad melioris propositi statum
 conuertebat. Denique sepius in cetu⁵ fratrum de regula
 disputans cum acerrimis contradicentium fatigaretur iniuriis,
 exurgebat⁶ repente, et placido uultu atque animo
 egrediens dimittebat conuentum, ac sequente⁷ nichilominus⁸
 die quasi nil obiectionis⁹ pridie sustinisset, eadem
 quae prius¹⁰ monita eisdem dabat auditoribus, donec illos
 paulatim ut diximus ad ea quae uellet conuerteret. Erat
 nanque¹¹ uir patientiae¹² uirtute praecipuus, atque¹³ ad¹⁴
 perferenda fortiter omnia¹⁵ quae uel animo uel corpori
 aduersa ingerebantur inuictissimus, nec minus inter tristitia
 quae contigissent faciem praetendens¹⁶ hilarem¹⁷, ita ut
 palam daretur intelligi¹⁸ quia interna¹⁹ spiritus sancti
 consolatione pressuras contempneret²⁰ extrinsecas²¹. Sed
 et uigiliarum atque orationis ita²² studiosus existebat, ut
 aliquotiens²³ tres siue quattuor²⁴ noctes continuas peruigil
 transegisse²⁵ credatur, cum per tantum temporis nec²⁶ ad
 p. 54 lectum proprium ueniret²⁷, neque²⁸ extra dormitorium |
 fratrum locum aliquem in quo pausare posset haberet. Siue
 enim locis secretioribus solus orationi uacabat, siue inter
 psallendum operabatur²⁹ manibus torporemque dormien-
 di³⁰ laborando propellebat, seu certe circuibat³¹ insulam,
 quomodo se singula quaeque haberent pius explorator
 inquirens, pariter et longitudinem sibi psalmodiae³² ac
 uigiliarum incedendo alleuians³³. Denique arguere solebat
 pusillanimitatem fratrum, qui grauitur ferrent³⁴, si qui se

1 prisce C₁O₃.2 sue C₁O₃.3 custodie C₁O₃.4 pac ... O₉O₈.5 coetu C₁VHP₁C₃O₈O₄.

6 exsur...

C₁VH.

7 sequenti VH.

8 nihil... C₁VHP₁.

9 abiect...

C₁VHP₁.

10 gloss above scilicet dabat VH.

11 namque C₁VHP₁.12 patientiae O₈. paciencie O₃. patientiae M.13 adque C₁.14 om. C₁. added later V.15 omn. fort. O₄.16 pre... O₈.17 ilarem P₁. hylarem M.18 intellegi C₁V. changed from

but also when absent either by prayer alone or even indeed by predicting their cure; among these was the wife of the reeve of whom we spoke above. Now there were certain brethren in the monastery who preferred to conform to their older usage rather than to the monastic rule. Nevertheless he overcame these by his modest virtue and his patience, and by daily effort he gradually converted them to a better state of mind. In fact very often during debates in the chapter of the brethren concerning the rule, when he was assailed by the bitter insults of his opponents, he would rise up suddenly and with calm mind and countenance would go out, thus dissolving the chapter, but none the less on the following day, as if he had suffered no repulse the day before, he would give the same instruction as before to the same audience until, as we have said, he gradually converted them to the things that he desired. For he was a man remarkable for the strength of his patience and unsurpassed in bravely bearing every burden whether of mind or body. At the same time he kept a cheerful countenance though sorrows overtook him, so that it was made clear to all that, by the inward consolation of the Holy Spirit, he was enabled to despise outward vexations. Moreover he was so zealous in watchings and prayer that he is believed many times to have spent three or four nights on end in watching; since during that length of time he did not go to his own bed, nor had he any place outside the dormitory of the brethren to rest in. Meanwhile he either devoted himself to private prayer in some retired spot, or else while he sang his psalms, he worked with his hands, and so by toil he drove away the heaviness of sleep, or else indeed he went round the island finding out in his pious search how everything was getting on, and at the same time relieving the tediousness of his psalm-singing and his watching by walking about. Moreover he used to blame the faintheartedness of brethren who were vexed if

intellegi H.	19 internas C ₁ .	20 contemn... C ₁ .	21 extrinsecus
C ₁ VHP ₁ .	22 adeo C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	23 ...ties C ₁ VP ₁ O ₄ .	n above H.
24 ^{or} iiii P ₁ . quatuor VC ₃ O ₄ .		25 exegisse. gloss above uel trans. O ₄ .	
26 neque C ₁ VHO ₄ .	27 om. O ₉ P ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ M.	28 nec C ₃ O ₈ .	29 ins.
aliquid C ₁ VHO ₄ .	ins. aliquit P ₁ .	30 dormitandi C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	31 cir-
cumibat O ₈ M.	32 psalmodie O ₃ .	33 adl... C ₁ V.	34 ferebant O ₄ .

nocturnae¹ uel meridianae² quietis tempore importuna³ forte inquietudine suscitant, Nemo inquiens mihi⁴ molestiam facit me excitando de sompno⁵, sed potius lactificat⁶ me qui excitat⁷. Facit enim me discusso⁸ torpore⁹ sompni¹⁰ utilitatis aliquid¹¹ agere uel cogitare. Tantum autem conpunctioni¹² erat deditus, tantum coelestibus¹³ ardebat desideriis, ut missarum sollennia¹⁴ celebrans¹⁵, nequaquam sine profusione lacrimarum implere posset officium. Sed congruo satis ordine dum passionis dominicae¹⁶ misteria¹⁷ caelebraret¹⁸, ¹⁹imitaretur ipse quod ageret²⁰, se ipsum uidelicet Deo in cordis contritione²¹ mactando, sed et astantes²² populos sursum²³ corda habere, et gratias agere Domino Deo nostro magis ipse cor²⁴ quam p. 55 uocem exaltando, potius gemendo quam canendo | ammoneret²⁵. Erat²⁶ zelo iusticiae²⁷ feruidus ad arguendum peccantes, erat spiritu mansuetudinis modestus ad ignoscendum poenitentibus²⁸, ita ut nonnunquam²⁹ confitentibus sibi peccata sua his³⁰ qui³¹ deliquerant, prior ipse miserans³² infirmos lacrimas³³ funderet, et quid peccatori agendum esset ipse iustus suo praemonstraret exemplo. Uestimentis utebatur communibus, ita temperanter agens, ut horum neque mundiciis³⁴ neque sordibus esset notabilis. Unde usque hodie in eodem monasterio exemplo eius obseruatur, ne quis uarii aut preciosi³⁵ coloris habeat indumentum, sed ea maxime uestium specie³⁶ sint contenti, quam naturalis ouium lana ministrat. His³⁷ et huiusmodi spiritualibus³⁸ exercitiis³⁹ uir uenerabilis et bonorum quorumque⁴⁰ ad⁴¹ se imitandum⁴² prouocabat affectum, et improbos quosque⁴³ ac rebelles uitae⁴⁴ regularis⁴⁵ a pertinacia⁴⁶ sui reuocabat erroris.

1 nocturne C₃O₃. 2 meridiane C₃O₃. 3 inportuno C₁V. *changed from inportuno to inportuna* H. 4 michi O₄. 5 somno C₁P₁C₃O₈O₄M. p *above* V. 6 let. . . O₃M. 7 exscitat V. exsuscitat H. 8 *ins.* somnii O₄. 9 tepore O₄. 10 somni C₁VHP₁C₃M. *om.* O₄. 11 aliquit P₁. 12 comp. . . P₁M. 13 cael. . . C₁V. cel. . . C₃O₃. 14 sollempnia C₁HO₈O₃. sollempnia VM. solemnna C₃. solennia O₄. 15 cael. . . C₁VH. 16 dominice O₃. 17 mysteria C₁VHO₈O₄. 18 cel. . . C₃O₄. 19-20 *om.* C₁P₁. *added in margin* V. 21 contricione O₈.

anyone aroused them during the period of their nightly or mid-day rest by some untimely restlessness. He used to say: "No one annoys me by arousing me from sleep, but rather he who awakens me gladdens me; for, by driving away the heaviness of sleep, he makes me do or think of something useful." He was so full of penitence, so aflame with heavenly yearnings, that when celebrating Mass he could never finish the service without shedding tears. But, as was indeed fitting while he celebrated the mysteries of the Lord's passion, he would himself imitate the rite he was performing, that is to say, he would sacrifice himself to God in contrition of heart. Moreover he would urge the people who stood by to lift up their hearts and to give thanks to our Lord God, himself lifting up the heart rather than the voice, sighing rather than singing. In his zeal for righteousness he was fervid to reprove sinners, yet he was kindhearted and forbearing in pardoning the penitent, so that sometimes when wrongdoers were confessing their sins to him, in his pity for their weakness he would be the first to burst into tears and thus, though himself righteous, by his own example would show the sinner what he ought to do. He wore ordinary garments and, keeping the middle path, he was not noteworthy either for their elegance or for their slovenliness. Hence his example is followed in the same monastery even to this day, so that no one has a garment of varied or costly colouring, but they are fully satisfied with that kind of garment which the natural wool of the sheep provides. The venerable man, by these and other spiritual exercises of the same kind, aroused in all good men the desire to imitate him and recalled the wicked and those who rebelled against the rule from the obstinacy of their error.

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 22 stantes, with ad above C ₁ . | adstantes V. ass... P ₁ O ₄ . | 23 rursum C ₁ . |
| 24 corde C ₁ P ₁ . | changed from corde V. | 25 adm... C ₁ VP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ M. |
| 26 ins. enim P ₁ . | 27 iustitiae C ₁ VH. iusticie O ₃ O ₈ . | 28 pen... C ₁ VO ₃ . |
| 29 nonnumquam C ₁ VH. | 30 hiis O ₃ . | 31 quae C ₁ P ₁ . |
| 32 misertus O ₄ . | 33 lacrimos C ₁ VH. | 34 munditiis C ₁ VHO ₈ O ₄ M. |
| munditia P ₁ . | 35 pretiosi C ₁ VP ₁ . | praet... H. |
| 37 hiis O ₃ . | 38 spiritalibus C ₁ VH. | 39 exerciis O ₉ O ₃ . |
| 40 quorumque C ₁ VHP ₁ . | 41-42 semitandum C ₁ . | 43 quoque C ₁ VH. |
| 44 uite O ₃ . | 45 regulari P ₁ C ₃ O ₈ . | 46 pertinacia C ₁ VHO ₈ O ₃ M. |

XVII. ¹Qualiter³ sibi in insula Farne⁴ pulsus
demonibus⁵ habitationem fecerit² |

- p. 56 At⁶ postquam in eodem monasterio multa annorum curricula expleuit, tandem diu concupita, quaesita⁷, ac petita solitudinis secreta, comitante praefati abbatis sui simul et fratrum gratia multum laetabundus adiit. Gaudebat namque⁸ quia⁹ de longa¹⁰ perfectione¹¹ conuersationis actiuac, ad otium diuinae speculationis iam mereretur¹² ascendere. Laetabatur¹³ ad¹⁴ eorum sortem se¹⁵ pertinere¹⁶ de quibus
- Psa. 83. 8 canitur in psalmo, *Ambulabunt¹⁷ de uirtute in uirtutem, uidebitur Deus deorum in Syon¹⁸*. Et quidem in primis uitae solitariae rudimentis, secessit ad locum quendam qui in exterioribus eius cellae partibus secretior apparet¹⁹. At cum ibidem aliquandiu²⁰ solitarius cum hoste inuisibili orando ac iciunando certaret, tandem maiora praesumens, longinquiorem ac remotiorem ab hominibus locum certaminis petiit. Farne dicitur insula medio in mari posita, quae non sicut Lindisfarnensium incolarum regio, bis²¹ cotidie accedente aestu²² oceani²³, quem reuma²⁴ uocant Greci, fit insula, bis renudatis abeunte reumate litoribus²⁵ contigua terrae redditur, sed aliquot milibus passuum²⁶ ab hac semiinsula²⁷ ²⁸ad curum³⁰ secreta^{31, 29}, et³² hinc
- Vegetius
Epitoma
rei mili-
taris iv. 42
- p. 57 altissimo, et inde infinito clauditur | oceano³³. Nullus hanc facile ante famulum Domini Cuthbertum³⁴ solus ualebat inhabitare colonus, propter uidelicet demorantium³⁵ ibi phantasias³⁶ demonum³⁷. Verum intrante eam milite
- Eph. 6.
16, 17
- Christi, armato *galea salutis, scuto fidei, et gladio spiritus quod est uerbum Dei, omnia tela nequissimi³⁸ ignea extincta³⁹* et ipse nequissimus cum omni satellitum suorum turba porro fugatus est hostis⁴⁰. Qui uidelicet miles Christi ut

1-2 Qualem in Farne habitationem sibi fecit O₄. 3 qualem VH.
4 Farnae H. 5 daem... O₈. 6 ad C₁. ac VH. 7 ques... M.
8 nanque P₁O₄M. 9 om. P₁. 10 longe V. 11 per inserted
above C₁. 12 meretur C₁. om. P₁. 13 let... O₃. 14 ins. hanc
C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 se sort. C₁VHP₁O₄. 16 pertinere P₁. 17 ins. sancti
C₁VHP₁O₄. 18 Sion C₁VHC₃. 19 aparet C₁. 20 aliquam-
diu O₃. 21 biss C₁. 22 estu P₁O₈O₃. 23 oceani O₃M.
24 gloss above id est eruptio uel fluor H. 25 littoribus O₉.
26 gloss above id est stadiorum H. 27 ins. distans C₁VH. ins.

CHAPTER XVII. *How he drove out the demons and made himself a dwelling place in the island of Farne*

Now after he had completed many years in that same monastery, he joyfully entered into the remote solitudes which he had long desired, sought, and prayed for, with the good will of that same abbot and also of the brethren. For he rejoiced because, after a long and blameless active life, he was now held worthy to rise to the repose of divine contemplation. He rejoiced to attain to the lot of those concerning whom the Psalmist sings: "The saints shall go from strength to strength; the God of Gods shall be seen in Zion." Now indeed at the first beginning of his solitary life, he retired to a certain place in the outer precincts of the monastery which seemed to be more secluded. But when he had fought there in solitude for some time with the invisible enemy, by prayer and fasting, he sought a place of combat farther and more remote from mankind, aiming at greater things. There is an island called Farne in the middle of the sea which is not like the Lindisfarne region—for that owing to the flow of the ocean tide, called in Greek "rheuma", twice a day becomes an island and twice a day, when the tide ebbs from the uncovered shores, becomes again contiguous to the land; but it is some miles away to the south-east of this half-island, and is shut in on the landward side by very deep water and on the seaward side by the boundless ocean. No one had been able to dwell alone undisturbed upon this island before Cuthbert the servant of the Lord, on account of the phantoms of demons who dwelt there; but when the soldier of Christ entered, armed with the "helmet of salvation, the shield of faith, and the sword of the spirit which is the word of God, all the fiery darts of the wicked one" were quenched, and the wicked foe himself was driven far away together with the whole crowd of his satellites. This soldier of Christ, as

distat P ₁ .	28-29 om. H.	30 eius C ₁ VP ₁ .
31 ins. proficiscens C ₁ V.	ins. proficiscitur P ₁ .	32 quae C ₁ VP ₁ .
33 oceano O ₃ .	34 Cudberhtum C ₁ V.	Cuthberhtum H. Cuth-
bertum P ₁ .	35 demorantes C ₁ P ₁ .	36 fantasias C ₁ VHM.
37 daem... C ₃ O ₈ O ₄ .	38 nequissima C ₁ .	39 gloss above scilicet
sunt VH.	40 fresh paragraph begins in O ₉ .	

deuicta tyrannorum¹ acie monarcha² terrae quam adierat factus est, condidit ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aeque³ ciuitati congruas crexit. Est autem aedificium⁴ situ pene⁵ rotundum, a muro usque ad murum mensura quattuor⁶ ferme siue quinque⁷ perticarum distentum, murus ipse⁸ de foris altior longitudine stantis hominis. Nam intrinsecus uiuam⁹ cedendo¹⁰ rupem, multo illum¹¹ fecit altiorem, quatinus¹² ad cohibendam¹³ oculorum siue¹⁴ cogitationum¹⁵ lasciuiam, ad erigendam in superna desideria totam mentis intentionem, pius incola nil de sua mansione praeter¹⁶ coelum¹⁷ posset intueri. Quem uidelicet murum non de¹⁸ secto¹⁹ lapide uel latere et cemento²⁰, sed²¹ impolitis²² prorsus lapidibus et cespite p. 58 quem de medio loci fodiendo tulerat²³ composuit²⁴. | E quibus quidam tantae²⁵ erant granditatis, ut uix a quattuor²⁶ uiris uiderentur potuisse leuari, quos tamen ipse²⁷ angelico adiutus auxilio illuc attulisse²⁸ aliunde et muro imposuisse²⁹ repertus est. Duas in mansione habebat domos, oratorium scilicet et aliud³⁰ ad communes usus aptum³¹ habitaculum. Quorum parietes quidem de naturali terra multum intus forisque circumfodiendo³² siue cedendo³³ confecit. Culmina uero de lignis informibus et focno³⁴ superposuit. Porro ad portum insulae³⁵ maior erat domus, in qua uisitantes eum fratres suscipi et quiescere possent, nec³⁶ longe ab ea fons eorundem usibus accommodus.

XVIII. *Quomodo precibus aquam de arida produxerit,*
37uel qualiter ipse in anachoresi³⁹ uixerit^{40, 38} |

p. 59 At uero ipsa eius mansio aquae⁴¹ erat indiga, utpote in durissima et prope saxea rupe condita. Accitis⁴² ergo uir Domini fratribus, necdum enim se ab aduenientium

1 tyrannorum C₃. 2 monarchus C₁VHP₁. 3 eque O₃.
 4 edi... C₁P₁O₃. 5 penae C₁. 6 quattuor VO₄. 7 v P₁.
 7 v P₁. 8 gloss above scilicet est VH. 9 i mam V. 10 cum O₄.
 gloss above uel imam C₃O₈. 10 caed... O₄. 11 cum O₄.
 12 quatenus C₁. 13 choibendam C₁. 14 simul
 et C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 cogitatum C₁VHP₁. 16 preter O₈O₄M.
 17 cael... C₁V. 18 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 19 secta C₁P₁.
 20 cemento C₁H. gloss above uel c H. 21 set O₁. 22 gloss above

soon as he had become monarch of the land he had entered and had overcome the army of the usurpers, built a city fitted for his rule, and in it houses equally suited to the city. It is a structure almost round in plan, measuring about four or five poles from wall to wall; the wall itself on the outside is higher than a man standing upright; but inside he made it much higher by cutting away the living rock, so that the pious inhabitant could see nothing except the sky from his dwelling, thus restraining both the lust of the eyes and of the thoughts and lifting the whole bent of his mind to higher things. He made this same wall, not of cut stone nor of bricks and mortar, but just of unworked stone and of turf which he had removed from the excavation in the middle of his dwelling. Some of these stones were so great that it would seem to have been scarcely possible for four men to have lifted them, but nevertheless he was found to have brought them thither from elsewhere with angelic aid, and to have placed them in the wall. He had two buildings in his dwelling-place, namely an oratory and another habitation suitable for common uses. He finished the walls by digging and cutting away the natural soil both inside and outside, and he placed on them roofs of rough-hewn timber and straw. But away at the landing-place in the island there was a larger house in which the brethren who visited him could be received and rest, and not far away was a well for their use.

CHAPTER XVIII. *How he produced water from dry land by his prayers and how he lived as a hermit*

Now his dwelling-place was lacking in water inasmuch as it was built on very hard and almost stony rock. So the man of God summoned the brethren, for he had not yet secluded himself from the sight of visitors. "You see", he said, "that

id est incesis H. inp... C₁VHC₃. 23 tul. fod. O₄. 24 comp... C₁VH.
 25 tante O₃. 26 ^{or}iiii P₁. quatuor VO₃. 27 ille O₄. 28 adt... C₁VH.
 29 inp... C₁VHP₁C₃. 30 alium C₁. *changed from alium V.* 31 om. O₄.
 32 circun... P₁. 33 caed... C₁VHO₄. 34 faeno V. feno C₃O₃M.
 35 insule O₃. 36 *gloss above scilicet erat VH.* 37-38 om. O₄.
 39 anchoresi, *with n above VH.* achoresi O₉M. 40 proficerit VH.
 41 aque O₃. 42 accitus O₉.

secluserat¹ aspectibus, Cernitis, inquit quia fontis inops²
 Psa. 113, sit mansio quam adii, sed rogemus obsecro illum *qui*
 8, 9 *conuertit solidam petram in stagnum*³ aquae et rupes in
fontes aquarum, ut non nobis sed nomini suo dans gloriam
 de hac quoque rupe⁴ saxosa nobis uenam fontis aperire
 dignetur. ⁵Fodiamus in medio tuguriunculi mei, credo
 Psa. 35. 9 *torrente uoluptatis*⁶ suae potabit nos⁷. Fecerunt ergo foueam,
 quam in crastinum emanante ab internis unda repletam
 inuenerunt. Unde dubium non erat hanc orationibus uiri
 Dei de aridissima⁸ ac durissima⁹ prius terra elicitam
 fuisse aquam. Quae¹⁰ uidelicet aqua mirum in modum
 primis contenta ripis, nec foras¹¹ ebulliendo pauimentum
 inuadere¹², nec hauriendo nouit deficere, ita moderata¹³
 gratia largitoris, ut nec necessitati¹⁴ accipientis super-
 flueret, nec sustentandae necessitati copia deesset. Facta
 ergo iuuantibus se fratribus mansione ac domibus prae-
 fatis¹⁵, incipit¹⁶ habitare solus uir Domini Cuthbertus¹⁷,
 p. 60 et¹⁸ primo quidem uenientibus ad se fratribus de sua cella¹⁹
 egredi²⁰ eisque²¹ ministrare solebat. Quorum dum pedes²²
 aqua calida deuotus lauaret²³, coactus est aliquotiens²⁴
 ab eis etiam se discalciare²⁵, suosque pedes illis ad abluen-
 dum praebere²⁶. Nanque²⁷ in tantum a cultu sui corporis
 animus sustulerat, atque ad animae solius cultum contu-
 lerat, ut semel calciatus²⁸ tibracis³⁰ quas pellicias habere
 solebat³¹, sic menses perduraret integros. Aliquando etiam
 calciatus²⁹ in pascha³² non nisi post annum redeunte
 paschae³³ tempore, propter lauationem pedum quae in
 coena³⁴ Domini fieri solet, se discalciasse³⁵ dicatur. Unde
 ob crebras³⁶ preces³⁷ incuruationesque genuum quas calci-
 atus exercebat, callum oblongum nec exilem in confinio
 pedum³⁸ et tiliarum habuisse deprehensus est. Deinde

1 recl. . . C, VHP₁. 2 inobs VH. 3 stagnum C₃. 4 om. P₁.
 5-7 om. M. 6 uoluntatis O₄. 8-9 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 10 que O₃.
 11 foris P₁. 12 eu. . . O₉. 13 moderante VH.
 14 necessitatis C₁. 15 pre. . . M. 16 incaepit O₄. incept P₁.
 17 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. 18 ex C₁. 19 cellula
 C₁VHP₁O₄. 20 egrediens P₁. 21 om. que P₁.

the dwelling-place I have chosen lacks a well; but let us, I beseech you, pray Him 'who turns the solid rock into a standing water and the flint into fountains of waters', that, giving 'glory not unto us but unto His name', He may vouchsafe to open to us also a spring of water from the stony rock. Let us dig in the midst of my little dwelling and I believe that He will 'make us drink from the river of His pleasures'." So they made a pit and on the next day they found it full of water which came from within. Hence there was no doubt that this water had been drawn from ground which before had been exceedingly dry and hard, through the prayers of the man of God. And this water was in a wonderful way kept within its first limits so that it never bubbled over and covered the floor, nor failed through exhaustion of its supply; but the grace of the Giver so controlled it that it did not exceed the necessities of the receiver, nor was the supply for those necessities ever lacking. Now when this same dwelling-place and these chambers had been built with the help of his brethren, Cuthbert the man of God began to dwell alone. At first, indeed, he used to go forth from his cell to meet the brethren who came to him, and to minister to them. And when he had devoutly washed their feet in warm water, he was sometimes compelled by them to take off his shoes and to allow them to wash his feet. For he had so far withdrawn his mind from the care of his body and fixed it on the care of his soul alone that, having once been shod with the boots of skin that he was accustomed to use, he would wear them for whole months together. And let it be said that once he had put on his boots at Easter, he did not take them off until Easter came round again a year later, and then only for the washing of the feet which takes place on Maundy Thursday. So, on account of the frequent genuflexions at prayer which he made while wearing his boots, he was found to have a long and thickish callus at the junction of his feet and his shins. Then, when his zeal for perfection grew,

22 pedes dum O₄. 23 lau. deu. O₄. 24 ...ties C₁VHO₄. 25 discal-
 tiare P₁. 26 preb... HM. 27 namque C₁VHO₃. 28-29 om. C₁VHP₁.
 30 tribracis O₉. 31 consueuerat O₄. 32 pasca V. 33 pasche O₃.
 34 caena C₁VH. cena P₁O₃O₄. 35 ...are C₁VHO₄. discaltiare P₁.
 36 sacras P₁. 37 praeces HO₈. 38 *changed from pedem C₁*.

he shut himself up in his hermitage, and, remote from the gaze of men, he learned to live a solitary life of fasting, prayers and vigils, rarely having conversation from within his cell with visitors and that only through the window. At first he opened this and rejoiced to see and be seen by the brethren with whom he spoke; but, as time went on, he shut even that, and opened it only for the sake of giving his blessing or for some other definite necessity.

CHAPTER XIX. *How, with a word, he drove away the birds from the crops which he had sown with his own hand*

Now at first he received a little bread to eat from his visitors and drank from his own well; but afterwards, in accordance with the example of the fathers, he considered it more fitting to live by the labour of his own hands. So he asked for tools to be brought to him with which to work the land, and also some wheat to sow; but though the land was sown in spring-time, it had produced no fruit up to midsummer. So, when the brethren were visiting him after their custom, the man of God said: "Perchance it is not in accordance either with the nature of this land or with the will of God that wheat should grow for me in this place; bring me, I beg you, some barley, to see if perchance that may produce a crop. And if God does not grant me any increase from that, I would rather return to the monastery than be kept here by the labours of others." The barley was brought long after the proper time for sowing it, and when there seemed no hope of any harvest, yet when he put it in the ground, it soon sprang up and brought forth a very abundant crop. And when it had begun to ripen, some birds came and eagerly set about consuming it. The most pious servant of God approached them and, as he afterwards related—for, being of a happy disposition and very friendly, he was often

21 adf. . . C₁VH. 22 set O₃. ins. et H. 23 estatis P₁O₈. 24 aud
C₁C₃O₄. 25 huius P₁. huiuscae H. 26 michi O₃. 27 adf. . . C₁VH.
28 sacius O₈O₃M. 29 coen. . . C₁VP₁. 30 allatum nanque P₁.
31 terre O₃. 32 hab. . . C₁VHP₁C₃O₃. 33 exhortum C₁.
34 quod P₁. 35 caep. . . VP₁. cep. . . O₃C₃. 36 adpropians C₁VH.
appropians P₁C₃O₃M. 37 om. M. 38 saepe C₁VH. 39 leti O₃.

affabilis erat ad confirmandam fidem audientium, aliqua etiam de eis quae ipse credendo optinuerit¹ in medium proferre², Quid tangitis inquit³ sata quae non seruistis? An forte uos plus me his⁴ opus habetis? Si tamen a Deo licentiam accepistis, facite quod ipse⁵ permisit⁶. Sin autem, recedite neque ulterius aliena ledatis. Dixerat⁷, et ad primam⁸ iubentis uocem⁹ uniuersa uolucrum multitudo recessit, seque per omnia deinceps ab eiusdem¹⁰ messis inuasionem continuit. Et hic quoque uenerabilis Christi famulus in duobus miraculis duorum patrum est facta secutus. In aqua uidelicet elicita de rupe, factum¹¹ beati patris Benedicti qui idem pene¹² et eodem modo legitur fecisse miraculum, sed iccirco¹³ uberius quia plures p. 63 erant qui aquae¹⁴ inopia laborarent¹⁵. Porro in arces|sitis a messe uolatilibus reuerentissimi et sanctissimi patris Antonii sequebatur exemplum, qui a lesione hortuli quem ipse plantauerat uno onagros sermone compescuit¹⁶.

XX. ¹⁷Quomodo corui iniuriam¹⁹ quam uiro Dei intulerant, precibus et munere purgauerint^{20, 18}

Libet etiam quoddam beati Cuthberti²¹ in exemplum praefati patris Benedicti factum narrare miraculum, in quo auium oboedientia²² et humilitate palam contumacia²³ et superbia condempnatur²⁴ humana. Erant siquidem corui multo ex²⁵ tempore eiusdem insulae²⁶ sedibus assueti²⁷. Quos cum die quadam²⁸ uir Dei²⁹ nidificantes hospitium³⁰ fratrum de quo praefatus sum rostro lacerare, ablatosque culmos quibus tectum fuerat ad fabricam nidi ore ferre³¹ conspiceret, coercuit³² eos leui protensione³³ dexterae, | atque a lesura fratrum iam cessare praecepit³⁴. ³⁵Sed illis imperium spernentibus³⁶, In nomine inquit³⁷ Iesu Christi

1 obt... C₁VHP₁O₈O₄M. 2 proferre O₄. 3 inquit C₁O₃.
 4 hiis O₃. 5 uobis O₈. 6 permisit O₈. 7 gloss above
 scilicet haec VH. 8 ins. eius O₄. 9 uocem iubentis O₄.
 10 eisdem C₁. u above V. 11 om. O₄. 12 paene C₁.
 13 idcirco C₁VH. 14 aque O₃. 15 laborabant P₁O₄.
 16 comp... C₁VH. 17-18 Quomodo coruis noxam quam fecerunt
 indulsit O₄. 19 iniur. coru. M. 20 purgarint VH.
 21 Cudberhti C₁V. Cuthberhti H. 22 obaed... VP₁. obed... O₃.

in the habit of disclosing some of the blessings which he had gained by his own faith, in order to confirm the faith of his listeners—"Why", said he, "do you touch the crops that you did not sow? Or is it, perchance, that you have greater need of them than I? If, however, you have received permission from God, do what He has allowed you; but if not, depart and do not injure any more the possessions of another." Thus he spoke and, at the first sound of his commands, the whole multitude of birds departed and thenceforward refrained altogether from attacking his crops. And on this occasion also, the venerable servant of Christ followed in these two miracles the deeds of two of the fathers; namely, in obtaining water from the rock, a deed of the blessed father Benedict, who is said to have wrought an almost identical miracle in the same way, but more copiously because there were more who were suffering from lack of water. Further, in driving away the birds from the crops, he followed the example of the most reverend and holy father Antony, who with one exhortation restrained the wild asses from injuring the little garden that he himself had planted.

CHAPTER XX. *How the ravens atoned for the injury which they had done to the man of God by their prayers and by a gift*

Let us also tell of a miracle wrought by the blessed Cuthbert after the example of the above-mentioned father Benedict, in which human pride and contumacy are openly condemned by the obedience and humility of birds. There were some ravens that had long been accustomed to dwell on that island, and one day, as they were building their nests, the man of God saw them tear with their beaks the little guest-house of the brethren of which I have spoken before, and carry off in their bills the straw with which it was thatched, as material for their nests. He checked them with a slight motion of his right hand, and bade them cease from injuring the brethren. When they ignored his command, he said: "In the name of Jesus Christ,

23 contumacia C₁VHO₃O₄M. 24 condemn... C₁C₃. 25 om. P₁.
 26 insule O₃. 27 ads... C₁. altered from ads... V. altered from assueta O₃.
 28-29 om. O₄. 30 hospiciolum O₈O₄. 31 ins. uir dei O₄.
 32 coher... C₁P₁O₄. 33 protentione C₁. 34 pre... M. praecae-
 pit C₁V. 35-36 spermentibusque imperium C₁VHP₁O₄. 37 inquit O₃.

abite quantotius¹, neque in loco quem leditis² ultra manere praesumatis. Uix uerba compleuerat³, et confestim tristes abiere. Peracto autem triduo unus e duobus rediit, et fodientem reperiens⁴ famulum Christi, sparsis lamentabiliter pennis, et summisso⁵ ad pedes eius capite, atque humiliata uoce quibus ualebat indiciis ueniam precabatur⁶. Quod intelligens⁷ uenerabilis pater, dedit facultatem remeandi. At ille impetrata redeundi licentia⁸, mox sodalem adducturus abiit. Nec mora redeunt ambo, et⁹ secum¹⁰ digna munera ferunt¹¹, dimidiam uidelicet axungiam porcinam. Quam uir Domini aduentantibus postea fratribus sepius¹² ostendere atque ad unguendas caligas praebere¹³ solebat, contestans eis¹⁴ quanta hominibus oboedientiae¹⁵, quanta sit cura humilitatis¹⁶ habenda, cum auis superbissima iniuriam quam¹⁷ uiro Dei¹⁸ intulerat¹⁹, precibus²⁰, lamentis, et muneribus festinauit²¹ abluere. Denique ad dandum hominibus exemplum correctionis, multos deinceps annos in ipsa insula manebant et nidificabant, neque aliquid²² molestiae cuiquam irrogare²³ audebant. Nulli autem uideatur absurdum a uolatilibus formam discere uirtutis, cum Salomon dicat, *Vade ad formicam o piger, et considera uias eius et disce sapientiam.*

p. 65
Prov. 6. 6

XXI. ²⁴*Qualiter eius necessitatibus etiam mare seruerit*²⁵

Non sola²⁶ autem aeris sed²⁷ et maris animalia, immo et ipsum mare sicut et aer et ignis iuxta quod in superioribus exposuimus, uiro uenerabili praebuere²⁸ obsequium. Qui enim auctori omnium creaturarum fideliter et integro corde famulatur, non est mirandum si eius imperiis ac uotis omnis creatura deseruiat²⁹. At nos plerunque³⁰ iccirco³¹ subiectae nobis creaturae dominium perdimus, quia Domino et creatori omnium ipsi seruire negligimus³².

1 quantocius VHO₃O₄M. 2 laed... O₈. ledetis H. 3 comp... H.
4 repp... C₁VHP₁C₃O₃O₄. 5 subm... C₁VH. 6 praec...
HO₈. ins. admissi C₁VHP₁O₄. 7 intelligens C₁VH. 8 lic.
red. C₃. 9 at C₁. ad VH. 10 se C₁VH. 11 ferentes C₁.
ferent changed to ferunt V. 12 saepius C₁. om. O₄. 13 prebere M.
14 eos C₁P₁O₄. om. C₃. 15 obaed... VP₁. obed... O₃.

go away forthwith, and do not presume to remain any longer in the place that you are damaging." Scarcely had he finished these words when they forthwith flew dismally away. Now when three days had passed, one of a pair returned and found the servant of Christ digging. With its feathers sadly ruffled and its head drooping to its feet, and with humble cries it prayed for pardon, using such signs as it could; and the venerable father, understanding what it meant, gave it permission to return. And having got leave to come back, it soon went off in order to bring back its mate. Without delay they both returned bringing a worthy gift, namely a portion of hog's lard; and this the man of God used often afterwards to show to the brethren when they visited him, and to offer it to grease their shoes; declaring how carefully men should seek after obedience and humility, seeing that even a proud bird hastened to atone for the wrong that it had done to a man of God, by means of prayers, lamentations and gifts. And in order to give mankind an example of reformation, they remained for many years in that island and built their nests, not daring to inflict any injury on anyone. Let it not seem absurd to anyone to learn a lesson of virtue from birds, since Solomon says: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise."

CHAPTER XXI. *How even the sea ministered to his necessities*

Moreover not only the creatures of the air but also of the sea, yes, and even the sea itself, as well as air and fire as we have shown above, did honour to the venerable man. For if a man faithfully and wholeheartedly serves the maker of all created things, it is no wonder though all creation should minister to his commands and wishes. But for the most part we lose dominion over the creation which was made subject to us, because we ourselves neglect to serve the Lord and Creator of all things.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 16 humilibus O ₉ . | 17-18 homini C ₁ VHO ₄ . | 19 intulisset C ₁ VH. |
| 20 praec... O ₈ . | 21 festinaret C ₁ VHP ₁ . | festinarit O ₄ . |
| O ₈ O ₃ M. | 22 aliud | |
| 23 inr... C ₁ VH. | 24-25 Quod etiam mare suis | |
| necessitatibus seruerit O ₄ . | 26 solum VH. | 27 set O ₃ . |
| 28 preb... O ₉ . | 29 deseruit P ₁ . | 30 plerumque C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₃ . |
| 31 idc... C ₁ VH. | 32 neglegimus C ₁ VH. | |

Et ipsum inquam mare promptum famulo Christi ubi opus habuit, impendebat¹ officium. Disponebat nanque² p. 66 paruulam sibi in suo | monasterio sed³ cotidianis necessitatibus aptam⁴ condere casulam, cui a parte maris qua alluione⁵ frequentium gurgitum excauata rupis altissimum nec breuem fecerat hiatum⁶, basis supponenda⁷ erat, et haec⁸ iuxta⁹ latitudinem hiatus¹⁰ duodecim¹¹ pedes¹² longa. Rogauit ergo fratres qui se uisitaturi aduenerant, ut cum redire uellent, lignum sibi longitudinis duodecim¹³ pedum ad faciendam domunculae¹⁴ basim deferrent. Qui promiserunt se libentissime facturos quod petiit, sed¹⁵ accepta ab eo benedictione ubi¹⁶ domum sunt reuersi¹⁷, fugit mentem petiitio¹⁸ patris, reuersisque die debito ad eum non attulere¹⁹ quod rogabantur²⁰. Quibus ille benignissime receptis, et oratione solita Deo commendatis, ²¹Ubi est inquit²³ lignum²² quod uos afferre²⁴ rogabam? Tum illi reminiscentes petitionem²⁵ eius, suamque confitentes obliuionem, ueniam de admissio precabantur²⁶. At uir mitissimus²⁷ blando illos sermone consolatus, usque ad mane in²⁸ insula manere et quiescere²⁹ praecepit³⁰ dicens, Credo quia Deus non obliuiscatur meae³¹ uoluntatis et necessitatis. Fecerunt ut dixerat, et exurgentes³² mane uiderunt quia nocturnus oceani³³ estus³⁴ p. 67 lignum memoratae³⁵ | longitudinis attulit³⁶, et in³⁷ ipso insuper loco deposuit, ubi in aedificium³⁸ desuper erat imponendum³⁹. Uidentes autem, mox et uiri uenerabilis sanctitatem mirabantur, cui etiam elementa seruirent, et suae mentis tarditatem debito cum pudore culpabant, quos etiam insensibile elementum⁴⁰ quam sit sanctis obtemperandum doceret.

1 inp... C₁VHC₃.2 namque C₁VHO₃.

3 ins. et H.

4 apt. necess. O₄.5 aluione C₁.6 hyatum O₃.7 subp... C₁VH. super... P₁.8 hec O₃.

9 gloss above scilicet debuit esse VH.

10 hyatus O₃.11 xii P₁.12 pedum VHP₁.13 xii V. xii P₁.14 domuncule O₈.15 ins. ubi C₁VHP₁O₄.16 om. C₁VHP₁O₄.17 reu. sunt C₁VHP₁O₄.18 peticio C₃O₈.19 adt... C₁VH.20 rogabatur P₁.

The very sea, I say, was ready to do service to the servant of Christ when he needed it. For he was intending to build a hut in his monastery, very small but suited for his daily needs; it was to be on the seaward side where the hollowing out of a rock by the washings of continual tides had made a very deep and wide gap; a flooring had to be placed under the hut, and this had to be twelve feet long so as to fit the width of the gap. So he asked the brethren who had come to visit him, that when they were returning, they would bring with them some timber twelve feet long, to make a flooring for his little house. They promised gladly to do what he asked. But after they had received his blessing and returned home, the father's request escaped their mind; and when they returned to him on the appointed day, they did not bring what they had been asked for. When he had received them most kindly and had commended them to God with his accustomed prayer, he said: "Where is the timber that I asked you to bring?" Then they remembered his petition and, confessing their forgetfulness, they craved pardon for their trespass. But the kindly man consoled them with gentle words and bade them remain on the island until morning and rest, for he said: "I believe that God will not forget my desire and my needs." They did as he had said and rising up in the morning, they saw that the night tide had carried up some timber of the required length, and had placed it over the very spot whereon it was to be set for the building. As soon as they saw this, they marvelled at the holiness of the venerable man for whom even the elements did service; and with fitting shame they blamed their slothful minds, for even the insensible elements taught them what obedience ought to be shown to saints.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 21-22 ubi... lignum <i>bis</i> M. | 23 inquit O ₃ . | 24 adf... C ₁ VH. |
| 25 petitionem C ₃ O ₈ . | 26 <i>changed from</i> precabatur C ₁ . | 27 praec... O ₈ . |
| 27 mitt... C ₁ . | 28 <i>om.</i> O ₃ . | 29 requiescere C ₁ VH. |
| 31 mee O ₃ . | 32 exsurg... C ₁ VH. | 30 pre... M. |
| 34 aestus C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . | 35 memorate O ₃ M. | 33 oceani O ₃ . |
| 37 <i>om.</i> O ₃ . | 38 edif... C ₁ O ₃ . | 36 adt... C ₁ V. |
| 40 elementa C ₁ . | | 39 inp... C ₁ VHC ₃ . |

XII. ¹ *Quomodo multis ad se uenientibus monita dans salutis fragiles exposuerit antiqui hostis insidias*²

Ueniebant³ autem multi ad uirum Dei non solum de proximis Lindisfarnensium finibus, sed etiam de remotioribus Britanniae⁴ partibus fama nimirum uirtutum eius acciti⁵, qui uel sua quae commisissent⁶ errata, uel demonum⁷ quae⁸ paterentur temptamenta profitentes, uel certe communia mortalium quibus affligerentur aduersa |
p. 68 patefacientes, a tantae⁹ sanctitatis uiro se consolandos sperabant. Nec eos fefellit spes. Nanque¹⁰ nullus ab eo sine gaudio consolationis abibat, nullum dolor animi quem illo attulerat¹¹ redeuntem comitatus est. Nouerat quippe mestos pia exhortatione¹² refouere, sciebat angustiatis¹³ gaudia uitae¹⁴ coelestis¹⁵ ad memoriam reuocare, fragilia saeculi¹⁶ huius et prospera simul et aduersa monstrare¹⁷, didicerat temptatis multifarias antiqui hostis pandere uersutias, quibus facile caperetur animus, qui uel fraterno uel diuino¹⁸ amore nudatus existeret¹⁹, at qui integra fide roboratus incederet, insidias aduersarii Domino auxiliante quasi casses²⁰ transiret aranae. Quociens²¹ inquit²² me ipsum de alta rupe²³ per praeceps^{25,24} misere, quociens²⁶ quasi ad interficiendum me lapides iactabant, sed et aliis aliisque fantasiarum temptamentis²⁷ me appetentes²⁸ deterrere, ac²⁹ de loco huius certaminis conabantur eliminare. Nec tamen ullatenus uel corpus meum lesura aliqua, uel mentem timore contaminare ualebant. Hoc quoque fratribus solebat crebrius intimare, ne conuersationem eius quasi singulariter celsam³⁰ mirarentur, quia contemptis
p. 69 saecularibus³¹ curis secretus uiuere mallet. Sed iure inquit³² est coenobitarum³³ uita miranda, qui abbatis per omnia

1-2 Quod fragiles diaboli exposuerit omnibus insidias O₄. 3 uenerunt P₁. 4 Britannie O₃. Britanniae P₁M. 5 acti O₄.
6 commiserant O₄. 7 daem... O₄. 8 que O₃. 9 tanto C₁VH. tante O₃. 10 namque C₁VHO₃. 11 adt... C₁.
12 exhortatione VHC₃O₃. 13 angustias O₃. 14 uite O₃.
15 cael... C₁V. cel... O₃. 16 sec... O₃O₄. 17 gloss in margin scilicet sciebat V. gloss above scilicet sciebat H. 18 diu. uel frat. O₄. 19 esset O₄. 20 cassas O₈. 21 quoties C₁VHO₄.

CHAPTER XXII. *How he gave instruction in the way of salvation to many who came to him and showed the weakness of the snares of the ancient foe*

Now many came to the man of God, not only from the neighbourhood of Lindisfarne but also from the remoter parts of Britain, having been attracted by the report of his miracles; such people declared to him either the sins they had committed or the temptations of devils to which they were exposed, or else revealed the common troubles of mankind by which they were afflicted, hoping that they would get consolation from a man of such sanctity. Nor did their hope deceive them. For none went away from him without enjoying his consolation, and no one returned accompanied by that sorrow of mind which he had brought thither. He knew, in fact, how to refresh the sad by his pious exhortation; he could recall to the memory of the afflicted the joys of the heavenly life, and show them how fleeting were both the pleasures and the sorrows of this world; he had learned how to lay bare before tempted men the manifold wiles of the ancient foe, by which the soul that is without brotherly or divine love may easily be entrapped: but he who goes strengthened by unwavering faith passes with the help of the Lord through the snares of the enemy as though they were spiders' webs. "How many times", he said, "have they cast me down headlong from a high rock; how many times have they hurled stones at me as if to kill me! But though they sought to frighten me away by one phantasmal temptation or another, and attempted to drive me from this place of combat, nevertheless they were unable in any way to mar my body by any injury, or my mind by fear!" He was also accustomed very frequently to bid the brethren not to wonder at his way of life, as though it were specially exalted, because he despised worldly things and preferred to live alone. "But", said he, "the life of monks ought rightly to be admired, for they

quotiens P₁C₃O₈M. 22 inquit O₃. 23-24 in praecipitium P₁.
 25 pre... O₈O₄. 26 quoties C₁VHO₄. quotiens P₁C₃O₈M.
 27-28 mea petentes C₁. me apetentes (*with second p above*) V. 29 at-
 que O₄. 30 excelsam C₁VHP₁O₄. 31 secu... O₃M.
 32 inquit O₃. 33 caen... V. cen... P₁C₃O₃.

subiciuntur¹ imperiis². Ad eius arbitrium cuncta uigilandi, orandi, ieiunandi, atque operandi tempora moderantur, quorum plurimos noui paruitatem meam³ longe et mundicia⁴ mentis et culmine gratiae prophetalis⁵ anteire. E quibus est uenerabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus seruus Christi Boisilus⁶, qui me in Mailrosensi monasterio quondam senex adolescentem⁷ nutrieat, et inter enutriendum⁸ cuncta quae⁹ mihi¹⁰ erant uentura¹¹ prophetica ueritate praedixit. Et unum¹² tantummodo restat ex omnibus¹³ ab eo mihi¹⁴ praedictis, quod utinam nunquam¹⁵ impleatur. Hoc autem dicebat quia praefatus Christi famulus episcopatus¹⁶ cum gradu¹⁷ significabat esse functurum, cuius perceptionem ipse¹⁸ non parum¹⁹ desiderio uitae secretioris horrebat.

XXIII. *Quomodo Ælfled²⁰ abbatissa et²¹ puella eius²² per zonam²³ ipsius sint²⁵ sanatae^{26, 24}*

p. 70 Neque uero sanitatum miracula per hominem Dei tametsi longe ab hominibus positum fieri cessabant. Si quidem uenerabilis ancilla Christi²⁷ Elfred²⁸, quae inter gaudia uirginitatis non paucis²⁹ famularum Christi agminibus maternae³⁰ pietatis³¹ curam adhibebat, ac regalis³² stemata³³ nobilitatis potiori nobilitate summae³⁴ uirtutis accumulabat, multo uirum Dei semper excolebat³⁵ amore. Haec³⁶ eo tempore sicut ipsa postea reuerentissimo Lindisfarnensis aecclesiae³⁷ presbitero Herefrido et ille³⁸ mihi³⁹ referebat, graui percussa languore ac diu uexata, pene⁴⁰ uisa est, peruenisse ad mortem. Cui cum nil curationis possent⁴¹ adhibere medici, subito diuina intrinsecus gratia curante paulatim morti subtracta est, nec tamen plene⁴² sanata⁴³. Nam dolor quidem interaneorum abscessit, membrorum⁴⁴

1 subitiuntur P₁C₃. 2 *ins.* atque P₁O₄. 3 meam paru. C₁VH.
 4 munditia C₁VHP₁C₃O₄M. 5 prophæet... V. 6 Boisilus C₃.
 7 adul... C₁. adulescentem V. 8 erudiendum C₁VHP₁.
 9 que O₃. 10 michi O₄. 11 euent... O₄. 12-13 ex om.
 tant. rest. O₄. 14 michi O₄. 15 nunquam C₁VH.
 16 episcopatu O₄. 17 *om.* O₄. 18-19 *om.* P₁. 20 Aelflaed
 VH. Elfred C₃O₃M. 21 uel VH. *ins.* eius O₄. 22 *om.* O₄.
 23-24 illius sanate sint O₄. 25 *ins.* ab infirmitate VH.
 26 sanate O₃. 27 Chr. anc. O₄. 28 Aelflaed

are in all things subject to the commands of the abbot and govern all their times of watching, praying, fasting and working by his judgment; and I have known many of those who, both in purity of heart and in loftiness of prophetic grace, far exceed me in my weakness. Among these is the venerable servant of Christ, Boisil, a man to be named with all honour, who formerly in his old age, when I was but a youth, brought me up in the monastery of Melrose, and, amid his instructions, predicted with prophetic truth all the things which were to happen to me. And of all those things which he predicted to me, only one remains, which I would might never be fulfilled." He said this because that servant of Christ revealed that he would hold the office of a bishop, and he trembled at the thought of taking it, owing to his great longing for a more solitary life.

CHAPTER XXIII. *How the abbess Aelfflaed and one of her nuns were healed by means of his girdle*

Now the miracles of healing wrought by the man of God did not cease although he was far removed from mankind. For the venerable handmaiden of Christ, Aelfflaed, who to the joys of virginity added a maternal and pious care of no small company of the handmaidens of Christ, and increased the nobility of a royal pedigree by the much more potent nobility of the highest virtue, always had a great affection for the man of God. At that time (as she herself afterwards related to the most reverend priest Herefrith of the church of Lindisfarne, and he to me) she had been stricken by a grievous sickness and long afflicted, and seemed almost to have reached the point of death. But when the physicians could not cure her, she was suddenly cured by divine grace within, and gradually escaped the imminent danger of death, though she was not entirely healed. For the internal pain indeed departed and her strength

C₁VH. Aelfled O₄. 29 *gloss above* id est multis VH. 30 materne O₃.
 31 piaet... V. 32 regali C₁. regularis P₁. 33 stemmate C₁VH.
 stemmata P₁C₃O₈O₃O₄M. 34 summe O₃. 35 *gloss above* id est
 uenerabatur VH. 36 hec P₁O₃. 37 ecclesie O₃. 38 *gloss above*
 scilicet retulit VH. ipse O₄. 39 michi O₄. 40 paene C₁O₈.
 41 ualuisent C₁VHP₁O₄. 42 plaene V. 43 *gloss above* scilicet est VH.
 44 menb... O₄.

uigor rediit, sed facultas standi uel ambulandi prorsus defuit¹, quia nec ad standum erigi, nec nisi quadrupes ualebat ingredi². Coepit³ ergo tristis aeternam⁴ timere debilitatem, nam et⁵ de medicorum auxilio iam pridem⁶ fuerat facta desperatio⁷. Cui cum die quadam inter angustias tristium cogitationum⁸ ueniret in mentem beata
 p. 71 et quieta⁹ conuersatio reuerentissimi patris Cuthberti¹⁰, Utinam inquit¹¹ haberem aliquid de rebus Cuthberti¹² mei, scio certe et¹³ credo et¹⁴ confido in Domino, quia cito sanarer. Et¹⁵ non multo post aduenit qui ei zonam lineam ab eo missam deferret. Quae multum gauisa de munere et desiderium suum uiro sancto iam coelitus¹⁶ patefactum intelligens¹⁷, succinxit se illa, et mane mox erecta ad standum, tertia¹⁸ uero die plene¹⁹ est reddita sanitati. Post dies autem paucos coepit²⁰ egrotare quaedam de uirginibus monasterii ipsius dolore capitis intolerabili. Quae cum ingrauescente²¹ morbo per dies uideretur esse moritura, intrauit ad uisitandam eam uenerabilis²² abbatissa. Cunque²³ eam grauiter afflictam conspiceret, tulit memoratam uiri Dei zonam, et hac illi²⁴ caput²⁵ circumligare curauit, quae eodem mox die abeunte dolore²⁶ curata²⁸ est²⁷, tollensque zonam, sua condidit²⁹ in capsula. Quam cum³⁰ post dies aliquot abbatissa³¹ requireret, neque in capsula eadem neque³² uspiam prorsus potuit inueniri. Quod diuina dispensatione factum intelligitur³³, uidelicet ut et³⁴ per duo sanitatis miracula Deo dilecti patris sanctitas
 p. 72 appareret credentibus, et deinceps dubitandi de sanctitate illius occasio tolleretur incredulis. Si enim eadem zona semper adesset, semper ad hanc concurrere uoluissent egroti³⁵, et dum forte³⁶ aliquis ex his³⁷ non mereretur³⁸ a sua infirmitate curari, derogaret impotentiae³⁹ non saluantis, cum ipse potius esset salutis indignus⁴⁰. Unde

I affuit C_r. abfuit VP₁O₄. afuit H. 2 gloss above id est ambulare VH. 3 caep... C_rV. cep... P₁O₈O₃. 4 eternam O₃. 5 om. P₁. 6 fides C_r. fidei VH. 7 disp... C_r. 8 cogitationum C₃O₃. 9 quiaeta V. 10 Cudberhti C_rV. Cuthberhti H. 11 inquit O₃. 12 Cudberhti C_rV. Cuthberhti H. Cudberti P₁. 13-14 om. C_rVHP₁O₄. 15 at C_rVH. 16 cael... C_rV. cel... O₃. 17 intellegens C_rVH. 18 tertia C_rVHP₁M. 19 plenae O₄. 20 caep... C_rV. cep... O₃. 21 ingrauescente C_rVHP₁O₄. 22 ins.

of limb returned, but her power of standing or of walking was wholly gone, for she could neither stand upright nor move about except on all fours. She therefore began sadly to fear that the weakness would last always, for she had long since despaired of any help from doctors. One day amid the afflictions of her sad thoughts, the blessed and quiet life of the most reverend father Cuthbert came into her mind and she said: "Would that I had something belonging to my Cuthbert! I know well and believingly trust in God that I should speedily be healed." Not long afterwards there came one who brought her a linen girdle which he had sent. She greatly rejoiced at the gift and, realizing that her desire had been made known to the holy man by heavenly means, she girded herself with it, and in the morning she was able forthwith to stand erect, and on the third day was entirely restored to health. A few days afterwards, one of the virgins of her monastery began to suffer from an intolerable pain in the head. Since the disease grew worse daily and she seemed about to die, the venerable abbess came in to visit her. Seeing her grievously afflicted, she brought this same girdle of the man of God and had it bound around her head: on that same day the pain departed and she was healed. The abbess, however, took away the girdle and placed it in her box. After a few days, when she sought it again, it could neither be found in the box nor anywhere else. It is clear that this was done by divine dispensation, so that the holiness of the father beloved of God might be made apparent to believers through these two miracles of healing, and that henceforth all occasion for doubting his sanctity might be removed from the incredulous. For if that girdle had always been there, sick people would always have wished to flock to it; and when perhaps one of them did not deserve to be healed of his infirmity, he would disparage its power, because it did not heal him, when really he was not worthy of being healed. Hence,

cuis C₁VHP₁O₄. 23 *cumque* C₁VHO₄. 24 *illius* P₁. 25 *capud* C₁.
 26-27 *integram circumsecuta est sanitatem* P₁. 28 *sanata* C₁VHO₄.
 29 *condit* C₁VH. *recondidit* O₄. 30 *om.* O₄. 31 *ins. above cum* O₄.
 32 *om.* P₁. 33 *intellegitur* VH. 34 *om.* O₃. 35 *acg...* O₄. 36 *om.*
 C₁VHP₁O₄. 37 *ins. forte* C₁VHP₁O₄. *hiis* O₃. 38 *meruisset* C₁VHP₁O₄.
 39 *inp...* C₁VHP₁. *impotencie* O₃. 40 *indig. sal.* C₃.

prouida ut dictum est dispensatione supernae¹ pietatis, postquam fides credentium confirmata est, mox inuidie² perfidorum materia detrahendi est prorsus ablata.

XXIV. ³Quid⁵ sciscitanti eidem Elflaedae⁶ de uita Egfridi⁷ regis et episcopatu suo praedixerit^{8,4}

Alio item⁹ tempore misit eadem reuerentissima uirgo et mater uirginum Christi Elflaed¹⁰, rogauitque uirum Dei adiurans in nomine Domini ut eum uidere, et de necessariis mereretur alloqui¹¹. Qui ascensa cum fratribus nauis¹², uenit ad insulam¹³ quae Coquedi¹⁴ fluminis hostio¹⁵
 p. 73 praciacens, | ab eodem nomen¹⁶ accepit¹⁷, et ipsa¹⁸ monachorum coetibus¹⁹ insignis. Nam praefata²⁰ abbatissa illo eum sibi occurrere rogauerat²¹. Cuius potita colloquiis²², cum multa ab eo quae sciscitabatur audiret, ecce repente in medio sermone aduoluta pedibus eius, adiurauit eum per nomen illud terribile ac uenerabile superni regis et angelorum eius, ut diceret illi quam longo tempore uicturus esset Egfridus²³ frater illius et regnum²⁴ gubernaturus Anglorum. Scio enim inquit quia prophetiae²⁵ spiritu quo²⁶ polles²⁷, etiam hoc dicere potes si uis. At ille expauens adiuramentum, nec tamen uolens aperte²⁸ quod petebatur reuelare secretum²⁹, Mirum inquit quare sapiens femina et in sanctis erudita scripturis, longa uocare uelis
 Psa. 89. 9 ³⁰humanae³² tempora uitae^{33,31}, dicente psalmista quia
 Eccl. 11. 8 *anni nostri sicut aranea³⁴ meditabuntur*, et ³⁵cum moncat³⁶
Salomon Si annis multis uixerit homo et in his³⁷ omnibus letus³⁸ fuerit, meminisse debet tenebrosi temporis³⁹ et dierum

1 superne O₃. 2 inuidiae VHO₈M. 3-4 Quomodo Egfridi regis mortem praedixit O₄. 5 quomodo VH. 6 Aelflaede C₁VH. 7 Ecfriidi VHO₈. Egfridi C₃. 8 pred... C₃M. 9 om. C₁VHO₄. 10 Aelflaed C₁VH. Aelfled P₁O₄. 11 adl... C₁VH. 12 nauis cum fratr. P₁. 13 in margin Nomen insule cocuedadedes eu C₃. in margin Nomen insule Cocuedeseu O₃. 14 cocuedi P₁O₄. 15 ostio C₁VHP₁O₄. 16 om. C₁VH. cognomen P₁O₄. 17 ins. cognomen C₁VH. 18 gloss above scilicet erat VH. 19 caetibus VP₁. cet... O₃M. 20 pre... M. 21 rogabat C₁VHP₁O₄.

as has been said, by the providential dispensation of heavenly grace, after the faith of believers had been strengthened, forthwith the opportunity for the envious and unbelievers to disparage was entirely taken away.

CHAPTER XXIV. *How, in answer to the same Aelfflaed, he made predictions about the life of King Ecgfrith and about his own bishopric*

On another occasion also the same most reverend Aelfflaed, virgin and mother of the virgins of Christ, sent and asked the man of God, adjuring him in the name of the Lord that he would deign to visit her and talk over matters of importance. He went on board a ship with the brethren and came to the island which lies at the mouth of the river Coquet from which it receives its name. It is famous for its companies of monks, and it was here that this same abbess asked him to meet her. Having got into conversation with him, and having heard much from him on the matters about which she was asking him, suddenly, in the midst of their talk, she fell at his feet and adjured him by the terrible awe-inspiring name of the King of Heaven and of His angels, that he would tell her how long Ecgfrith her brother would live and rule over the kingdom of the English. "For I know", she said, "that through the spirit of prophecy in which you abound, you can also tell me this, if you wish." But he, being sorely afraid at her adjuration and yet not wishing openly to reveal the secret she was asking about, said: "It is wonderful that you, a wise woman and learned in the Holy Scriptures, should be willing to speak of the term of human life as if it were long, when the Psalmist says that 'our years are reckoned as a spider's web', and when Solomon warns us that 'if a man live many years and rejoice in them all, yet let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many;

22 conl. . . C₁VH.

23 Ecg. . . C₁P₁. c above V. Egc. . . HO₃.

24 ins. illius M. 25 propheciae O₄. 26 co VH. 27 habundas C₁VH.

28 ap. uol. C₁VHO₄. 29 gloss above scilicet est VH. 30-31 temp. uit.

hum. C₁VHP₁O₄. 32 humane C₃O₃. 33 uite O₃. 34 haranea C₁.

35-36 commoneat H. 37 huius O₃. 38 laetus C₁VHO₈O₄.

39 temp. ten. O₄.

multorum qui cum uenerint, uanitatis arguuntur praeterita, quanto magis is¹ cui unius solum anni uita superest breui uidetur tempore uixisse, ubi mors astiterit² in
 p. 74 *ianuis? Haec³ audiens illa, fuis lacrimis praesagia⁴ dira deflebat⁵, extersaque facie, rursus audacia⁶ feminea adiurauit per maiestatem summae⁷ diuinitatis, ut diceret quem habiturus esset heredem regni, cum filiis careret et fratribus. Qui parum silens, Ne⁸ dicas inquit^{10,9} quia caret, habebit enim successorem quem germana ut ipsum Egfridum¹¹ dilectione complectaris¹². At illa, Obsecro inquit¹⁰ dicas quibus in locis sit ille. Qui ait, Cernis hoc mare magnum et spaciosum¹³ quot abundet¹⁴ insulis? Facile est Deo de aliqua harum sibi prouidere quem regno¹⁵ praeficiat¹⁶ Anglorum. Intellexit ergo quia de Aldfrido diceret, qui ferebatur filius fuisse patris illius, et tunc in insulis Scottorum ob studium litterarum exulabat. Sciebat autem quia Egfridus¹⁷ proponeret¹⁸ eum constituere episcopum, uolensque dinoscere si propositum sequeretur effectus, ita querendo¹⁹ exorsa est, O quam uaria intentione diuiduntur corda mortalium. Quidam adeptis gaudent diuitiis, alii amantes²⁰ diuitias semper egent, tu gloriam mundi quamuis offeratur respuis, etiamsi ad episcopatum pertingere possis quo sullimius²¹ apud²² mortales nichil²³ est, tui claustra*

p. 75 *deserti huic gradui praeferes²⁴? | At ille, Scio me inquit¹⁰ tanto gradu²⁵ dignum non esse, nec tamen iudicium superni gubernatoris uspiam effugere queo²⁶. Qui si²⁷ tanto oneri²⁸ me²⁹ subiciendum disposuit, credo quia post modicum liberum reddet³⁰, et fortasse non amplius quam duobus annis exactis, solitam me meae³¹ solitudinis remittet³² ad requiem³³. Praecipio autem tibi in nomine Domini et Saluatoris nostri, ne cui ante meum obitum quae a me audiuisti³⁴ referas. Cunque³⁵ illi³⁶ haec³⁸ et³⁷*

1 om. C₁VH. hiis O₃. 2 adst... C₁VH. asst... O₄. 3 hec O₃.
 4 pre... M. 5 flebat O₄. 6 audatia C₃O₈M. 7 summe O₃.
 8-9 inq. dic. C₁VH O₄. 10 inquit O₃. 11 Egc... C₁VP₁.
 Egc... H. 12 comp... C₁VH. 13 spatiosum C₁VHP₁C₃O₄M.
 14 hab... C₁VHP₁O₃. habundat C₃. 15 om. C₁. ins. above V.
 16 prof... O₃. 17 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 18 ins. Egfridus C₁VP₁.
 Egc... H. Eg... O₄. 19 quaerendo O₈. 20 respientes P₁.

when they come, the past is reckoned as vanity'; how much more does he, to whom only one year of life remains, seem to have lived a short time, when death stands at the gates?" When she heard this, she shed tears and wept over these dire prophecies; but drying her eyes, once again with womanly daring, she adjured him by the divine majesty to tell her whom her brother would have as heir to the kingdom, seeing he lacked both sons and brothers. After a short time he said: "Do not say that these are lacking; for he will have a successor whom you will embrace with as much sisterly affection as if he were Ecgrith himself." She answered: "I beseech you, tell me where he is." He said: "You see how this great and spacious sea abounds in islands? It is easy for God to provide from any of these a man to place over the kingdom of the English." So she understood that he was speaking of Aldfrith, who was said to be the son of Ecgrith's father, and was then in exile among the islands of the Irish, for the study of letters. Now she knew that Ecgrith proposed to appoint Cuthbert bishop, and wishing to learn whether this proposal would be carried into effect, she began to ask him in this way: "How the hearts of mortal men differ in their several purposes! Some rejoice in the riches they have gained, others who love riches always lack them. You despise the glory of the world, although it is offered, and although you may attain to a bishopric, than which nothing is higher among mortal men, yet will you prefer the fastnesses of your desert place to that rank?" But he said: "I know that I am not worthy of such a rank; nevertheless I cannot escape anywhere from the decree of the Ruler of Heaven; yet if He has determined to subject me to so great a burden, I believe that after a short time He will set me free, and perhaps, after not more than two years, He will send me back to my accustomed rest and solitude. But I bid you in the name of our Lord and Saviour not to tell anyone before my death what you have heard from me!"

21 subl... C₁VHO₄. 22 aput H. 23 aliquid non C₁P₁O₄. aliqui
non VH. 24 praefers VHP₁. praeferris O₄. 25 gradui C₁VH.
26 potero O₄. 27 ins. me O₄. 28 honeri C₁V. gradui P₁.
29 om. O₄. 30 reddat C₁VHP₁O₄. 31 mee O₃. 32 remittat
C₁VHP₁O₄. 33 quietem C₁VHP₁O₄. 34 audisti C₁VHP₁O₄.
35 cumque C₁VHO₈O₄M. . 36-37 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 38 hec O₃.

multa¹ alia quae querebat² exponeret, atque eam de quibus opus habebat instrueret, reuersus ad insulam et monasterium suum, solitariam ut coeperat³ agebat sedulus uitam. Nec multo post congregata synodo⁴ non parua sub praesentia piissimi ac Deo dilecti regis Egfridi⁵, cui beatae⁶ memoriae⁷ Theodorus archiepiscopus praesidebat unanimo⁸ omnium consensu ad episcopatum ecclesiae⁹ Lindisfarnensis electus est. Qui cum multis legatariis¹⁰ ac litteris ad se praemissis nequaquam suo loco posset erui, tandem rex ipse praefatus una cum sanctissimo antistite Trumwine¹¹ nec non et aliis quam plurimis religiosis ac potentibus uiris ad¹² insulam nauigauit, genuflectunt
 p. 76 omnes, adiurant per Dominum, lacrimas fundunt, | obsecrant, donec ipsum quoque lacrimis plenum dulcibus extrahunt latebris, atque¹³ ad sinodum¹⁴ pertrahunt. Quo dum perueniret, quamuis multum renitens unanimo¹⁵ omnium uoluntate superatur, atque¹³ ad suscipiendum episcopatus officium collum summittere¹⁶ compellitur¹⁷. Nec tamen statim ordinatio¹⁸, sed peracta¹⁹ hieme quae imminebat expleta est, atque ut uerbis eius propheticis²⁰ per omnia satisfaceret²¹, Egfridus²² post annum Pictorum gladio trucidatur, et Aldfridus in regnum frater eius nothus²³ substituitur, qui non paucis ante²⁴ temporibus in regionibus Scottorum²⁵ lectioni operam dabat, ibi²⁶ ob amorem sapientiae²⁷ spontaneum passus exilium.

XXV. ²⁸ *Quod³⁰ electus ad episcopatum²⁹ seruus comitis languentem aqua³¹ benedicta curauerit³²*

Dum³³ ergo electus ad episcopatum uir Domini Cuthbertus³⁴ suam remeasset ad insulam, atque³⁵ aliquantulum
 p. 77 temporis | secretus³⁶ Domino solita deuotione militaret,

1 *ins.* et C₁VHO₄. 2 *quaer...* HO₈O₄. 3 *caep...* VP₁.
 cep... O₃M. 4 *synodo* C₁VH. 5 *Ecg...* C₁VP₁. *Egc...* H.
 6 *beate* O₃. 7 *memorie* O₃. 8 *unamina* O₉. *unanimio* C₁.
 9 *aeccl...* VHO₈O₄. *om.* P₁. *ecclesie* C₃O₃. 10 *legatoriis* V.
 11 *Trumuine* C₁VHO₄. *Trumuini* P₁. *Trumwyne* O₃. 12 *om.*
 C₁VHO₄. *in* P₁. 13 *adque* C₁V. 14 *synodum* C₁VHP₁C₃.
 15 *unamina* O₉. *unanimio* C₁. 16 *mittere* C₁V. *sub above* H.
 17 *comp...* C₁VH. 18 *ins. eius* C₃O₈O₃. 19 *peracto* C₁VH.

When he had expounded to her these and many other things about which she asked and had given her instruction about such things as she needed, he returned to his island and monastery, and industriously continued the life of solitude, as he had begun it.

Not long afterwards, when no small synod had gathered together, in the presence of the most pious King Ecgfrith beloved of God over which Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory presided, he was elected to the bishopric of the church at Lindisfarne with the unanimous consent of all. And when he could by no means be dragged from his place by the many messenger and letters that were sent to him, at length this same king himself, together with the most holy Bishop Trumwine, as well as many other religious and powerful men, sailed to the island; they all knelt down and adjured him in the name of the Lord, with tears and prayers, until at last they drew him, also shedding many tears, from his sweet retirement and led him to the synod. When he had come, in spite of his reluctance he was overcome by the unanimous will of them all and compelled to submit his neck to the yoke of the bishopric. His consecration however was not carried out until after the end of that winter which was then beginning. And so that his prophetic words should in all respects be fulfilled, Ecgfrith, a year afterwards, was slain by the sword of the Picts and was succeeded in his kingdom by his bastard brother Aldfrith, who for some considerable time before this had been pursuing his studies in the regions of the Irish, suffering a self-imposed exile to gratify his love of wisdom.

CHAPTER XXV. *How, when he was elected to the bishopric, he cured the ailing servant of a gesith with holy water*

When therefore Cuthbert the man of God, after his election to the bishopric, had returned to his island and for a little time was fighting the good fight in secret with his wonted devotion

20 prophetic C₁. 21 satisficeret M. 22 Ecg... C₁VP₁. Egc... H.
 23 changed from notus C₁. 24 antea C₁VHP₁O₄. 25 Scoctorum M.
 26 ipse C₁VHP₁O₄. 27 sapientie O₃. 28-29 quomodo O₄. 30 quomodo
 C₃O₃O₈M. 31 ins. per se C₃O₈O₃. 32 curauerat VH. 33 cum P₁O₈O₄.
 34 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. 35 adque C₁. 36 om. P₁.

to the Lord, his venerable bishop Eata summoned him, bidding him come to Melrose to have converse with him. When their conversation had finished and he was beginning his homeward journey, a certain gesith of King Ecgfrith met him and begged him urgently that he would turn aside to give a blessing to his homestead and his house. When he came there and had been received with dutiful kindness by all, the man told him about the illness of one of his servants saying: "I thank God, most holy father, that you have deigned to visit us and to enter our house, and in truth we believe that your coming will prove the greatest gain to us both in mind and body. But there is a servant of ours who has long been tortured by a most evil disease, and to-day he suffers so much pain that he appears more like a dying than a sick man. For the extremities of his body are prematurely dead and he seems to draw but little breath through his mouth and nostrils." He immediately blessed some water and gave it to the servant of the gesith, a man named Baldhelm, who is still alive and holding by appointment the office of priest in the church of Lindisfarne adorns it by his character. He counts it sweeter than honey to relate the miracles of the man of God to all who wish to know about them; and it was he who told me of this very miracle which I relate. So then the man of God gave him the holy water saying: "Go and give it to the sick man to take." He obeyed his words and brought the water to the sick man. After he had poured it into his mouth for the third time, the sufferer straightway fell into a quiet sleep which was unusual for him. It was now evening time, and he passed a quiet night also, and when his master visited him in the morning, he was found to be cured.

CHAPTER XXVI. *Of his manner of life in his bishopric*

Now the venerable man of God, Cuthbert, adorned the rank of bishop which he had received, by his virtuous works, in accordance with the apostolic precepts and examples. For he

21 presbiteri O ₄ .	22 nol... O ₃ .	23 dulc. hab. melle O ₄ .	
24 michi O ₄ .	25 om. O ₄ .	26 inquit O ₃ .	27 prebe HO ₄ M.
28 adt... C ₁ VH.	29 egr... C ₁ VHO ₃ M.	30 qua C ₁ .	31 tertio
C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	32 uespertina hora C ₁ VHO ₄ .	ins. et P ₁ .	33 ins. et
C ₁ VHO ₄ .	34 Cudberhtus C ₁ .	Cuthberhtus VH.	

stolica uirtutum ornabat operibus. Commissam nanque¹ sibi plebem et orationibus protegebat assiduis, et ammonitionibus² saluberrimis ad coelestia³ uocabat, et quod maxime doctores⁴ iuuat, ea quae agenda docebat, ipse prius agendo praemonstrabat. Eripiebat⁵ inopem de manu fortioris eius, egenum et pauperem a rapientibus⁶ eum.

1 Thess. Tristes ac pusillanimes consolari, male autem gaudentes ad tristitiam⁷ quae secundum Deum est, reuocare curabat.

2 Cor. 5. 14 Solitam sibi parsimoniam sedulus exercere, et inter frequentiam turbarum monachicae⁸ uitae⁹ rigorem sollicitus obseruare gaudebat. Esurientibus alimenta, indumenta praebebat¹⁰ algentibus, caeterisque¹¹ uitae⁹ pontificalis insignibus rite decoratus incedebat. Cuius internis id est animi¹² uirtutibus, ea quoque quibus foras¹³ effulgebat miraculorum signa testimonium dabant, ex quibus aliqua breuiter memoriae¹⁴ commendare curauimus¹⁵.

XXVII. *Quomodo interitum Egfridi¹⁶ regis¹⁷ et militiae¹⁹ ipsius quem praedixerat^{18 20} absens^{22 23} uiderit in spiritu^{25, 24, 21}*

Igitur dum Egfridus²⁶ rex ausu temerario²⁷ exercitum in p. 80 Pictos duceret, eorumque regna atroci²⁸ ac feroci²⁹ seuicia³⁰ deuastaret, sciens uir Domini Cuthbertus³¹ adesse tempus de quo anno praeterito³² interroganti eius sorori praedixerat³³, non eum amplius quam uno³⁴ anno³⁵ esse uicturum, uenit ad Lugubaliam³⁶ ciuitatem quae a populis Anglorum corrupte³⁷ Luel uocatur, ut alloqueretur reginam quae ibidem in monasterio suae³⁸ sororis euentum belli expectare disposuit. Postera³⁹ autem die deducentibus eum ciuibus ut uideret moenia⁴⁰ ciuitatis fontemque in

1 namque C₁VH. 2 adm... C₁VHC₃O₈O₃M. 3 cael... C₁V. cel... C₃O₃. 4 doctore C₁V. changed from doctore H. 5 om. C₁. ins. in different hand V. 6 diripientibus O₈. 7 tristitiam C₁VHP₁. 8 monachice O₃. 9 uite C₃O₃. 10 preb... HO₈. 11 cet... O₃M. 12 anime C₁. animae VH. 13 foris P₁. 14 memorie O₃. 15 curabimus O₄. 16 Egfridi V. Egc... H. 17-18 om. O₄. 19 milicie C₃O₃. 20-21 futurum absens corpore

guarded the people who had been committed to his charge with his constant prayers, and called them to heavenly things by his most wholesome admonitions, and—a thing which is a great help to teachers—he taught what ought to be done, after first showing them by his own example. He delivered “the poor from him that was too strong for him, yea, the poor and the needy from him that spoiled him”. He sought to “comfort” the sad and “faint-hearted”, and to bring back those who rejoiced in evil to “godly sorrow”. Gladly and diligently he practised his wonted frugality and, amid the thronging crowds, rejoiced to preserve the rigours of monastic life. He gave food to the hungry, clothing to the suffering, and he was duly adorned with all else that should mark the life of a bishop. And signs and miracles whereby he shone outwardly gave witness to the inward virtues of his mind. It has been our task briefly to commemorate some of these.

CHAPTER XXVII. *How, though absent, he saw in spirit the destruction of King Ecgfrith and of his army, in accordance with his own prediction*

Now when King Ecgfrith, rashly daring, had taken an army against the Picts and was devastating their kingdoms with cruel and savage ferocity, Cuthbert the man of God knew that the time was at hand concerning which he had prophesied a year before to the king's sister, declaring when she asked him that he would not live more than another year. He came therefore to the town of Lugubalia [Carlisle], which the English people corruptly call Luel, to speak to the queen who had arranged to await the issue of the war there in her sister's monastery. On the next day, while the citizens were conducting him to see the walls of the city and a marvellously constructed

uid. VHO ₄ .	25 <i>ins.</i> absentem VH.	26 Ecg... C ₁ VH.
27 temerio P ₁ .	28–29 <i>om.</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	30 seuitia C ₁ HC ₃ O ₄ .
31 Cudberhtus C ₁ V.	32 <i>pret.</i> ... O ₄ .	33 <i>pre.</i> ... VH.
34 <i>ins.</i> solum C ₁ VHP ₁ .	35 <i>ins.</i> solum O ₄ .	36 Lucubaliam P ₁ .
37 correpte C ₁ .	38 <i>sue</i> O ₃ .	39 <i>postero</i> P ₁ .
	40 <i>om.</i> P ₁ .	menia C ₃ O ₃ M.

fountain of Roman workmanship, he was suddenly troubled in spirit, and as he stood leaning on his staff he turned his face sadly towards the ground; and again, standing upright and lifting his eyes towards heaven, he sighed deeply and said in a low voice: "Perhaps even now the issue of the battle is decided." But a priest who was standing by, knowing of whom he spoke, answered with incautious haste and said: "How do you know?" Cuthbert, being unwilling to disclose more of what had been revealed to him, said: "Do you not see how greatly changed and disturbed the weather is? and what mortal man is sufficient to enquire into the judgments of God?" But he immediately went to the queen, and secretly addressing her, it being Saturday, said: "See that you mount your chariot early on Monday—for it is not lawful to travel by chariot on the Lord's Day—and go and enter the royal city quickly, lest perchance the king has been slain. But since I have been asked to go to-morrow to a neighbouring monastery to dedicate a church there, I will follow you at once, as soon as the dedication is completed."

Now when Sunday had come, he was preaching the word of God to the brethren of the same monastery, and when the sermon was over and all those present were approving, he began again in this way: "Beloved, I beseech you to watch, in accordance with the warnings of the Apostle, 'stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong', lest perchance some temptation coming upon you may find you unprepared; but rather be always mindful of that command of the Lord, 'Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation'." His listeners thought that he said this because a devastating pestilence had not long before laid low both them and many others on every hand with widespread destruction, and that he was prophesying a return of this scourge. But continuing he said: "Once, when I was still living alone in my island, some of the brethren came to

28 om. C ₁ VH.	29 conuertimini C ₁ VH. ins. iuxta apostoli monita O ₄ .	31 inp...
30 tribulatio C ₁ VH. temptacio C ₃ . tribulationis temptatio O ₄ .		
C ₁ VH.	32 set O ₃ .	33 pocius C ₃ .
35 temptacionem C ₃ .	36 pestilencie C ₃ .	37 cladis C ₁ VH.
38 circum... C ₁ VHP ₁ M.	39 caede P ₁ O ₄ .	40 ads... C ₁ VH.

sancto dominicae natiuitatis, rogabantque ut de mea casula et mansione egrediens, solennem¹ cum eis et laetum² diem tantae³ uenerationis transigerem. Quorum ego⁴ |
 p. 82 precibus⁵ deuotis adquiescens⁶ egrediebar⁷, et consedi-
 mus ad epulas⁸. At in media forte refectione dixi ad eos, Obsecro fratres caute agamus⁹ et uigilanter, ne per incuriam forte et securitatem inducamur in temptationem¹⁰. At illi responderunt, Obsecramus hodie laetum¹¹ agamus diem¹², quia natale¹³ est Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Et ego, Sic inquam faciamus. Cunque¹⁴ post haec aliquandiu epulis¹⁵ exultationi¹⁶, ac fabulis indulgeremus, rursus admonere¹⁷ coepi¹⁸ ut solliciti existeremus¹⁹ in orationibus²¹ et uigiliis²⁰, atque ad omnes temptationum²² incursus parati. ²³Et illi²⁴, Bene inquit et optime doces, sed tamen quia abundant²⁵ dies ieiuniorum, orationis et uigiliarum, hodie gaudeamus in Domino, nam et angelus nascente
 Luke 2. 10 Domino euangelizabat²⁶ pastoribus *gaudium magnum, quod esset omni populo caelebrandum*²⁷. Et ego, Bene inquam faciamus sic. Sed²⁸ cum epulantibus¹⁵ nobis et diem laetum²⁹ ducentibus tercio³⁰ eiusdem ammonitionis³¹ uerba repeterem, intellexere illi quia³² non frustra haec³³ tam studiose suggererem³⁴, et³⁵ expauescentes³⁶ dicebant³⁷, Faciamus ut doces, quia necessitas magna nobis incumbit
 p. 83 ut contra insidias diaboli et omnia | temptamenta semper accincti spiritualiter³⁸ uigilemus. Haec³⁹ dicens, ego nesciebam sicut nec illi aliquid nobis occurrurum nouae⁴⁰ temptationis, sed⁴¹ tantum instinctu⁴² mentis ammonitus⁴³ sum aduersus subitas temptationum procellas, statum cordis semper esse muniendum. Sed⁴⁴ ubi reuersi a me mane ad suum id est⁴⁵ Lindisfarnense monasterium redierunt, ecce quendam de suis morbo pestilentiae⁴⁶ obisse repperierunt⁴⁷. Et crescente ac seuiente per dies immo

1 sollemnem C₁VHM. sollennem P₁. sollempnem O₈O₃. 2 letum C₃O₃. 3 tante P₁C₃O₃. 4 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 5 praec... H. 6 acq... O₄. 7 egredior P₁O₄. 8 aep... O₄. 9 ins. nos C₁VHP₁O₄. 10 temptacionem C₃. 11 letum C₃O₃. 12 diem ag. O₄. 13 nathale O₃. 14 cumque C₁VHO₄M. 15 aep... O₄. 16 exultatione C₁VH. exultationis P₁. exultacioni C₃. 17 amm... P₁O₄. 18 caepi C₁V. cepti C₃O₃. 19-20 om. P₁. 21 oracionibus C₃. 22 temptacionum C₃. 23-24 om. P₁.

me on the holy day of the Lord's nativity, and asked me to go out of the hut, my dwelling-place, that I might spend with them this holy day so sacred and yet so joyful; I yielded to their earnest prayers and went out, and we sat down to our feast. But it happened that, in the middle of the repast, I said to them: 'I beseech you, brethren, let us be cautious and watchful, lest by recklessness and carelessness we be led into temptation.' But they answered: 'We beseech you, let us be joyful to-day, because it is the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And I said: 'So be it.' And a little time after, while we were indulging in feasting, rejoicing and story-telling, I again began to warn them that we should earnestly engage in prayers and vigils and be ready for the approach of any temptation. They said: 'You give us good, yea excellent, instruction, but nevertheless, because the days of fastings, prayer and vigils abound, to-day let us rejoice in the Lord. For the angel, when the Lord was born, gave the shepherds glad tidings of the great joy which was to be observed by all the people.' I answered: 'Well, so be it.' But when, while we were feasting and spending the day joyfully, I repeated these words of admonition for a third time, they understood that it was not in vain that I made the suggestion so anxiously, and, being afraid, they said: 'Let us do as you tell us, for a great compulsion is upon us that we should watch against the snares of the devil and against all temptations, girding up the loins of the mind.' When I said this, I did not know, nor did they, that any new temptation would attack us, but I was only warned by the instinct of my mind that the heart should always be in a state of defence against any sudden storms of temptations. But when they left me in the morning and went back to their monastery, that is Lindisfarne, they found that one of their number had died of the pestilence; and as it grew and became worse from day to day,

25 hab... C ₃ O ₃ .	26 euuang... VH. ewang... O ₃ .	27 cel...
P ₁ C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ M.	28 set O ₃ .	29 letum C ₃ O ₃ .
30 tertio C ₁ VHP ₁ .	31 ins. die cum P ₁ .	admonicionis C ₅ .
32 quod P ₁ .	33 hec O ₃ .	34 suggerem O ₄ .
35 om. C ₁ VH.	36 expautes C ₁ V.	pautes P ₁ O ₄ .
37 dixerunt P ₁ .	38 spiritaliter C ₁ VH.	39 hec O ₃ .
40 noue O ₃ .	41 set O ₃ .	42 instructu M.
43 adm... C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₄ .	44 at C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	set O ₃ .
45 ins. in P ₁ .	46 pestilencie O ₃ .	47 reppererunt C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₃ O ₄ .

etiam per menses et annum pene¹ totum eadem clade, nobilissimus ille patrum fratrumque coetus² spiritualium³ pene¹ uniuersus migravit ad Dominum. Et nunc ergo fratres uigilate et uos in orationibus, ut si quid uobis tribulationis ingruerit, uos iam paratos inueniat. Haec⁴ dicente uenerabili antistite Cuthberto⁵ rebantur⁶ ut praefatus⁷ sum quia⁸ de reditu pestilentiae diceret. Sed⁹ post unum diem adueniens qui fugerat e bello, occulta uiri¹⁰ Dei uaticinia¹¹ miseris exponebat eloquiis. Probaturumque est ipsa die eademque hora qua uiro Dei iuxta puteum stanti reuelatum est, caesis¹² circum tutoribus, regem hostili gladio fuisse prostratum.

XXVIII. ¹³Quomodo Hereberto¹⁵ anachoritae¹⁶ obitum suum praedixerit¹⁷, comitatumque illius a Domino precibus obtinuerit ¹⁸sine mora^{19, 14} |

- p. 84 Non multo post tempore²⁰ idem famulus Domini Cuthbertus²¹ ad eandem Lugubaliam ciuitatem rogatus aduenit, quatinus²² ibidem sacerdotes consecrare, sed et ipsam reginam²³ dato habitu sanctae²⁴ conuersationis benedicere deberet. Erat autem presbiter uitae²⁵ uenerabilis nomine Herebertus²⁶ iamdudum uiro Dei Cuthberto²⁷ spiritualis²⁸ amicitiae²⁹ foedere³⁰ copulatus, qui in insula stagni illius pergrandis de quo Deoruentionis³¹ fluuii primordia erumpunt uitam solitariam ducens, annis singulis ad eum uenire, et monita ab eo perpetuae³² salutis accipere consueuerat. Hic cum audisset eum illa in ciuitate demoratum, uenit ex more cupiens salutaribus eius exhortationibus ad superna desideria magis magisque inflammari³³. Qui dum sese alterutrum coelestis³⁴ sapientiae³⁵ poculis debriarent, dixit inter alia Cuthbertus³⁶, Memen|to frater
- p. 85

1 paene C₁VO₈. 2 caetus C₁. cetus C₃O₈O₃. 3 spiritalium C₁VH. 4 hec C₃O₃. 5 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Cutberto P₁. 6 reuertebantur O₉. 7 pre... O₄. 8 quod P₁. 9 set O₃. 10 om. M. 11 ins. uiri M. 12 caesis C₁P₁O₈M. 13-14 Quomodo obitus sui praescius Hereberti comitatum a Deo obtinuerit O₄. 15 Hereberchto VH. 16 anachoritae V. anachorite O₃. 17 pre... VO₈. 18-19 om. VH. 20 gloss above id est post modico tempore VH. 21 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. 22 quatenus V. 23 data

yea and from month to month, and almost throughout the whole year, nearly the whole of that renowned congregation of spiritual fathers and brethren departed to be with the Lord in that pestilence. Now therefore, brethren, do you also watch and pray, so that if any tribulation come upon you it may find you already prepared." When the venerable Bishop Cuthbert had said these words, they thought, as I said before, that he was speaking about the return of the pestilence. But the day afterwards, one arrived who had fled from the fight and explained by his sad story the mysterious prophecies of the man of God. And it was proved that on the very day and at the very hour when it was revealed to the man of God, standing by the fountain, the king was laid low by the sword of the enemy and his bodyguard slain around him.

CHAPTER XXVIII. *How he predicted his own death to Hereberht the hermit and straightway obtained this man's company from the Lord by his prayers*

Not long afterwards the same servant of the Lord, Cuthbert, came by invitation to that same city of Carlisle, in order that he might ordain some priests there, and might also confer upon the queen herself the garb of the consecrated life, and bless her. Now there was a priest of reverend life named Hereberht who had long been bound to Cuthbert the man of God by the bonds of spiritual friendship. He had been living a solitary life in an island of that large mere from which rise the sources of the river Derwent. He used to come to Cuthbert every year and receive teaching from him concerning his everlasting salvation. When he heard that Cuthbert was staying in that city, he came according to his custom, wishing to be aroused more and more by his salutary exhortations to heavenly desires. When they had refreshed one another with draughts of heavenly wisdom, Cuthbert said, amongst other things:

gloss above uel reginam H. 24 sancte O₃. 25 uite O₃. 26 Hereberhtus C₁VHO₄. 27 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. 28 spiritalis C₁VH. 29 amicitiae O₉. 30 federe O₃. 31 Dioruentionis VH. Deruentionis P₁. Deorwentionis O₈M. Deorwencionis O₃. 32 perpetue C₃O₃. 33 flammari C₁. in- added in margin V. 34 cael... C₁V. cel... C₃O₃. 35 sapiencie O₃. 36 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H.

Hereberte¹ ut modo quicquid opus habes me interroges, mecumque loquaris, quia postquam ab inuicem digressi fuerimus, non ultra nos inuicem in hoc saeculo² carnis³ oculis uidebimus. Certus sum enim quia *tempus meae*⁴ *resolutionis instat*, et uelox est depositio tabernaculi mei. Qui haec⁵ audiens prouolutus eius pedibus, fuisque⁶ cum gemitu lacrimis, Obsecro inquit⁷ per Dominum ne me derelinquas, sed⁸ tui sodalis⁹ memineris, rogesque supernam pietatem¹⁰ ut cui pariter in terris seruiuimus¹¹, ad eius uidendam¹² claritatem¹³ pariter transeamus ad coelos¹⁴. Nosti enim quia ad tui oris imperium semper uiuere studui, et quicquid ignorantia uel fragilitate deliqui, aequae¹⁵ ad tuae¹⁶ uoluntatis arbitrium castigare curaui. Incubuit precibus episcopus, statimque¹⁷ edoctus in spiritu impetrasse se¹⁸ quod petierat a Domino, Surge inquit¹⁹ frater mi et noli plorare, sed gaudio gaude, quia donauit nobis superna clementia quod rogauimus eam²⁰. Cuius promissi²¹ et prophetiae²² ueritatem sequens rerum finis astruxit²³, quia et²⁴ digredientes ab inuicem non amplius se corporaliter uiderunt, et²⁵ unius eiusdemque²⁶ momento temporis²⁷ egredientes e corpore spiritus eorum, mox beata inuicem uisione coniuncti sunt, atque²⁸ angelico ministerio pariter ad regnum²⁹ coeleste³¹ translati³⁰. Sed³² p. 86 Herebertus³³ | diutina prius infirmitate decoquitur³⁴, illa fortassis dispensatione dominicae pietatis, ut si quid minus haberet meriti a beato Cuthberto³⁵ suppleret dolor continuus longae³⁶ egritudinis³⁷, quatinus equatus³⁸ gratia³⁹ suo⁴⁰ intercessori⁴¹ sicut⁴² uno eodemque⁴³ tempore cum eo de corpore egredi, ita etiam una atque indissimili sede perpetuae⁴⁴ beatitudinis mereretur recipi.

1 Hereberhte C₁VH.2 sec... O₃O₄.3 carnalibus O₄.4 mee O₃.5 hec C₃O₃.6 om. que C₁VHP₁O₄.7 inquit O₃.8 set O₃.9 sodal. tui O₄.

10 piact... V.

11 seru. in terr. O₄.12 uiuendam C₁.13 beatitudinem P₁O₄.14 cael... C₁V.15 eque C₃O₃.16 tue C₃O₃.17 et statim P₁.18 om. C₁. ins. above V.19 inquit O₈O₃.20 eum C₁VH.21 promissionem C₁VHO₄.22 propheticie O₃.

23 ass... V.

"Remember, brother Hereberht, to ask me now whatever you need and to speak with me about it, because, after we have parted from one another, we shall nevermore see one another in this world with the eyes of the flesh. For I am certain that the time of my 'departure' and of laying aside my earthly tabernacle 'is at hand'." When Hereberht heard this, he fell at his feet and with sighs and tears he said: "I bōseech you by the Lord not to leave me but to remember your companion and ask the merciful God that as we have served Him together upon earth, we may journey together to the skies to see His glory. For you know that I have always sought to live in accordance with the commands of your mouth, and whatever I have done amiss through ignorance and weakness, I have taken equal care to correct in accordance with your judgment and will." The bishop gave himself up to prayer and forthwith having learned in spirit that he had gained what he sought from the Lord, he said: "Rise up, my brother, and do not weep, but rejoice greatly, because the clemency of Heaven has granted us what we asked of it." And the issue of events confirmed the truth of his promise and his prophecy; for after they had separated, they did not see one another any more in the flesh, but they departed from the body at the same moment of time and their spirits were straightway united in the presence of the blessed vision and together they were borne to the heavenly kingdom by the ministry of angels. But Hereberht was first consumed by a long illness, perhaps by the dispensation of the Lord's grace, so that though he had less merit than the blessed Cuthbert, the continual pain of a long illness would make up for it, and being made equal in grace to his intercessor, he might be counted worthy to depart from the body with him at one and the same hour and also to be received into one and the same dwelling of perpetual bliss.

24 *om.* C₁VHO₄. 25 *ex* C₁. *sed* P₁. 26-27 *tempore* diei C₁VH.
 28 *adque* C₁. 29-30 *trans. coel.* M. 31 *cael...* C₁V. *cel...* C₃O₃.
 32 *set* O₃. 33 *Hereberhtus* C₁VH. 34 *dequoquitur* C₁. 35 *Cudberhto*
 C₁V. *Cuthberhto* H. 36 *longe* C₃O₃O₄M. 37 *aegr...* O₈O₄.
 38 *aeq...* C₁VHO₈M. *om.* O₄. 39 *ins. above* Dei O₄. 40 *ins. above*
aequatus O₄. 41 *intercessoris* VH. 42 *gloss above* *scilicet* *merebatur* VH.
 43 *ins. diei* C₁VHO₄. 44 *perpetue* O₃.

XXIX. *Quomodo uxorem comitis¹ per presbiterum
suum² aqua benedicta sanauerit*

Quadam autem³ die dum parrochiam⁴ suam circuiens monita salutis omnibus ruris⁵ casis, et uiculis largiretur, nec non⁶ etiam nuper baptizatis ad accipiendam spiritus sancti gratiam manum imponeret⁷, deuenit ad uillulam cuiusdam comitis cuius uxor male habens quasi proxima morti⁸ iacebat. Cui iam uenienti occurrens ipse còmes⁹
p. 87 flexis genibus | gratias egit Domino de aduentu illius, et introducens illum¹⁰ benigno recepit¹¹ hospicio¹². Cunque¹³ lotis more hospitalitatis manibus et¹⁴ pedibus resedisset antistes¹⁵, coepit¹⁶ referre illi¹⁷ uir de languore coniugis desperatae¹⁸, obsecrans ut ad spargendam¹⁹ eam aquam benediceret, Credo inquit²⁰ quia mox aut sanitati Deo donante restituatur, aut si moritura est, perpetuam de morte transeat ad uitam, citiusque²¹ moriendo compendium²² tam miserabilis ac²³ diutinae²⁴ uexationis accipiat. Annuit²⁵ deprecanti uir Dei et allatam²⁶ benedicens²⁷ aquam dedit presbitero, praecipiens²⁸ ut super languidam aspergeret. Qui introgressus²⁹ cubiculum in quo illa exanimi simillima iacebat, aspersit illam³⁰ et lectulum eius, sed et os illius aperiens gustum salutiferi haustus immisit³¹.
Greg. *Res mira³² et uehementer stupenda, mox ut eam aqua benedicta*
Dial. I. 10 *tetigit³³ languentem, et quid erga eam ageretur³⁴ prorsus ignorantem, ita plenam et mentis³⁵ et corporis sanitatem recepit³⁶, ut confestim respiscens benediceret Dominum, gratiasque referret ei qui tales tantosque hospites ad se uisitandam curandamque destinare dignatus sit³⁷. Nec mora exurgens³⁸, ipsis suae³⁹ sanitatis ministris ministerium sana praeibit⁴⁰, pulchroque⁴¹ spectaculo ipsa prima de |*

1 com. ux. O₄. ins. missa O₄. 2 om. O₄. 3 om. VH. 4 par... O₉. 5 ruribus C₁VHO₄. 6 om. P₁. 7 inp... C₁VH. gloss above scilicet et dum VH. 8 mort. prox. C₁VHP₁O₄. 9 in margin Nomen loci Hintis. Nomen comitis Hemni C₃O₃. 10 cum C₁VHP₁O₄. 11 recaepit C₁VO₄. 12 hospicio C₁VHO₄M. 13 cumque C₁VHO₄. 14 ac C₁VHP₁. 15 antestis VH. 16 caep... C₁. cep... C₃O₃. 17 ei P₁. 18 desperate O₃. 19 aspergendam C₁VHP₁. 20 inquit O₃. 21 ciciusque O₉O₃. 22 gloss in margin id est breuitatem V (above H). 23 et O₄. 24 diutine P₁O₃. 25 adm...

CHAPTER XXIX. *How through his priest he cured the wife
of a gesith with holy water*

Now on a certain day, while he was going round his diocese dispensing words of salvation in all the houses and villages of the countryside, and was also laying his hand on those who had been lately baptized, so that they might receive the grace of the Holy Spirit, he came to the house of a certain gesith whose wife was lying very ill and apparently at the point of death. The gesith himself came to meet him and, on bended knee, gave thanks to the Lord for his coming, and bringing him in, received him with kind hospitality. The bishop, when his hands and feet had been washed in accordance with the custom of hospitality, sat down again, and the man began to tell him about his wife's desperate illness, praying him that he would bless some water to sprinkle upon her. "I believe", he said, "that she will either be speedily restored to health by the grace of God, or that, if she is to die, she will pass from death to everlasting life, and, by dying, more quickly reach the end of her wretched and long-lasting affliction." The man of God granted his petition, and blessing the water which was brought to him, gave it to a priest, bidding him sprinkle it over the sick woman. He entered the sleeping chamber in which she lay like one dead, sprinkled her and her bed and, opening her mouth, poured in a portion of the health-giving draught. A wonderful and exceedingly amazing thing happened—as soon as the blessed water touched the sick woman, though it was done without her knowledge, she yet received full healing of mind and body, so that she immediately recovered her senses and blessed the Lord, giving thanks to Him who had deigned to bring such honourable guests to visit and cure her. Without delay she rose up whole and ministered to those who had themselves ministered to her health; and it was a fair sight to see how she

C₁VH. *gloss in margin* id est consensus V (*above* H). 26 adl. . . C₁VH.
27 om. P₁. 28 pre. . . O₈. 29 introgrediens O₄. 30 ipsam C₁VHO₄.
31 inm. . . C₁VH. 32 *gloss above* scilicet factum est VH. 33 contigit
C₁VHP₁O₄. 34 gereretur C₁VHP₁. 35 meritis C₁. 36 recaepit VO₄.
37 est C₁VH. 38 exsur. . . C₁VH. 39 sue O₃. 40 praeberet C₁VH.
gloss above scilicet et ut VH. praebet P₁. prebebat O₄. 41 pulcroque O₃.

- p. 88 tota tanti uiri familia episcopo potum refectionis obtulit, quae per ipsius¹ benedictionem poculum mortis euasit, secuta exemplum *socrus* apostoli Petri, quae curata a Luke 4. 39 febribus per Dominum, *continuo surgens ministrabat illi* ac² discipulis eius.

XXX. *Quomodo puellam³ oleo perunctam a dolore capitis laterisque⁴ curauerit*

- Neque huic dissimile⁵ sanitatis miraculum a uenerabili antistite Cuthberto⁶ factum multi qui praesentes fuere testati sunt. E quibus est religiosus presbiter Ediluualdus⁷ tunc minister uiri Dei, nunc autem abbas coenobii⁸ Mailrosensis⁹. Dum enim more suo pertransiret uniuersos docendo, deuenit in uicum¹⁰ quendam in quo erant feminae¹¹ sanctimoniales non multae¹², quibus timore barbarici¹³ exercitus a monasterio suo profugis ibidem manendi sedem p. 89 uir Domini paulo ante donauerat. Quarum una quae erat cognata praefati sacerdotis Edilwaldi¹⁴ grauissimo tenebatur languore depressa, per integrum namque¹⁵ annum intolerabili¹⁶ capitis et totius¹⁷ lateris alterius dolore uexata, funditus a medicis erat desperata¹⁸. Indicantibus autem de illa uiro Dei, et pro sanatione eius obsecrantibus his¹⁹ qui uenerant cum eo, miseratus ille²⁰ miseram²¹ unxit oleo benedicto. Quae²² ab illa mox hora meliorari incipiens, post dies paucos plena sospitate conualuit.

XXXI. *Quomodo per panem ab eo benedictum²³ infirmus sit²⁴ sanatus²⁵*

Nec silentio praetereundum²⁶ arbitramur miraculum, quod eiusdem uiri uenerabilis uirtute quamuis ipso absente

1 illius O₄. 2 et C₁VH. 3-4 a capitis et lateris dolore oleo curauerit O₄. 5 diss. huic C₁H. 6 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. 7 Aediluuald C₁VH. Ethiluuald P₁. 8 caen... V. cen... C₃O₃M. 9 Mailrosensis H. 10 in margin Nomen loci Bædesfelth C₃. in margin Nomen loci Bedesfelth O₃. 11 femine C₁O₃. 12 multae C₃O₃. 13 barbaricae C₁. 14 Aediluualdi C₁VH. Ethiluualdi P₁.

who had escaped the cup of death by the bishop's blessing, was the first of all the household of so great a man to offer him the cup of refreshment. She thus followed the example of the mother-in-law of the Apostle Peter, who, when she was cured of a fever by the Lord, forthwith rose and ministered to Him and to His disciples.

CHAPTER XXX. *How he cured a girl of pains in the head and the side by anointing her with oil*

There are many who have borne witness to a miracle of healing wrought in their presence by the venerable Bishop Cuthbert not unlike this last one; among these witnesses is the pious priest Aethilwald, then a servant of the man of God, but now the abbot of the monastery at Melrose. For while according to his custom he was going through all the villages teaching, he came to a certain village in which there were a few nuns to whom he, the man of God, had a short time before given a place of abode in that village, when they had fled from their own monastery through fear of the barbarian army. One of these, a kinswoman of the same priest Aethilwald, was afflicted by a very severe illness; for all through the year she had been troubled with an intolerable pain in the head and in the whole of one side, and had been entirely given up by the physicians. When those who had come with him told the man of God about her and prayed for her restoration, he had pity on her and anointed the wretched woman with holy oil. She began to get better from that very hour and after a few days was restored to complete health.

CHAPTER XXXI. *How a sick man was healed with bread which he had blessed*

Nor do we consider that we ought to pass over in silence a miracle which, as we have learned, was performed by the Ediluualdi C₃O₄. Edilwoldi O₃. 15 nanque O₈O₄M. 16 intollerabili C₁. altered from intollerabili V. intolerabilis O₉C₃O₈. 17 tocius C₃O₃. 18 disperata C₁. 19 hiis O₃. 20 gloss above scilicet Cuthberhtus VH. 21 gloss above scilicet cognatam VH. 22 que C₃O₃. 23-24 sit inf. VC₃. 23-25 infirmus curabatur O₄. 26 preter... O₈.

patratum cognouimus¹. Meminimus supra² Hildmeri praefecti, cuius uxorem uir Dei ab immundo³ spiritu liberauerit. Idem ergo⁴ praefectus⁵ postea decidit⁶ in p. 90 lectum⁷, grauissima⁸ ⁹pressus infirmitate¹⁰, adeo ut crescente molestia¹¹ per dies¹², iamiamque uideretur¹³ esse moriturus. Aderant multi amicorum qui ad consolandum uenerant languentem. Cunque¹⁴ lecto iacentis assiderent¹⁵, repente unus eorum intulit¹⁶ quia secum haberet panem quem sibi nuper uir¹⁷ Domini Cuthbertus¹⁸ benedictionis gratia dedisset¹⁹, Et²⁰ credo inquit²¹ quia huius gustu possit, si tamen fidei nostrae²² tarditas non obsistit medelam recipere salutis. Erant autem²³ laici²⁵ omnes²⁴ sed religiosi. Conuersi igitur ad inuicem, confitebantur singuli quia absque ulla dubietate crederent per eiusdem benedicti panis communionem eum posse sanari. Implentesque²⁶ calicem aqua²⁷, immiserunt²⁸ pauxillum²⁹ panis illius, et dederunt ei bibere. Cuius statim ut uiscera gustus ille aquae³⁰ per panem sanctificatus attigit, fugit dolor intera-
neorum omnis³¹, fugit exteriorum tabitudo membrorum³². Nec mora expeditum a languore uirum salus subsecuta confirmauit, atque ad laudandam³³ famuli Christi sanctitatem, et³⁴ admirandam³⁵ fidei non fictae uirtutem, merito et ipsum et omnes qui celeritatem tam inopinatae salutis³⁶ uidere uel audire sustulit.

XXXII. *Qualiter* ³⁷*oblatum sibi in itinere*³⁸ *iuuenem*
³⁹*moriturum orando reuocauerit*⁴¹ *ad*
⁴²*sospitatem uitae*^{43,40}

p. 91 Quodam quoque tempore dum sanctissimus gregis domi-
nici pastor; sua lustrando ⁴⁴circuiret⁴⁶ ouilia⁴⁵, deuenit in
montana et agrestia loca, ubi multi erant de circumpositis

1 cognouisse C₁. ins. namque VH. 2 supradicti P₁. 3 inm... C, VH.
4 autem C₁VH. 5 pre... O₄. 6-7 infirmitatem C₁. in infirmitatem VHP₁O₄. 8 grauissimam C₁VHP₁O₄. 9-10 om. C₁VHP₁O₄.
11 om. C₁VHP₁. 12 ins. molestia sterneretur in lectum et C₁VHP₁O₄. 13 uid. iam. C₁VHP₁O₄. 14 cumque C₁VHO₄M. 15 ads... C₁VH. 16 gloss above pretulit VH. 17 uir nup. C₁VH. 18 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. 19 daret C₁VHO₄. 20 ex C₁. 21 inquit O₃.

virtue of the same venerable man, though he himself was absent. We have already mentioned the reeve Hildmer whose wife the man of God freed from an unclean spirit. Now this same reeve afterwards took to his bed with a most serious illness, and, as his affliction grew from day to day, he seemed already to be at the point of death. Many of his friends came to console the afflicted man. And as they sat by the bed in which he lay, suddenly one of them recalled that he had some bread with him, which Cuthbert, the man of the Lord, had recently blessed and given to him. "And I believe", he said, "that Hildmer by tasting this can receive healing, if only the slowness of our faith does not hinder." Now they were all laymen, but devout. So turning to each other, they confessed one by one that they believed without any doubt that he could be healed by partaking of this blessed bread. They filled a cup with water and put in a very little of the bread, and gave it to him to drink. No sooner had the draught of water, sanctified by the bread, reached his stomach, than all the inward pain disappeared as well as the outward wasting of his limbs. His health returned without delay, and brought strength back to the man who had thus been set free from affliction, deservedly stirring him and all who saw or heard of the swiftness of so unexpected a cure, to praise the holiness of the servant of God and to wonder at the power of true faith.

CHAPTER XXXII. *How, by his prayers, he recalled to life a dying youth who was brought to him when he was on a journey*

Once, too, as the most holy shepherd of the Lord's flock was going round visiting his sheepfolds, he came to mountainous and wild regions where there were many gathered together

22 nostre O ₃ .	23-24 omn. lai. O ₄ .	25 <i>changed from</i> lacī C ₁ .
26 inp... VH.	27 aq. cal. C ₁ HP ₁ .	28 inm... C ₁ VH. miserunt P ₁ .
29 pauxillulam C ₁ .	30 aque O ₃ .	31 languoris C ₁ VH.
32 menb... O ₄ .	33 lauandam C ₁ .	34 ad P ₁ O ₄ .
C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	36 sanationis C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	35 amm... O ₄ .
39-40 a grauissima molestia curauit O ₄ .		37-38 om. O ₄ .
42-43 uitam VH. uitam sine omni mora O ₈ O ₃ M.		41 reuocaret VHO ₈ .
46 circumiret C ₃ O ₄ . circuiet O ₈ .		44-45 ou. circ. P ₁ .

late uillulis¹ quibus manus erat imponenda². Nec tamen in montibus ecclesia³ uel locus inueniri potuit⁵ aptus, qui pontificem cum suo comitatu susciperet. Tetenderunt ergo ei tentoria in uia, et caesis⁶ de uicina silua ramusculis, sibi quique tabernacula ad manendum qualia potuere fixerunt. Ubi dum⁷ confluentibus ad se turbis uir Dei uerbum biduo predicaret⁸, ac spiritus sancti gratiam nuper regeneratis⁹ in Christo per manus impositionem¹⁰ ministraret, ecce subito apparuerunt¹¹ mulieres ferentes in grabato¹² iuuenem longae¹³ egritudinis¹⁴ acerbitate¹⁵ tabefactum. Ponentesque in exitu siluae¹⁶, miserunt ad episcopum¹⁷ rogantes ut ad¹⁷ accipiendam benedictionem ad se hunc afferri¹⁸ permetteret. Quem cum ad se perductum acerrime uexatum¹⁹ conspiceret, iussit omnes secedere longius. Et *ad solita* orationis arma *confugiens*, data benedictione pepulit pestem, quam²⁰ sollicita medicorum manus pigmentorum²¹ compositione nequiuerat. Denique eadem hora surgens, et accepto cibo²² confortatus, reddita Deo gratiarum actione²³, regressus est²⁴ ad eas²⁵ quae se portauerant²⁶ feminas. Sicque factum est ut quae cum illo tristes²⁷ languidum²⁹ aduexerant²⁸, cum eis inde gaudentibus et ipse sospes ac³⁰ laetabundus³¹ domum rediret.

p. 92
Vit. Ant.
c. 27

XXXIII. *Quomodo* ³² *tempore mortalitatis*³³ *morientem*
 puerum ³⁴ *matri sanum restituerit*³⁵

Eodem tempore pestilentia subito exorta illis in partibus grauissima nece incubuit, ita ut in³⁶ magnis quondam refertisque habitatoribus³⁷ uillis ac possessionibus uix paruac³⁸ raraeque³⁹ reliquiae⁴⁰ et interdum nullae⁴¹ residerent⁴².

1 *ins.* congregati C₁VHO₄. 2 *inp...* C₁VH. 3 *aecclesia* V. *aecclesia* HP₁O₈O₄M. 4-5 *pot. inu. uel loc.* O₄. 6 *caesis* C₃O₃M. 7 *cum* C₁VH. 8 *prae...* O₈O₄. 9 *baptizatis* O₄. 10 *inp...* C₁VH. *inposicionem* C₃. 11 *apparuerunt* C₁VH. 12 *grabbato* P₁O₄. 13 *longe* C₁O₃. 14 *aeg...* O₈O₄. 15 *aceruitate* C₁. 16 *silue* O₃. 17 *om.* C₁. *ins. above* V. 18 *adf...* C₁VH. *afferre* C₃. 19 *uexari* O₄. 20 *gloss above pestem* V. *gloss above scilicet pestem* H. 21 *picmen-*

from the widely scattered villages, on whom he was to lay his hands. But in the mountains no church could be found, nor any place fit to receive the bishop and his retinue. So they pitched tents for him by the wayside and, cutting down branches from the neighbouring wood, they made every man for himself booths to dwell in as best they could. There the man of God had been preaching the word for two days to the crowds who flocked to hear him, and by the laying on of hands had ministered the grace of the Holy Spirit to those who had lately been regenerated in Christ, when suddenly there appeared some women bearing upon a pallet a youth, wasted with a long and grievous sickness. Placing him on the edge of the wood, they sent to the bishop, praying that he would allow him to be brought to him to receive his blessing. When the youth had been brought to Cuthbert and he saw his terrible affliction, he bade them all go farther off. And turning to his wonted weapon of prayer, he gave his blessing and drove away the plague which the careful hands of the doctors could not expel with their compounds and drugs. Thereupon the youth rose up the same hour, received food and was strengthened and, giving thanks to God, he returned to the women who had carried him. And so it came to pass that he returned home well and joyful, amid the rejoicings of the same women who had sorrowfully conveyed him thither when he was sick.

CHAPTER XXXIII. *How, during the time of the plague, he restored a dying boy in sound health to his mother*

At the same time there suddenly arose in those parts a most grievous pestilence, and brought with it destruction so severe that in some large villages and estates once crowded with inhabitants, only a small and scattered remnant, and sometimes

torum P₁. 22 cybo H. 23 *ins. ad eas* O₄. 24-25 *om.* O₄.
 26 portarant C₁VH. 27-28 *adu. lang.* O₄. 29 *ins. rediret* O₉.
 30 et O₄. 31 *let. . .* C₃O₃. 32-33 *iam* O₄. 34-35 *osculo sanatum*
matri reddidit O₄. 36 *om.* C₁VH. 37 *habitatore* P₁. 38 *parue* C₁O₃.
 39 *rare* O₃. 40 *reliquie* C₁C₃O₃. 41 *nulle* O₈O₃. 42 *gloss above*
id est remaneret VH.

Unde sanctissimus pater Cuthbertus¹ diligentissime suam lustrans parrochiam, eisdem paruissimis quae² superfuere reliquiis ministerium uerbi et necessariae³ consolationis opem ferre non desiit. Adueniens autem in uiculum⁴ quendam, ibidemque omnibus⁵ quos inuenerat auxilio exhortationis⁶ adhibito, dixit ad presbiterum⁷ suum, Putasne superest quispiam his⁸ in locis cui⁹ nostra uisitatio¹⁰ et allocutione opus sit. An cunctis qui male habebant uisis iam ad alios transire¹¹ licet? Qui circumspiciens omnia, uidit mulierem eminus stantem, quae extincto paulo ante filio fratrem eius iam morti proximum tenebat in manibus, lacrimisque faciem rigantibus¹² praeteritam pariter et praesentem testabatur erumnam¹³. Quam cum uiro Dei ostenderet, nil moratus¹⁴ accessit ad eam et benedicens dedit osculum puero, dixitque ad matrem, Ne¹⁵ timeas¹⁶ nec mesta sis, saluabitur¹⁷ enim et uiuet infans¹⁸, neque ullus¹⁹ ultra de domu²⁰ tua²¹ hac mortalitatis peste deficiet. Cuius prophetiae ueritati ipsa cum filio mater multo exinde tempore uiuens testimonium dabat.

XXXIV. *Quomodo²² animam cuiusdam qui²³ de arbore²⁴ cadendo mortuus est²⁵ ad coelum²⁶ ferri conspexerit*

- p. 94 Interea²⁷ dum praescius²⁸ uicini sui obitus²⁹ uir Domini Cuthbertus³⁰ iam decreuisset animo deposita cura pastoralis officii solitariam redire ad uitam, quatinus excussa sollicitudine externa inter libera orationum et psalmodiae³¹ studia³² diem mortis uel potius uitae³³ coelestis³⁴ praestolaretur³⁵ ingressum, uoluit prius non solum³⁶ sua³⁸ circuita^{39, 37} parrochia⁴⁰, sed et aliis circa fidelium mansionibus uisitatis, cunctos necessario exhortationis⁴¹ uerbo

1 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. . 2 que O₃. 3 necessarie O₃.
 4 in margin Nomen uiculi Medeluong O₃. 5 hominibus P₁.
 6 exortacionis C₃. 7 in margin Nomen presbiteri Tydi O₃.
 8 hiis O₃. 9 ins. in C₁VH. 10 uisitacione C₃. 11 trans. ad al.
 C₁VH. 12 riganti C₁. . . bus above V. 13 erumpnam C₃O₃.
 14 ins. ille C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 nec M. 16 metuas C₁P₁C₃O₈O₃O₄M.
 17 sanabitur changed from sabitur C₁. sanabitur VHP₁O₄. 18 inf. et

none at all, remained. So the most holy father Cuthbert, diligently traversing his diocese, did not cease to bring the ministry of the word and the help of much-needed consolation to the poor few who remained. Coming to one village and having helped by his exhortations all whom he found, he said to his priest: "Do you think that anyone is left in these parts who needs to be visited and exhorted by us; or have we seen all who are in trouble and can we now pass on to others?" The priest, looking round everywhere, saw a woman standing at a distance who, having lost one son a little while before, was now holding his brother in her arms at the point of death; her eyes, streaming with tears, bore witness both to her past and her present troubles. The priest pointed her out to the man of God, who did not delay but, approaching her and giving her his blessing, kissed the boy and said to the mother: "Do not fear nor be sad; for your infant will be healed and will live, nor will anyone else be missing from your home through this plague." The mother herself and her son lived long afterwards to bear testimony to the truth of this prophecy.

CHAPTER XXXIV. *How he beheld the soul of a certain man, who was killed by falling from a tree, being carried to heaven*

Meanwhile Cuthbert, the man of God, being aware that his death was approaching, had now decided in his mind to lay aside the cares of the pastoral office and to return to a solitary life, so that, freed from outside anxieties, he might await the day of his death, or rather of his entrance into heavenly life, in the undisturbed practice of prayers and psalm-singing; but first he wished not only to go round his own diocese, but to visit the other dwellings of the faithful in the neighbourhood and to strengthen them all with the needful word of exhortation;

uiu. O₄. 19 om. O₄. 20 domo P₁O₈O₃O₄M. 21 ins. above aliquis O₄.
 22 qualiter VHO₈O₄M. 23-24 om. O₄. 25 erat O₄. 26 cel... O₈O₃.
 27 chapter number and capital missing C₁. 28 pre... HO₄. 29 ob. sui O₄.
 30 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. 31 psalmodie O₃. 32 studio C₁.
 changed from studio V. 33 uite C₃O₃. 34 cael... C₁V. cel... C₃O₃.
 35 pre... O₈O₄. 36-37 circuita sua M. 38 suam VH. 39 circuire
 C₁VH. 40 parrochiam VH. 41 exhortacionis C₃. exort... O₃.

confirmare, ac sic ipse desideratae¹ solitudinis gaudio refoueri. Quod dum ageret, rogatus a nobilissima et sanctissima uirgine Christi Elffledae² abbatissa cuius superius memoriam feci, uenit ad possessionem³ monasterii ipsius, quatinus ibidem et ipsam uidere atque⁴ alloqui et ecclesiam⁵ dedicare deberet. Nam et ipsa p. 95 possessio non | paucorum famulorum Christi examine pollebat. Ubi dum hora refectionis ad mensam consedisent, subito⁶ uenerabilis pater⁷ Cuthbertus⁸ auersam a carnalibus epulis⁹ mentem ad spiritualia¹⁰ contemplanda contulit¹¹. Unde lassatis ab officio suo membris corporis, mutato colore faciei¹² et quasi attonitis¹³ contra morem oculis, cultellus quoque quem tenebat decidit in mensam. Quod dum presbiter¹⁴ eius qui astabat¹⁵ et ministrabat aspiceret¹⁶, inclinatus ad abbatissam dixit silentio, Interroga episcopum quid uiderit¹⁷. Scio enim quia non sine causa manus eius tremefacta cultellum deseruit, uultusque mutatur illius, sed¹⁸ uidit aliquid spirituale¹⁹ quod nos²⁰ caeteri²¹ uidere nequiuimus²². At illa statim conuersa ad eum, Obsecro inquit²³ domine mi episcopo dicas quid uideris modo²⁴, neque enim frustra lassata²⁵ tua dextera²⁶ cultellum quem tenebat amisit. Qui dissimulare conatus uidisse se quippiam²⁷ secreti, iocose respondit, Num tota die manducare ualebam? Iam aliquando quiescere debui. Illa autem diligentius adiurante ac flagitante ut exponeret uisionem, Uidi inquit²³ animam cuiusdam sancti manibus angelicis²⁸ ad gaudia²⁹ regni coelestis³⁰ ferri. Rursus illa, De quo inquit²³ loco assumpta³¹ est? Respondit, De tuo monasterio. Adiecit nomen | inquirere. Et ille, Tu mihi³² inquit²³ die crastino missas celebranti³³ nomen eius indicabis. Haec³⁴ audiens illa, confestim misit ad maius³⁵ suum monasterium, uidere qui³⁶ nuper raptus esset e corpore.

1 desiderate O₃. 2 Aelflaede C₁V. Aelflaede H. Aelfleda P₁.
 Elffledae C₃. Aelflede O₈. Elfflede O₃M. Aelfflede O₄. 3 in margin
 Nomen loci Osingædun C₃. 4 adque C₁. et O₄. 5 eccl...
 C₁O₃O₄M. 6-7 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 8 Cudberhtus C₁V.
 Cuthberhtus H. 9 aep... O₄. 10 spiritalia C₁VH.
 11 sustulit C₁VHP₁O₄. 12 facies C₁. 13 adt... C₁V.
 14 in margin Nomen presbiteri Bæda C₃. in margin Nomen presbiteri
 Baeda O₃. 15 adst... C₁VH. ass... O₄. 16 aspexit C₁VH.

and, having done this, to be refreshed by the joy of the solitude he longed for. While he was thus engaged, at the request of the most noble and holy virgin of Christ, the abbess Aelfflaed, whom I have mentioned above, he came to an estate belonging to her monastery, in order that he might see and have conversation with her and also dedicate a church. For the estate contained no small number of the servants of Christ. When they had taken their seats at the table at meal-time, the venerable father Cuthbert suddenly turned his mind from the carnal banquet to contemplate spiritual things. The limbs of his body relaxed and lost their function, the colour of his face changed, and his eyes were fixed against their wont as if in amazement, while the knife which he was holding fell to the table. When his priest, who was standing by and serving, saw this, he bent towards the abbess, and said quietly: "Ask the bishop what he has seen; for I know that not without cause has his trembling hand loosed the knife, and his countenance changed; but he has seen something spiritual which the rest of us have not been able to see." She immediately turned to him and said: "I beseech you, my lord bishop, tell me what you have just seen; for not for nothing did your hand relax and loose the knife it held." He attempted to hide the fact that he had seen anything secret, and answered jestingly: "Can I eat all day? I must rest sometimes." But when she adjured him and importuned him more earnestly to reveal his vision, he said: "I have seen the soul of a certain holy man being carried by the hands of angels to the joys of the heavenly kingdom." Again she said: "From what place was it taken?" He answered: "From your estate." Then she enquired after his name. He said: "You will tell me his name when I am celebrating mass to-morrow." When she heard this, she immediately sent to her larger monastery to see who had recently been summoned from the body. But

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 17 <i>ins. modo</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . | 18 <i>set</i> O ₃ . | 19 <i>spiritale</i> C ₁ VH. |
| 20 <i>om. C₁VHP₁.</i> | 21 <i>ceteri</i> O ₃ M. | 22 <i>non quiuimus</i> C ₁ VH. |
| 23 <i>inquit</i> O ₈ O ₃ . | 24 <i>ins. dicas</i> M. | 25 <i>lassa</i> O ₄ . |
| 27 <i>aliquid</i> P ₁ . | 28 <i>angelorum</i> O ₄ . | 26 <i>dextra</i> P ₁ . |
| 30 <i>ins. gaudia</i> C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . | <i>cael... C₁V. cel... C₃O₃.</i> | 29 <i>om. C₁VHP₁O₄.</i> |
| C ₁ VH. | 32 <i>michi</i> O ₈ O ₄ . | 31 <i>ads...</i> |
| 35 <i>Mailros (in different hand V) H.</i> | 33 <i>cael... O₈.</i> | 34 <i>hec</i> C ₃ O ₃ . |
| | 36 <i>quis</i> VH. | |

At nuntius¹ omnes ibidem saluos incolumesque reperiens, postquam mane facto reuerti ad dominam coepit², obuios³ habuit eos qui corpus defuncti fratris⁴ sepeliendum in carro deferrent⁵. Interrogansque quis⁶ esset, didicit quia quidam de pastoribus bonae⁷ actionis uir incautius in arborem ascendens deciderat deorsum, et contrito corpore ipsa hora spiritum exalauit⁸, qua hunc uir Domini ad coelestia⁹ ductum uidebat. Quod dum rediens abbatissae¹⁰ referret, statim illa ingressa ad episcopum iam tunc dedicantem aecclesiam¹¹, stupore femineo quasi nouum aliquid¹² incertumque nuntiatura¹³, Precor inquit¹⁴ domine mi episcopo memineris ad missas Haduualdi¹⁵ mei, hoc enim uiro erat nomen, quia heri cadendo de arbore defunctus est. Tunc liquido omnibus patuit, quia multiformis prophetiae¹⁶ spiritus uiri sancti praecordii inerat, qui et in praesenti¹⁷ occultum¹⁸ animae raptum uidere¹⁹, et quid sibi in futuro ab aliis indicandum esset, potuit praeuidere.

XXXV²⁰. *Quomodo aquam gustando in uini
saporem conuerterit*

p. 97 Inde peragratis ex ordine superioribus locis, uenit ad monasterium uirginum quod non longe ab hostio²¹ Tini fluminis situm supra docuimus, ubi a religiosa²² et ad saeculum²³ quoque nobilissima²⁴ famula Christi²⁵ Uerca abbatissa magnifice susceptus²⁶, postquam de meridiana quiete surrexerunt, sitire se dicens ut biberet²⁷ rogauit. Querebant²⁹ quid bibere uellet, rogantes³⁰ ut uinum siue ceruisam³¹ afferri³² liceret, Aquam inquit³³ date mihi³⁴. Qui haustam de fonte aquam obtulerunt³⁵ ei. At ille data benedictione ubi paululum gustauit, dedit astanti³⁶ presbitero³⁷ suo, qui reddidit ministro. Et minister accepto

1 nuncius O₄. 2 caep... C₁V. cep... C₃O₃. 3 obuiam O₈.
 4 *ins.* ad (*above* V) H. 5 deferebant P₁. 6 quid P₁. qui
 C₃O₈O₃M. 7 bone O₃. 8 exhalauit C₁O₄. 9 cael... C₁V.
 cel... C₃O₃. 10 abbatisse O₈O₃. 11 eccl... C₁. aecclesiam V.
 12 al. quas. nou. P₁. 13 nunciatura C₃O₄M. 14 inquit O₃.
 15 Aduualdi C₁. Hadwaldi C₃O₈O₃M. 16 gratiae C₁VH. proph-
 etie O₃. 17 presenti O₈. 18 *om.* O₄. 19 *ins.* occultum O₄.

the messenger found that all there were safe and sound, and on the following morning was preparing to return to his mistress, when he met some men bearing the body of a dead brother to burial on a cart. On asking who it was, he learned that one of the shepherds, a man of good life, climbing a tree too incautiously had fallen down, and his body was so injured that he breathed forth his spirit at the very hour in which the man of God had seen it carried to heaven. On his return, he told the abbess and she immediately went to the bishop who was then dedicating the church; with woman-like astonishment, as if she were announcing something new and doubtful, she said: "I pray you, my lord bishop, remember at mass my Hadwald"—for that was the man's name—"who died yesterday through falling from a tree." Then it was clear to all how manifold was the spirit of prophecy in the breast of the holy man, who could not only see the secret removal of a soul in the present, but could also foresee what would be told him by others in the future.

CHAPTER XXXV. *How, by tasting water, he gave it the flavour of wine*

Having passed through the upper districts in turn, he came to the monastery of virgins which, as we have explained above, is situated not far from the mouth of the river Tyne; here he was magnificently received by a devout and also—so far as this world is concerned—a most noble handmaiden of Christ, the abbess Verca. After they had risen from their midday rest, he asked for something to drink, saying that he was thirsty. They asked what he wished to drink and prayed that they might be allowed to bring him wine or beer. "Give me water!" he said. So they brought him water drawn from the well. Having blessed it and drunk a little of it, he gave it to his priest who was standing by, who gave it to a servant.

20 *From this point on, chapter numbers in C₁ are one less than in text.* 21 ostio
 VH. 22 relegiosa C₁. 23 saecula VH. seculum O₃. 24-25 *om.* P₁.
 26 *ins. est* VH. 27-28* (p. 266) *om.* C₁VH. 29 *quaer...*
 P₁O₄. 30 *rogabantque* O₄. 31 *ceruisiam* O₃O₄. 32 *afferre*
 P₁O₄. 33 *inquit* P₁O₃. 34 *michi* O₄. 35 *optulerunt* O₃.
 36 *ass...* O₄. 37 *in margin* Nomen presbiteri Bædæ C₃. *in margin*
 Nomen presbiteri Beda O₃.

poculo, Licet inquit mihi¹ bibere de potu de quo bibit episcopus? Respondit, Etiam. Quare non liceat? Erat autem et ille presbiter² eiusdem monasterii. Bibit ergo, et uisa est ei aqua³ quasi in saporem uini⁴ conuersa, tantique sibi testem uolens adhibere miraculi fratrem⁵ p. 98 qui | proxime astabat, porrexit ei poculum. Qui cum et ipse biberet^{28*}, eius quoque palato pro aqua uinum sapiebat. Aspectabant autem mirantes ad inuicem. Et ubi uacuum⁶ tempus ad loquendum acceperunt⁷, confitebantur alterutrum quia uideretur⁸ sibi⁹ nunquam¹¹ melius¹⁰ uinum bibisse, sicut unus¹² ex ipsis¹³ postea in nostro monasterio quod est ad hostium¹⁴ Wiri¹⁵ fluminis non paruo tempore demoratus, ibidemque nunc placida quiete sepultus, sua mihi¹⁶ relatione¹⁷ testatus est.

XXXVI. *Quomodo inoboedientes¹⁸ 19 ei quosdam²⁰ fratres tempestas maris²¹ obsederit*

Duobus²² igitur annis in regimine episcopali transactis, sciens in spiritu uir Domini Cuthbertus²³ appropinquare²⁴ diem sui transitus²⁵, abiecit pondus curae²⁶ pastoralis, atque ad dilectum heremiticae²⁷ conuersationis agonem quamtotius²⁸ remeare curauit, quatinus inolita sibi sollicitudinis mundanae²⁹ spi|neta³⁰ liberior priscae³¹ compunctionis³² flamma consumeret. Quo tempore, sepius³³ ad uisitantes se³⁴ fratres de mansione sua egredi, eosque praesens solebat alloqui³⁵. Libet autem referre quoddam tunc ab eo factum miraculum, quo clarius elucescat quantum uiris sanctis obtemperandum sit etiam in his³⁶ quae negligentius³⁷ imperare uidentur. Quadam die dum uenissent quidam³⁸, egressusque ille exhortatorio³⁹ illos⁴⁰

1 michi inq. O₄.

2 in margin Nomen presbiteri Betuald C₃O₃.

3 om. P₁O₄. aquam C₁VH.

4 ins. aqua P₁O₄. 5 in margin Nomen fratris Fridumundus O₃.

6 ins. hic P₁. 7 receperunt C₁VHP₁O₄.

8 uiderentur C₁VHP₁O₄.

9-10 melius numquam C₁.

11 numquam C₁VH.

12 in margin Nomen fratris Fridumund C₃.

13 eis C₁VHP₁O₄.

14 ostium HO₈.

15 Uuiri C₁VHP₁O₄.

16 michi O₄.

17 reuelatione C₁VH.

18 inobed... O₈O₃M.

19-20 om. O₄.

21 ins. per septem dies O₈O₃M.

22 note in margin De sancto Cuthberhto I V.

23 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H.

9-10 melius numquam C₁.

12 in margin Nomen fratris Fridumund C₃.

13 eis C₁VHP₁O₄.

14 ostium HO₈.

15 Uuiri C₁VHP₁O₄.

16 michi O₄.

17 reuelatione C₁VH.

18 inobed... O₈O₃M.

19-20 om. O₄.

21 ins. per septem dies O₈O₃M.

22 note in margin De sancto Cuthberhto I V.

23 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H.

When the servant had taken the cup, he said: "May I drink from the cup from which the bishop has drunk?" He answered: "Yes, why not?" Now this man also was a priest of the same monastery. So he drank, and it seemed to him as if the water had acquired the flavour of wine, and wishing to make a brother who was standing by a witness of so great a miracle, he handed him the cup; and when he too had drunk, he also tasted wine on his palate instead of water. They gazed at each other in wonder and when they had an opportunity to speak together, they confessed to each other that it seemed to them that they had never drunk better wine. One of these related it to me himself, for he dwelt some considerable time in our monastery which is at the mouth of the river Wear, and he now lies peacefully buried in the same place.

CHAPTER XXXVI. *How a storm at sea detained certain brethren who were disobedient to him*

So, having spent two years in episcopal rule, Cuthbert the man of God, knowing in his spirit that the day of his departure was at hand, threw aside the burden of his pastoral care and determined to return to the strife of a hermit's life which he loved so well, and that as soon as possible, so that the flame of his old contrition might consume more easily the implanted thorns of worldly cares. At that time he was wont to go out of his dwelling-place frequently, to meet the brothers who visited him and to speak with them in person. It is well to narrate a certain miracle wrought by him, so that it may be more evident how obedient we ought to be to holy men, even in those matters about which they seem to give very casual commands. On a certain day some of them had come and he went out to refresh them with words of exhortation; after

24 adp... C₁VH. 25 trans. sui O₄. 26 cure C₃O₃. 27 heremitice O₃C₃.
 28 quantotius C₁P₁C₃. quantocius VH. 29 mundane O₃.
 30 spinacta VH. 31 prisce C₃O₃. 32 comp... C₁VH. 33 om. O₄.
 34 ins. sepius O₄. 35 adl... C₁. *changed from adl... V. note in margin* lact
 her 7 foh on pone oþerne capitel V. 36 hiis O₃. 37 negligentius C₁VH.
 38 ins. above fratrum O₄. 39 exhortatorio C₁. ex oratorio
 (first t above) V. exhortatoria H. ex oratorio *changed to* ex oratorio O₃.
 40 eos C₁VHP₁O₄.

sermone reficeret, post admonitionem¹ completam² subiunxit³ dicens, iam hora est, ut ad mansionem meam regrediar, uos autem quia proficisci disponitis, primo sumite cibos⁴, et aucam illam, ⁵pendebat enim auca⁶ in pariete, coquite et comedite, et sic in nomine Domini nauem ascendite, ac domum⁷ redite. Dixerat haec, et data oratione⁸ et⁹ benedictione suam mansionem introiuit¹⁰. Illi autem ut praeceperat sumpsere¹¹ cibos¹², sed¹³ quia abundabant¹⁴ cibis¹⁵ quos secum attulerant¹⁶, aucam de qua praeceperat¹⁷ tangere non curabant. At¹⁸ cum refecti nauiculam uellent ascendere, exorta¹⁹ subito tempestas fera omnem eis nauigandi facultatem abstulit. Factumque est ut septem diebus feruente unda conclusi tristes in insula residerent, nec²⁰ tamen culpam inoboedientiae²¹, pro qua huiusmodi carcerem patiebantur²² ad p. 100 memoriam reuocarent. | Qui cum sedulo ad patris colloquium reuersi, ac de reditus sui dispendio conquesti, patientiae²³ ab illo monita perciperent²⁴, septima tandem die egressus ipse ad eos uolebat mesticiam²⁵ eorum gratia suae²⁶ uisitationis²⁷ et consolationis pia²⁸ uerbo lenire. Ingressus autem domum in qua manebant, ut uidit aucam non fuisse comestam²⁹, placido uultu et laeto³⁰ potius³¹ sermone redarguit eorum³² inoboedientiam³³, Nonne iniquiens incomesta adhuc pendet auca? Et quid mirum si uos mare non sinit³⁴ abire? Citissime³⁵ ergo mittite eam in caldariam, coquite et comedite, ut possit mare quiescere, et uos domum remittere. Fecerunt statim ut iusserat, contigitque miro ordine ut cum ad praeceptum uiri Dei coctura in caldaria³⁶ foco agente feruere coepisset³⁷, eadem hora unda in mari cessantibus uentis suo a feruore quiesceret³⁸. Expleta itaque refectione uidentes mare placidum ascenderunt nauem³⁹, et secundis flatibus cum gaudio

1 amm... C ₁ VHO ₄ .	2 comp... C ₁ VH.	3 subiunxit O ₉ .
4 cybos H.	5-6 quae enim pendet VH.	7 ins. uestram P ₁ .
8 oratione C ₃ .	9 ac C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	10 introiit C ₁ VHP ₁ .
11 sumpsere O ₄ .	12 cybos H.	13 set O ₃ .
15 cybis H.	14 hab... C ₁ VHO ₃ .	17 pre... V.
16 adt... C ₁ VH.	18 et P ₁ .	
19 exhorta C ₁ .	20 naec V.	21 inobed... C ₁ VP ₁ O ₃ .
22 paciebantur C ₃ O ₈ .	23 patientiae C ₁ VHO ₄ M.	24 perceperunt C ₁ VH.

he had finished his admonition, he added these words: "It is now time for me to return to my dwelling and you, as you are disposed to start, first take some food; and that goose"—for there was a goose hanging on the wall—"cook it and eat it, and so in the name of the Lord go on board your vessel and return home." Having said these words and given them his blessing, he entered his dwelling. They took food as he had bidden; but because they had brought plenty of food with them, they did not trouble to take the goose as he had commanded them. When, after the meal, they wished to go on board their boat, suddenly a fierce tempest arose and entirely prevented them from setting sail. And it happened that for seven days they remained miserably on the island, shut in by the raging seas; nor did they realise that it was for the sin of disobedience that they were suffering imprisonment of this sort. When they had anxiously returned to speak with the father and complained about the delay in their return, they received from him exhortations to patience. However, on the seventh day, he went out to them of his own accord, wishing to alleviate their sadness by graciously visiting them and by words of pious consolation. As soon as he had entered the house in which they were and saw that the goose had not been eaten, with unruffled mien and even with joyful words, he convicted them of disobedience. "Does not the goose hang there still unconsumed," he said, "then why marvel that the sea does not permit you to depart? Put it quickly therefore into the pot; cook it and eat it in order that the sea may quieten and let you go home." They did at once as he commanded; and it happened in a wonderful way that when the goose which was to be cooked at the bidding of the man of God had begun to boil in the pot over the fire, at that same hour the waves of the sea ceased from their fury and the winds fell. And so when the meal was finished, they saw that the sea was calm and went on board their ship and with favourable

gloss above uel perciperent VH. 25 mestitiam C₁VHP₁. 26 sue O₃.
 27 uisitacionis C₃O₃. 28 pie O₃. 29 commestam O₈. 30 leto C₃O₃.
 31 pocius C₃O₃. 32 eos P₁O₄. 33 inobedientiae P₁O₄.
 inobedienciam O₃. 34 siuit C₁VHP₁M. 35 certissime O₉.
 36 caldario C₁VH. 37 caep... C₁V. cep... P₁C₃O₃. 38 quiescere
 O₉C₃O₃M. 39 nauim VH.

simul et pudore domum remeauerunt¹. Pudebat nanque² eos inoboedientiae³ et sensus tardioris, quo uetebantur⁴ suum etiam inter flagella conditoris dinoscere et emendare
 p. 101 reatum. Gaudebant⁵ quia intellexere tantam fuisse Deo curam de fidei suo famulo, ut contemptum eius etiam per elementa uindicaret. Gaudebant⁶ quia uidere⁷ tantam suimet curam suo⁸ fuisse creatori, ut etiam manifesto miraculo ipsorum errata corrigeret. Hoc sane quod retuli miraculum, non quolibet auctore⁹, sed uno eorum qui interfuere narrante cognoui, uitae uidelicet uenerabilis monacho et presbitero eiusdem monasterii¹⁰ Cynimundo¹¹, qui plurimis late¹² fidelium longeuittatis¹³ et uitae¹⁴ gratia iam notus existit.

XXXVII. ¹⁵ *Quanta egrotus temptamenta pertulerit,*
¹⁶ *quidue de sepultura sua¹⁸ mandauerit migraturus^{19, 17}*

Repetiit autem insulam mansionemque suam uir Domini²⁰ Cuthbertus²¹ mox peracto²² die solenni²³ natiuitatis dominicae²⁴. Cunque²⁵ eum²⁶ nauem²⁷ ascensurum caterua fratrum circumstaret, interrogauit unus ex eis ueteranus et uenerabilis uitae²⁸ monachus²⁹, fortis quidem fide sed
 p. 102 dissenteriae³⁰ morbo corpore iam factus imbecillis³¹, | Dic nobis inquiring domine episcopo quando reditum tuum sperare debeamus. At ille simpliciter interroganti simpliciter et ipse quod uerum nouerat pandens, Quando inquit³² meum corpus³³ huc referetis³⁴. Qui³⁵ cum duos ferme menses in magna repetitae³⁶ suae³⁷ quietis³⁸ exultatione transigeret³⁹, multo consuetae⁴⁰ districtiois rigore corpus mentemque constringeret, arreptus infirmitate subita, temporalis igne doloris ad perpetuae⁴¹ coepit⁴² beatitudinis gaudia praeparari⁴³. Cuius obitum libet uerbis

1 remearunt C₁VHP₁O₄. 2 namque C₁VH. 3 inobed... P₁O₃.
 4 uetabantur C₁VHO₃. above uel uetabantur O₈. uerebantur P₁.
 5 ins. uero O₄. 6 ins. quoque O₄. 7 uiderent P₁. 8 sui C₁.
 9 ins. dubio O₄. 10 ins. nomine O₄. 11 Cynimundo C₁VH.
 12 latae C₁VH. 13 long. fid. M. 14 uite O₃. 15 ins. De
 transitu beatissimi presulis Cuthberti O₄. 16-17 et quid de sepul-
 tura praeceperit O₄. 18 sua sep. VHO₈M. 19 om. VHO₈O₃M.
 20 Dei P₁O₈O₃O₄. 21 om. C₁VH. 22 peracta C₁VH. 23 sollempni

winds returned home with feelings both of joy and shame. For they were ashamed of their disobedience and of their slowness to perceive, whereby they were hindered from recognising and correcting their faults, notwithstanding the chastisement of the Creator. They rejoiced because they saw that God took such care of His faithful servant that He even punished, by means of the elements, those who esteemed His servant lightly. And they rejoiced because their Creator took such care of themselves that He corrected their errors even by a manifest miracle. This miracle which I have related, I learned not from any chance source, but from the account of one of those who were present, namely from Cynimund, a monk and priest of reverend life of the same monastery, who is still alive and well-known far and wide to many of the faithful, on account of his great age and of his manner of life.

CHAPTER XXXVII. *What trials he endured while sick and what he commanded concerning his burial, when about to depart this life*

Now Cuthbert the man of God sought his island dwelling-place once more, as soon as ever the holy day of the nativity of the Lord was past. And when a crowd of brethren stood round him as he was about to go aboard his ship, one of them, an aged monk of venerable life, strong in the faith but now weakened in body by dysentery, said: "Tell us, lord bishop, when we may hope for your return." And the bishop, who knew the truth, gave a plain answer to this plain question, saying: "When you bring my body back here." He had passed almost two months greatly rejoicing in his refound quiet, keeping under both mind and body by the rigours of his accustomed strictness, when he was attacked by a sudden illness and began to be prepared by the fires of temporal pain for the joys of perpetual bliss. His death let me describe in

C₁VHM. sollempi P₁. sollempni O₃. 24 dominice O₃. 25 cumque
 C₁VHO₄M. 26 illum VH. 27 nauim VH. 28 uite O₃.
 29 monacus C₃. 30 distenteriae C₁. dissentyriac H. dissenterie O₃.
 31 inb... C₁VH. 32 inquid O₃. 33 corp. me. M. 34 refertis C₂O₄.
changed from refertis V. 35 II in margin V. 36 repetite O₃. 37 sue O₃.
 38 quiaet... V. 39 transieret, n above C₁. 40 consuacete C₁. consuete O₃.
 41 perpetue O₃. 42 caep... C₁V. cep... C₂O₃. 43 prep... VHP₁.

illius cuius relatione didici describere, Herefridi uidelicet deuotae¹ religionis presbiteri, qui etiam tunc Lindisfarnensi² monasterio abbatis iure praefuit³. Tribus inquit⁴ ebdomadibus continuis infirmitate decoctus, sic ad extrema peruenit. Si quidem quarta feria coepit⁵ aegrotare⁶, et rursus quarta feria finita aegritudine⁷ migravit ad Dominum. At⁸ cum⁹ mane primo inchoatae¹⁰ infirmitatis¹¹ uenirem, nam et¹² ante triduum cum fratribus insulam adieram, cupiens solitae¹³ benedictionis et exhortationis¹⁴ ab eo solatia¹⁵ percipere, ut dato iuxta morem signo me aduenisse prodidi, processit ad fenestram, et salutanti se mihi¹⁶ suspirium pro responso reddidit. Cui ego, Quid habes inquam domine mi episcope, an forte nocte hac tuus te | languor tetigit? At ille, Etiam inquit¹⁷ languor me tetigit nocte hac¹⁸. Putabam quia de ueteri¹⁹ sua infirmitate cuius cotidiana pene molestia consueuerat excoqui, non autem de noua et insolita diceret. Nec plura interrogans, Da inquam benedictionem nobis, quia iam tempus nauigandi, ac domum remeandi²⁰ adest²¹. Facite inquit²² ut dicis²³, ascendite nauem²⁴ ac domum salui redite. Cum autem Deus suscepit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansione iuxta oratorium meum ad meridiem contra orientalem plagam sanctae²⁵ crucis quam ibidem erexi. Est autem ad aquilonalem²⁶ eiusdem oratorii partem sarcophagum²⁷ terrae²⁸ cespite abditum, quod olim mihi¹⁶ Cudda uenerabilis abbas donauit. In hoc corpus meum²⁹ reponite, inuoluentes in sindone quam inuenietis istic. Nolui quidem ea uiuens indui, sed pro amore dilectae³⁰ Deo feminae³¹, quae³² hanc michi³³ misit, Uercae³⁴ uidelicet abbatis³⁵ ad obuoluendum³⁶ corpus meum reseruare curauit. ³⁷Haec³⁹ ego³⁸ audiens⁴⁰, Obsecro inquam pater quia infirmantem et moriturum te audio aliquos de fratribus hic ad ministrandum tibi remanere permittas.

1 deuote O₃. 2 Lindisfarnensis C₁. *altered from* Lindisfarnensis V.
 3 pref. . . V. 4 *ins. namque above* H. praefuit O₃. 5 caep. . . C₁V.
 cep. . . C₃O₃. 6 egrotari C₁VH. egr. . . M. 7 egr. . . C₁VHP₁C₃O₃M.
 8 ad quem P₁O₄. 9 dum O₄. 10 inchoatae P₁. inchoate O₃.
 11 infirmitate O₃. 12 *om.* P₁O₄. 13 solite O₈O₃. 14 exortacionis
 C₃. exortat. . . M. 15 solacia C₁VHP₁C₃O₃. 16 michi O₄.

the words of him from whom I heard about it, namely Herefrith, a devoutly religious priest who also at that time presided over the monastery at Lindisfarne as abbot.

"After having been weakened", he said, "by three weeks of continuous sickness, he came to his end thus. For he was taken ill on a Wednesday and again on a Wednesday his illness came to an end and he went to be with the Lord. On the morning when his illness first began (for I had come to the island with the brethren three days previously) I came to him and gave warning of my approach by means of the usual signal, desiring to receive the comfort of his accustomed benediction and exhortation. He came to the window and answered my greeting with a sigh. I said to him: 'What is the matter, my lord bishop? Perhaps your illness has attacked you during the night?' He said: 'Yes, illness has attacked me during the night.' I thought that he was speaking of his old complaint which used to afflict him almost daily, and not of some new and unusual complaint. Without asking any further questions, I said: 'Give me your blessing, for it is time to set sail and to return home.' 'Do as you say,' he said, 'get on board your vessel, and return home safe and sound. And when God has taken my spirit, bury me in this dwelling near my oratory towards the south, on the eastern side of the holy cross which I have erected there. Now there is on the north side of this same oratory a sarcophagus hidden under the turf, which the venerable abbot Cudda once gave me. Place my body in this, wrapping it in the cloth which you will find there. I was unwilling to wear the cloth while alive but, out of affection for the abbess Verca, a woman beloved of God, who sent it to me, I have taken care to keep it to wrap my body in.' When I heard this I said: 'I beseech you, father, since I hear that you are ill and like to die, that you will allow some of the brethren to remain here and

17 inquit O ₃ .	18 hac nocte P ₁ .	19 uetere P ₁ .	20 repetendi
C ₁ VHO ₄ .	petendi P ₁ .	21 III in margin V.	22 ins. Cuthberhtus
above V. inquit O ₃ .	23 dicitis P ₁ .	24 nauim VH.	25 sancte O ₃ .
26 aquilonem C ₁ VO ₈ .	27 sargofagum C ₃ .		28 terre O ₃ .
29 meum corp. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	30 dilecte O ₈ O ₃ .		31 femine C ₁ O ₃ .
32 que O ₃ .	33 mihi C ₁ VHP ₁ C ₃ O ₃ .		34 Uerce O ₃ M.
35 abbatisse C ₃ O ₃ .	36 abluendam C ₁ .	37-38 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	
39 h ^c .O ₁ .	40 ins. haec C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .		

At¹ ille, Ite inquit² modo, tempore autem oportuno³
 p. 104 redite. Cunque⁴ diligen|tius obsecrans ut ministrum sus-
 ciperet⁵ nequaquam impetrare ualerem, tandem interro-
 gaui quando deberemus reuerti. Qui ait, Quando Deus
 uoluerit, et ipse uobis ostenderit. Fecimus ut iusserat,
 conuocatisque mox in aecclesiam⁶ fratribus cunctis, iussi
 orationem fieri sine intermissione pro eo, quia Uidetur
 inquiens mihi⁷ ex quibusdam uerbis illius appropinquare⁸
 diem quo sit exiturus ad Dominum⁹. Eram autem
 sollicitus de reditu propter infirmitatem eius¹⁰, sed quinque
 diebus obstitit tempestat ne redire possemus. Quod
 Gen. 41. diuinitus dispensatum fuisse *rei probauit euentus*. Ut enim
 13 omnipotens Deus famulum suum ab omni labe mundanae¹¹
 fragilitatis ad purum castigaret, utque aduersariis eius
 quam¹² nichil¹³ contra fidei uirtutem¹⁴ ualerent ostenderet,
 uoluit eum tanto tempore segregatum ab hominibus¹⁵
 et suae¹⁶ carnis dolore et antiqui hostis acriori certamine
 probari. Ut autem reddita tranquillitate insulam repe-
 tituimus, inuenimus eum suo monasterio egressum sedere
 in domo¹⁷ in qua nos manere solebamus. Et quia necessitas
 quaedam poscebat fratres qui mecum uenerant re nauigare
 ad proximum litus, ipse remanens in insula confestim¹⁸
 p. 105 patri ministerium praebere¹⁹ | curauit. Siquidem calefaciens
 aquam abluebam pedem²⁰ eius, qui²¹ gratia diutini²²
 tumoris²³ iam tunc ulcus habebat²⁴, ac profluente²⁵ sanie²⁶
 cura indigebat. Sed et uinum calefaciens attuli²⁷, eumque
 gustare rogauit. Uidebam nanque²⁸ in facie eius, quia
 multum inedia simul et languore erat defessus. Completa
 curatione resedit quietus in stratu²⁹, resedi et ego iuxta
 eum. Cunque³⁰ sileret, dixi, Uideo domine episcope quia
 multum uexatus es ab infirmitate postquam recessimus³¹
 a te, et mirum quare nolueris ut aliquos nostrum qui tibi

1 ad C₁. 2 inquit O₃. 3 opp... C₃O₃. 4 cumque C₁VHM.
 5 ins. sed P₁. 6 eccl... C₁C₃O₃. aeccles... V. 7 michi O₄.
 8 adp... C₁VH. 9 Deum C₁VHP₁O₄. IIII in margin V.
 10 uiri Dei above V. 11 mundane O₃. 12 quo (changed to V) H.
 13 nihil C₁VHP₁. 14 fortitudinem C₁VHP₁O₄. 15 ab hom.
 seg. O₄. 16 suc O₃. 17 domum C₁. domu VH. 18 om. O₄.
 19 pre... HP₁O₄. 20 pedes VHP₁. 21 gloss above scilicet pedes H.

minister to you.' But he said: 'Go now and return at the proper time.' And though I besought him very diligently to accept a servant, I could by no means gain my request. At length I asked him when we ought to return. He said: 'When God wills and when He himself shall direct you.' We did as he commanded, and, immediately calling all the brethren to the church, I commanded that prayer should be made without intermission for him. 'For', I added, 'it seems to me from certain words of his, that the day is approaching when he will depart to be with the Lord.' Now I was anxious about returning on account of his infirmity, but for five days a tempest hindered us; however, as events proved, this was a divine dispensation. For in order that Almighty God might, by chastisement, purify His servant from all blemish of worldly weakness and in order that He might show his adversaries that they could avail nothing against the strength of his faith, He wished to test him by bodily pain and by a still fiercer contest with the ancient foe, cutting him off from mankind for that space of time. But when calm weather was restored and we returned to the island, we found that he had gone out of his monastery and was sitting in the dwelling in which we used to stay. And because some urgent matter compelled the brethren who came with me to return to the neighbouring shore, I myself remained on the island and immediately set about ministering to the father. So I warmed some water and bathed his foot which, owing to a long-standing swelling, now had an ulcer on it and, as it was suppurating, required treatment. I also warmed some wine and brought it and asked him to taste it; for I saw by his face that he was greatly wearied both by lack of food and by disease. When I had finished my ministrations, he sat down quietly again on the couch and I sat near him. Since he was silent, I said: 'I see, my lord bishop, that you have been greatly afflicted by illness since we left you; and I marvel that you would not suffer us, when we went away, to leave some of our brethren here to

22 diutinis O₄.
to V) H.

27 adt. . . C₁VH.

30 cumque C₁VHO₄M.

23 *changed from* timoris V.

25 profuenti C₁VHP₁.

28 namque C₁VH.

31 secessimus P₁.

24 habebant (*changed*

26 saniae C₁VH.

29 strato C₁VHP₁.

ministrarent hic dimitteremus abeuntes. At ille, Dei inquit¹ prouidentia et uoluntate gestum est, ut² praesentia³ et⁴ auxilio destitutus humano, aliquo⁵ paterer aduersa. Postquam enim a me⁶ digressi estis, continuo coepit⁷ languor⁸ ingrauescere⁹. Ideoque de mea mansione egrediens huc intraui, ut quicumque¹⁰ uestrum michi¹¹ ministraturi aduenirent, hic me possent inuenire¹², nec meam mansionem necesse haberent ingredi. ¹³Ex quo autem ingrediens¹⁴ hac in sede membra composui¹⁵, non moui me hinc, sed quinque diebus his¹⁶ et noctibus hic quietus permansi. Cui ego, Et quomodo inquam domine p. 106 mi episcopo sic uiuere potuisti? Num absque cibi¹⁷ | perceptione tanto tempore mansisti? Tum ille relecto¹⁸ lectisternio cui supersedebat, ostendit ibi¹⁹ caepas²⁰ quinque reconditas et ait, Hic mihi²¹ uictus erat his¹⁶ quinque²² diebus. Quotiescunque²³ enim os ariditate ac siti nimia²⁴ aruit et²⁵ ardebat, haec²⁶ gustando me recreare ac refrigerare²⁷ curauit. Uidebatur autem una²⁸ de caepis²⁹, minus quam dimidia parte corrosa³⁰. Insuper ait³¹, Et concertatores mei³² nunquam³³ per omne tempus ex quo in hac insula conuersari coepi³⁴, tot mihi³⁵ persecutiones³⁶ quot in his quinque diebus intulere³⁷. Non audebam interrogare quae essent temptationes³⁸ de quibus³⁹ dixerat, tantum rogauit, ut ministros susciperet. Annuit⁴⁰ ille, et quosdam nostrum secum retinuit, in quibus erat maior Beda presbiter qui ministerio eius familiariter semper adesse consueuerat, ideoque donationum acceptationumque⁴¹ eius omnium conscius erat indubius. Quem ob id maxime secum manere⁴² uoluit, ut si cuiuslibet acceptis muneribus digna recompensatione⁴³ non respondisset, illius admonitione⁴⁴ recoleret, et priusquam obiret, sua cuique restitueret. Sed et alium quendam de fratribus⁴⁵

1 inquit O₃. 2 *ins.* in P₁. 3 presenti P₁. pre... O₄. 4 *om.* P₁.
 5 aliqua VHP₁O₃O₄M. V *in margin* V. 6 *ins.* above beatus pater inquit V.
 7 caep... C₁V. cep... C₃O₃. 8 *om.* C₁VHP₁O₄.
 9 ingrauescere C₁VHP₁O₄. *ins.* languor C₁VHP₁O₄. 10 quicumque C₁VH.
 11 mihi C₁VHP₁C₃O₈. 12 inu. poss. C₁VH. 13-14 *om.* C₁VH.
 15 comp... C₁VH. 16 hiis O₃. 17 cybi H. 18 relecto C₁.
 relecto (*changed to* V) H. 19 cibi O₉. 20 cepas C₃O₃.
 21 michi O₄. 22 *om.* C₁VHP₁O₄. 23 quotiescumque C₁VH.

minister to you.' But he said: 'It happened through the providence and will of God that, destitute of human society and help, I should suffer some afflictions. For after you departed from me, my sickness immediately began to grow worse; and so I left my dwelling-place and came in here in order that those of you who came to minister to me could find me here and not be compelled to enter my dwelling. And since I came hither and composed my limbs on this couch, I have not stirred from here, but for five days and nights I have remained in this place without moving.' I said to him: 'And how, my lord bishop, could you live thus? Surely you have not been so long without taking food?' Then he drew back the coverlet of the bed on which he was seated and showed me five onions concealed below and said: 'This was my food during these five days; for as often as my mouth was parched and burned through excess of dryness and thirst, I sought to refresh and cool myself by tasting these.' And indeed somewhat less than half of one of the onions seemed to have been nibbled away. And furthermore he added: 'My adversaries have never persecuted me so frequently, during all the time I have been living on this island, as during these five days.' I did not dare to ask what were the temptations of which he spoke. I only asked him to allow some of us to wait on him. He consented and kept with him some of our brethren, amongst whom was the priest Beda the elder, who was always accustomed to render him intimate service, and so knew all about all the gifts he had given and the presents he had received; for this reason Cuthbert greatly desired him to remain with him, in order that, if he had not made a fitting return for any gifts he had received, Beda might remind him of it, so that, before he died, he might restore to each one his own. Moreover he specially named another

quotiescunque P ₁ O ₄ .	24-25 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	26 hec C ₃ O ₃ .
27 ref. ac rec. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	28 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ .	29 cepis P ₁ O ₃ .
30 conrosa VH.	31 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	32 ins. inquit O ₄ .
33 numquam C ₁ VH.	34 caepi C ₁ V. cepi C ₃ O ₃ .	35 michi O ₄ M.
36 persecuciones C ₃ .	37 VI in margin V.	38 temptaciones C ₃ .
39 ins. above sanctus V.	40 adn... C ₁ VH. gloss above id est permittet H.	
41 acceptionumque O ₉ P ₁ C ₃ O ₈ .	42 retinere O ₄ .	43 comp... C ₁ .
recomp... VH.	44 amm... O ₄ .	45 in margin Nomen fratris
Ualchstod C ₃ . in margin	Nomen fratris	Walchstod O ₃ .

p. 107 specialiter ut inter ministros sibi adesset designauit. | Qui longo quidem uentris fluxu grauiter quidem¹ aegrotabat², neque a medicis poterat curari, sed merito religionis, prudentiae³, et grauitatis dignus extiterat, qui⁴ testis esset uerborum quae⁵ uir Dei ultima diceret, uel quo ordine⁶ ad Dominum migraret^{8,7}. Interea rediens domum narrabam fratribus quia uenerabilis pater in sua⁹ se insula sepeliri iuberet, Et uidetur inquam mihi¹⁰ iustius esse multo et dignius impetrare ab eo, quatinus¹¹ huc transferri corpus suum, et iuxta honorem congruum¹² in aeclesia¹⁴ condi¹³ permittat. Placuerunt illis quae¹⁵ dixeram, et uenientes ad episcopum rogabamus dicentes, Non ausi sumus domine episcope contempnere iussionem tuam qua te hic tumulari mandasti, et¹⁶ tamen rogandum uidebatur nobis ut te ad nos transferre et nobiscum habere mereamur¹⁷. At ille, Et¹⁸ meae¹⁹ inquit²⁰ uoluntatis erat hic requiescere corpore ubi quantulumcumque²¹ pro Domino *certamen*
 2 Tim. *certaui*, ubi *cursum consummare* desidero, unde ad *coronam*
 4. 7. 8 *iustitiae*²² subleuandum²³ me a pio iudice spero. Sed²⁴ et uobis quoque commodius esse arbitror ut hic requiescam, propter incursionem profugorum uel noxiorum quorumlibet. Qui cum ad corpus meum forte confugerint²⁵,
 p. 108 quia qualiscumque²⁶ sum²⁷, fama tamen exiit²⁸ | de me quia famulus Christi sim, necesse habetis sepius pro talibus apud potentes saeculi²⁹ intercedere, atque ideo de praesentia³⁰ corporis mei multum tolerare³¹ laborem. At nobis multum diu precantibus³² laboremque modi³³ huius gratum nobis ac leuem fore asseuerantibus, tandem cum consilio locutus uir Domini, Si meam inquit³⁴ dispositionem³⁵ superare et meum³⁶ corpus illo reducere uultis, uidetur mihi³⁷ optimum ut in³⁸ interioribus basilicae³⁹ uestrae⁴⁰

1 om. C₁VHP₁O₄. 2 egr... C₁VHP₁O₈O₃M. 3 prudencie O₃.
 4 gloss above uel quo H. 5 que O₃. 6-7 mig. ad
 Dom. C₁VHP₁O₄. 8 VII in margin V. 9 a above C₁.
 10 michi O₃O₄M. 11 quatenus C₁. changed from quatenus V.
 12-13 cond. in aecl. O₄. 14 aeclae... V. eccles... C₁C₁O₃.
 15 qui O₃. 16 sed O₄. 17 mer. hab. C₁VHO₄.
 18 VIII in margin V. 19 mee O₃. 20 ins. above Cuth-
 berthus V. 21 quantulumcumque C₁VHP₁. 22 iustitiae C₁VH.

brother to be amongst his servants. This man had long been very ill with diarrhoea and could not be cured by the physicians; but was worthy, by merit of his piety, prudence and seriousness, to be a witness of the last words that the man of God should speak and of the manner in which he departed to be with the Lord. Meanwhile, having returned home, I told the brethren that the venerable father had ordered that he should be buried in his own island. 'But', I said, 'it seems to me much more proper and worthy that we should win his permission to bring his body here and bury it with fitting honour in the church.' My words pleased them and we came to the bishop and asked him, saying: 'We did not dare, my lord bishop, to despise your commands in bidding us bury you here; nevertheless it seemed right to us to ask you to consider us worthy to bring you to ourselves and to have you with us.' He said: 'It was my desire that my body should rest here where, to some small extent, I have fought my fight for the Lord, where I desire to finish my course, and where I hope that I shall be raised up to receive the crown of righteousness from the righteous Judge. But I also think that it will be more expedient for you that I should remain here, on account of the influx of fugitives and guilty men of every sort, who will perhaps flee to my body because, unworthy as I am, reports about me as a servant of God have nevertheless gone forth; and you will be compelled very frequently to intercede with the powers of this world on behalf of such men, and so will be put to much trouble on account of the presence of my body.' But after we had pleaded with him earnestly and long, and had declared that labour of this kind would be pleasing and light to us, at length the man of God spoke words of counsel. 'If', he said, 'you wish to set aside my plans and to take my body back there, it seems best that you entomb it in the interior of your church, so that while

23 sull... P ₁ C ₁ .	24 set O ₃ .	25 confugerunt C ₁ .	26 qualis-
cumque C ₁ VHO ₄ .	27 sim P ₁ .	28 exhibit O ₉ .	exiuit
C ₃ O ₃ M.	29 seculi O ₃ O ₄ .	30 pre... HO ₄ .	31 tollere C ₁ .
32 prae... HO ₈ .	33 eius modi C ₁ V.	34 inquit C ₁ O ₃ .	
35-36 om. C ₁ . in margin V.	37 michi O ₄ .	38 in above C ₁ .	
39 basilice O ₃ .	40 uestre O ₃ .		

illud tumuletis, quatinus et ipsi cum uultis meum sepulchrum¹ uisitare possitis, et in potestate sit uestra² an aliqui illo de aduenientibus accedant. Gratias egimus permissioni³ et consilio illius flexis in terra⁴ genibus, ac domum redeuntes, frequentius illum exinde uisitare non destitimus.

XXXVIII. *Quomodo ministrum suum a profluuiio uentris* ⁵ *ipse aegrotus*⁶ *sanauerit*⁷ |

p. 109 Cunque⁸ increscente languore uideret *tempus* suae *resolu-*
 2 Tim. *tionis instare*, praecepit⁹ se in suam mansiunculam atque
 4. 6 oratorium referri¹⁰. Erat autem hora diei tertia¹¹. Por-
 tauimus ergo illum, quia prae molestia languoris ipse non
 ualebat ingredi. At ubi ad portam peruenimus, rogabamus
 ut alicui¹² nostrum liceret ad ministrandum ei pariter
 intrare. Non enim per annos plurimos quispiam illuc¹³
 praeter¹⁴ ipsum intrauerat. Qui circumspectis omnibus,
 uidit fratrem cuius supra memini¹⁵ uentris fluxu languen-
 tem, et ait, Walchstod¹⁶ ingrediatur mecum. Hoc enim
 erat nomen fratris¹⁷. Qui cum ad nonam usque horam
 intus cum illo maneret, sic egrediens uocauit me, Episcopus
 inquiring te iussit ad se intrare¹⁸. Possum autem tibi rem
 referre¹⁹ nouam permirabilem, quia ex quo ingrediens
 illuc tetigi episcopum deducturus cum ad oratorium,
 continuo sensi me omni illa longe infirmitatis molestia
 carere. Non²⁰ autem dubitandum supernae²¹ pietatis hoc
 dispensatione²² procuratum²³, ut qui multos antea sospes
 adhuc ualensque curauerat, hunc quoque moriturus curaret
 p. 110 quatinus hoc quoque indicio pateret etiam corpore | infir-
 matus uir sanctus quantum spiritu ualeret. In qua profecto
 curatione sequebatur exemplum sanctissimi et reuerentis-
 simi patris Aurelii Augustini²⁴ episcopi. Qui dum pressus

I sepulcrum O₃. 2 uest. sit C₁VH. 3 permissioni O₄.
 4 terram C₃O₈O₃M. 5-6 om. VHC₃O₈O₃M. 5-7 sanauit ipse
 aegrotus O₄. 7 ins. egrotum VH. ins. egrotus uir beatus C₃O₈O₃M.
 8 cumque C₁VHO₃O₄M. X in margin V. in margin In deponicione
 eiusdem O₃. 9 pre... O₈O₃. 10 referre C₁P₁O₄. 11 tertia
 C₁VHP₁. 12 add que C₁VH. 13 illic C₁P₁. changed from illic V.

you yourselves can visit my sepulchre when you wish, it may be in your power to decide whether any of those who come thither should approach it.' We gave him thanks on our bended knees for his permission and his counsel and, returning home, we did not cease from that time forth to visit him very frequently."

CHAPTER XXXVIII. *How though sick himself he healed his attendant of diarrhoea*

"And when his illness increased and he saw that the time of his departure was at hand, he commanded that he should be carried back to his little dwelling-place and oratory; it was now the third hour of the day. So we carried him thither because, owing to the pain of his disease, he could not walk. But when we came to the door, we asked him that he would allow one of us to enter with him to minister to him; although for many years no one except himself had entered it. And looking round us all, he saw the brother whom I mentioned before, who suffered from diarrhoea, and he said: 'Let *Walhstod*' (for that was the brother's name) 'enter with me.' He remained inside with him until the ninth hour, and then he came out and called me saying: 'The bishop has commanded you to enter. And I can tell you some very wonderful news, for since I went in there and touched the bishop when about to take him into the oratory, I forthwith felt that all my affliction and long-standing infirmity had left me.' Nor can it be doubted that this was brought about by the dispensation of the heavenly grace, so that he who had healed many before this, while he was well and strong, should when at the point of death also cure this man in order that by this sign too it might be plain how strong the holy man was in spirit, though he was weak in body. And in this cure truly he followed the example of the most holy and most reverend father and bishop, Aurelius Augustinus; for when he was afflicted by the disease from which

14 preter O₈O₄. 15 meminimus O₄. 16 Uualhstod C₁VH. Uualch-
stod P₁. Walcstod C₃. 17 fratri C₁VHO₄. 18 intr. ad se C₁VHP₁O₄.
19 ferre C₁. re above V. 20 gloss above scilicet est H. 21 superne O₃.
22 dispensacione C₃. 23 gloss above scilicet esse H. 24 Agustini C₁VH.

S. Augustini Vita auctore S. Possidio c. 29 infirmitate qua et mortuus est¹ decumberet, uenit quidam cum suo aegroto² rogans ut³ eidem manum imponeret⁴ quo sanus esse posset. At ille, Si inquit aliquid in his⁵ possem, mihi⁶ hoc utique primitus praestitissim⁷. Rursus is⁵ qui uenerat, Te inquit⁸ uisitare praeceptus⁹ sum, siquidem in somnis¹⁰ dictum accepi, Uade ad Augustinum¹¹ episcopum ut eidem¹² manum imponat¹³, et saluus erit¹⁴. Quo ille audito, mox aegrotanti¹⁵ manum benedicens¹⁶ imposuit¹⁷, nec mora sanatum ad propria remisit.

XXXIX. ¹⁸Quae ultima fratribus mandata dederit, et ut percepto uiatico¹⁹ inter uerba orationis spiritum reddiderit²⁰ |

p. III Intraui²¹ autem inquit ad eum circa horam diei circiter nonam, inuenique eum recubentem in angulo sui oratorii contra altare, assidere²² coepi²³ et ipse. Nec multa loquebatur, quia pondus aegritudinis²⁴ facilitatem loquendi minorauerat. Uerum me diligentius inquirente quem hereditarium sermonem, quod ultimum uale²⁵ fratribus relinqueret, coepit²⁶ disserere pauca sed²⁷ fortia de pace et humilitate, cauendisque eis qui his²⁸ oblectari quam oblectari mallent. Pacem inquit²⁹ inter uos semper et caritatem custodite diuinam, et cum de uestro statu consilium uos agere necessitas poposcerit, uidete attentius³⁰ ut unanimes existatis in consiliis. Sed et cum aliis Christi seruis³¹ mutuum habetote concordiam, nec uenientes ad uos hospitalitatis gratia domesticos fidei habeatis contemtu³², sed familiariter ac benigne tales suscipere, tenere, ac dimittere curate, nequaquam uos meliores arbitrantes caeteris³³ eiusdem fidei³⁴ et uitae^{36, 35} consortibus³⁷. Cum

1 ins. in lecto C₁VH (in margin P₁) O₄. 2 egr... C₁VHC₃O₃M.
 3 quo O₄. 4 inp... C₁VH. 5 hiis O₃. 6 michi O₄.
 7 prest... C₁VHP₁C₃O₈O₄. 8 inquit O₃. 9 iussus O₄.
 10 sompnis O₃. 11 Augustinum VH. 12 ille tibi C₁VH. tibi P₁.
 13 inp... C₁VH. 14 eris C₁VHP₁. 15 egr... C₁VHC₃O₃M.
 16 om. O₄. 17 inp... C₁VH. 18-19 Quomodo percepto uiatico O₄.

he died and was lying on his bed, there came a certain man bearing a sick friend, who asked him to lay his hands on him in order that he might be healed. But the bishop said: 'If I could do anything in these matters, I should surely have done something for myself first of all.' The man who had come said again: 'I have been bidden to visit you for I received a command in my sleep: "Go to Bishop Augustine in order that he may place his hand upon him and he shall be made whole".' When Augustine heard this, he forthwith placed his hand upon the sick man and blessed him, and without delay sent the man back healed to his own home."

CHAPTER XXXIX. *Of his last commands to his brethren and how, when he had received the viaticum, he yielded up his spirit in prayer*

"Now", he said, "I entered in to him about the ninth hour of the day and I found him lying in a corner of his oratory, opposite to the altar; so I sat down by him. He did not say much because the weight of his affliction had lessened his power of speech. But when I asked him very earnestly what words he would bequeath and what last farewell he would leave the brethren, he began to utter a few weighty words about peace and humility, and about being on our guard against those who would rather fight such things than delight in them. He said: 'Always keep peace and divine charity amongst yourselves; and when necessity compels you to take counsel about your affairs, see to it most earnestly that you are unanimous in your counsels. But also have mutual agreement with other servants of Christ and do not despise those of the household of faith who come to you for the sake of hospitality, but see that you receive such, keep them, and send them away with friendly kindness, by no means thinking yourselves better than others who are your fellows in the same faith and manner of life.

20 *ins. coelis* O₈M. *ins. celis* O₃. *emiserit* O₄. 21 XI *in margin* V.
 22 *ads...* C₁VH. 23 *caepi* C₁V. *cepi* P₁C₃O₃M. 24 *egr...*
 C₁VHC₃O₃M. 25 *gloss above scilicet uale dicens* H. 26 *caep...* C₁V.
cepit C₃O₃. 27 *set* P₁O₃. 28 *hiis* O₃. 29 *inquit* O₃. 30 *adt...*
 C₁VH. 31 *famulis* C₁VHP₁O₄. 32 *contemptui* C₁VHC₃O₃O₄M.
 33 *cet...* C₃O₃M. 34-35 *om.* O₄. 36 *uite* O₃. 37 XII *in margin* V.

illis autem¹ qui ab unitate² catholicae⁴ pacis³ uel pascha non suo tempore celebrando⁵, uel peruerse⁶ uiuendo aberrant, uobis sit nulla communio. Sciatisque et⁷ memoria retineatis, quia si uos unum e duobus aduersis |
 p. 112 eligere necessitas coegerit, multo plus diligo ut eruentes de tumulto tollentesque uobiscum mea ossa recedatis ab his⁸ locis, et ubicunque⁹ Deus¹⁰ prouiderit incole¹¹ maneatis, quam ut¹² ulla ratione consentientes iniquitati, scismaticorum iugo colla subdatis. Catholica patrum statuta diligentissime¹³ discere atque¹⁴ obseruare contendite, ea quoque quae per meum ministerium uobis¹⁵ diuina pietas instituta uitae¹⁷ regularis¹⁶ dare dignata est, exercete solliciti. Scio enim quia etsi quibusdam contemptibilis¹⁸ uixi, post meum tamen obitum¹⁹ qualis fuerim²⁰, quam mea doctrina non sit contempnenda²¹ uidebitis. Haec²² et his⁸ similia uir Domini per interualla locutus, quia uis ut diximus infirmitatis possibilitatem loquendi ademerat²³, quietum expectatione²⁴ futurae²⁵ beatitudinis diem duxit ad uesperam, cui etiam peruigilem quietis²⁶ in precibus continuauit et noctem. At ubi consuetum nocturnae²⁷ orationis tempus aderat, acceptis a me sacramentis salutaribus *exitum suum* quem iam uenisse cognouit *dominici corporis et sanguinis* communionem *muniuit*, atque eleuatis ad *coelum*²⁸ oculis, extensisque in altum *manibus*, intentam supernis laudibus animam ad gaudia regni coelestis²⁹ emisit. |

Greg.
Dial. II. 37

p. 113 XL. *Quomodo iuxta prophetiam psalmi quem³⁰ eo moriente³¹ cantauerunt, Lindisfarnenses³³ sint impugnati³⁴, sed Domino iuuante³⁵ protecti³²*

At ego statim³⁶ egressus nuntiaui³⁷ obitum eius fratribus, qui et ipsi noctem uigilando atque orando transegerant,

1 *ins. above* inquit V. 2-3 *pac. cath.* O₄. 4 *cahtolice* C₃.
 5 *cael. . .* C₁VH. 6 *peruersae* O₉C₁O₄M. 7 *ins. in* P₁.
 8 *hiis* O₃. 9 *ubicumque* C₁VH. 10 *om.* C₁. 11 *incolae*
 P₁O₄M. 12 *et* C₁. 13-14 *om.* P₁. 15-16 *inst. uit. reg. diu.*
 pie. O₄. 17 *uite* C₃O₃. 18 *contemptibilis* P₁. 19 *ins. apertius*
 C₁VHP₁O₄. 20 *ins. et* C₁VHO₄. 21 *contempnenda* C₁P₁.

But have no communion with those who depart from the unity of the catholic peace, either in not celebrating Easter at the proper time or in evil living. And you are to know and remember that if necessity compels you to choose one of two evils, I would much rather you should take my bones from the tomb, carry them with you and departing from this place dwell wherever God may ordain, than that in any way you should consent to iniquity and put your necks under the yoke of schismatics. Strive to learn and to observe most diligently the catholic statutes of the fathers; and practise with zeal those rules of regular discipline which the divine mercy has deigned to give you through my ministry. For I know that, although I seemed contemptible to some while I lived, yet, after my death, you will see what I was and how my teaching is not to be despised.' These and like words the man of God said at intervals, because, as we have said, the stress of his sickness took from him the power of speaking much. He passed a quiet day in the expectation of his future bliss, until the evening; and he also continued quietly in prayer through a night of watching. But when the accustomed time of nightly prayer arrived, he received from me the sacraments of salvation and fortified himself for his death, which he knew had now come, by the communion of the Lord's body and blood; and, raising his eyes to heaven and stretching out his hands aloft, he sent forth his spirit in the very act of praising God to the joys of the heavenly Kingdom."

CHAPTER XL. *How, in accordance with the prophecy of the psalm which they had been singing when he died, the Lindisfarne brethren were attacked, but, with the help of the Lord, were protected*

"I immediately went out and announced his death to the brethren who had passed the night in watching and prayers,

22 hec O₃. 23 adimerat VH. 24 expectacione C₃. 25 future C₃O₃.
 26 quietus C₁VH. 27 nocturne O₃. 28 cael...C₁V. cel... C₃O₃.
 29 cael... C₁VHP₁O₄. cel... C₃O₃. 30 om. O₄. 31-32 cantati Lindis-
 farnenses impugnati sunt O₄. 33 Lindispharnenses VH. 34 inp... VH.
 35 ins. iterum O₈O₃. 36 saltim O₃. 37 nunciaui C₃O₃M.

et tunc forte sub ordine nocturnae¹ laudis dicebant psalmum quinquagesimum nonum cuius initium² est, Psal. 59. 3 *Deus reppulisti³ nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es, et misertus es nobis.* Nec mora currens unus ex eis accendit duas candelas, et utraque tenens manu ascendit eminentiorem locum ad ostendendum fratribus qui in Lindisfarnensi monasterio manebant, quia ⁴sancta illa⁵ anima iam migrasset ad Dominum. Tale namque⁶ inter se signum | p. 114 sanctissimi eius obitus condixerant. Quod cum uideret frater qui in specula Lindisfarnensis⁷ insulae⁸ longe de⁹ contra euentus eiusdem peruigil expectauerat horam, cucurrit citius¹⁰ ad aecclesiam¹¹ ubi collectus omnis fratrum coetus¹² nocturnae¹³ psalmodie¹⁴ solennia¹⁵ celebrabat¹⁶. Contigitque ut ipsi quoque intrante illo praefatum canerent psalmum, quod superna dispensatione procuratum rerum exitus ostendit. Siquidem sepulto uiro Dei tanta aecclesiam¹⁷ illam temptationis¹⁸ aura concussit, ut plures e fratribus loco magis cedere¹⁹, quam talibus uellent interesse periculis. Attamen post annum ordinato in episcopatum Eadberto²⁰ magnarum uirtutum uiro²¹, et in scripturis nobiliter erudito, maximeque²² elemosinarum operibus dedito, fugatis perturbationum²³ procellis, ut scripturae²⁴ Psal. 146. uerbis loquar, *aedificauit²⁵ Ierusalem²⁶ id est uisionem* 2, 3 *pacis Dominus, et dispersiones Israel congregauit. Sanauit contritos corde et alligauit contritiones²⁷ eorum,* ut palam daretur intelligi²⁸ quid significauerit psalmus cum cognita beati uiri morte cantatus, quia uidelicet post eius²⁹ obitum³⁰ repellendi ac destruendi essent eius ciues³¹, sed³² post ostensionem irae³³ minantis, coelesti³⁴ protinus miseratione p. 115 refouendi. | Cuius sequentia quoque psalmi eidem sensui

1 nocturne C₃O₃. 2 inicitum O₈O₃M. 3 repu... C₁VO₃O₄.
 4-5 om. P₁. 6 nanque O₈O₄M. 7 Lyndisfarnensis O₃.
 8 insule O₃. 9 e O₉. 10 cicius O₉.
 11 eccl... C₁C₃O₃. aecclae... V. 12 caetus V. cetus C₃O₃.
 13 nocturne O₃. 14 psalmodiae C₁VHO₄M. 15 sollempnia C₁VHM.
 17 eccl... C₁C₃O₃. 18 temptationis C₁. 16 cael... C₁O₈.
 19 caed... O₈.

and then were by chance, according to the order of lauds, singing the fifty-ninth psalm, which begins, 'O God, thou hast cast us off and hast broken us down; thou hast been angry and hast had compassion on us.' Without delay one of them ran out and lit two torches: and holding one in each hand, he went on to some higher ground to show the brethren who were in the Lindisfarne monastery that his holy soul had gone to be with the Lord: for this was the sign they had agreed upon amongst themselves to notify his most holy death. When the brother had seen it, who had been keeping watch and awaiting the hour of this event far away in the watch-tower of the island of Lindisfarne opposite, he quickly ran to the church where the whole assembly of the brethren were gathered together celebrating the office of the nightly psalm-singing; and it happened that they also, when he entered, were singing the above-mentioned psalm. This indeed was ordained by divine providence, as the event showed. For after the man of God was buried, so great a blast of trial beat upon that church that many of the brethren chose to depart from the place rather than be in the midst of such dangers. But after a year, when Eadberht had been ordained to the bishopric, a man of great virtues and wonderfully learned in the scriptures, and greatly given to works of charity, the storms and disturbances were driven away; then if I may use the words of Scripture, 'The Lord did build up Jerusalem'—that is the vision of peace—'and gathered together the outcast of Israel. He healed the broken in heart and bound up their wounds', so that it was then given to them openly to understand what the psalm meant which they were singing when they heard of the death of the blessed man—namely that, after his death, his fellow-citizens were to be cast off and broken down, but after the manifestation of the wrath that threatened them, they would forthwith be revived by the divine mercy. And he who examines it again will see how well the rest of the psalm agrees with the same sense.

20 Eadberhto C ₁ VHO ₄ .	Eadberchto P ₁ .	21 uir, uirt. O ₄ .
22 maximaque C ₁ .	23 perturbationis M.	24 scripture O ₃ .
25 edif... C ₃ O ₃ .	26 Hier... C ₁ VH.	27 contriciones O ₈ .
28 intellegi C ₁ VH.	29 om. O ₃ O ₄ .	30 ins. eius O ₄ .
C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	32 set O ₃ .	33 ire C ₃ O ₃ .
	34 cacl... C ₁ V.	cel... C ₃ O ₃ .
		31 ciues eius

concordare qui retractat intelligit¹. Impositum² autem nauī uenerabile corpus³ patris, ad insulam Lindisfarnensium retulimus⁴. Quod magno occurrentium agmine, chorisque canentium susceptum est, atque⁵ in ecclesia⁶ beati apostoli Petri ad⁷ dexteram⁸ altaris petrino in sarcophago⁹ repositum.

XLI. *Quomodo puer demoniacus¹⁰ sit humo cui lauacrum¹² corporis¹³ infusum est in aquam¹⁴ missa¹⁵ sanatus¹¹*

Sed¹⁶ nec defuncto ac tumultato Christi famulo signa sanitatum quae uiuens exercuerat, cessare potuerunt. Contigit nanque¹⁷ puerum quendam in territorio Lindisfarnensium atrocissimo demone¹⁸ uexari, ita ut sensu rationis p. 116 funditus amisso clamaret, |eiularet¹⁹, et uel sua membra uel quicquid²⁰ attingere posset, morsibus dilaniare niteretur. Missus est ad energuminum presbiter²¹ de monasterio. Qui cum solitus fuisset²² per exorcismi gratiam immundos²³ fugare spiritus, huic tamen obsesso prodesse nil prorsus ualebat. Unde dedit consilium patri illius, ut impositum²⁴ carro puerum ad monasterium deferret, atque ad reliquias beatorum martirum²⁵ quae ibi sunt, Dominum pro illo precaretur²⁶. Fecit ut monuerat, sed noluerunt sancti Dei martires²⁷ ei petitam reddere sanitatem, ut quam celsum inter se locum Cuthbertus²⁸ haberet ostenderent. Cum ergo insanus ululando, ingemiscendo²⁹ ³⁰et ³²frendendo³¹ dentibus³³ nimio cunctorum uisus et auditus³⁴ horrore concuteret, nec esset qui aliquod³⁵ remedii genus excogitare quiuisset, tunc³⁶ ecce quidam de³⁷ presbiteris³⁸ edoctus in spiritu per opitulationem beati patris Cuthberti³⁹ illum posse sanari⁴⁰, uenit clanculo ad locum ubi nouerat effusam fuisse aquam⁴¹, qua corpus eius defunctum fuerat

1 intellegit C₁VH. 2 inp... C₁VHP₁C₃. 3 corp. uen. C₁VHP₁O₄.
 4 gloss above relatum est H. 5 adque C₁. 6 eccl... C₁C₃O₃.
 acclaes... V. 7 in C₁VHO₄. 8 dextera C₁VHO₄. ins. parte
 C₁VHO₄. 9 sarcophago C₁VHP₁C₃O₄. 10-11 humo de loco
 lauacri corporis eius sumpta sit sanatus O₄. 12 lauacrum C₃.
 13 ins. eius VHO₈O₃. 14 aqua VH. 15 misso VH.
 16 set O₃. 17 namque C₁VHO₃. 18 daem... O₄.
 19 heularet C₁VH. 20 quicquid C₃O₃. 21 in margin Nomen

We placed the body of the venerable father on the ship, and bore it to the island of Lindisfarne. It was received by a great company who came to meet it and by choirs of singers, and placed in a stone sarcophagus in the church of the blessed apostle Peter on the right side of the altar."

CHAPTER XLI. *How a demoniac boy was healed by an infusion of some of that soil on which was poured the water wherein his body had been bathed*

But not even when the servant of Christ was dead and buried, did miracles of healing cease, such as he had wrought when he was alive. For it happened that a certain boy on the Lindisfarne estate was vexed by a most cruel demon, so that he had completely lost his reason, and cried out, howled and tried to tear in pieces with his teeth both his own limbs and whatever he could reach. A priest was sent from the monastery to the demoniac boy; and although he had been accustomed to put impure spirits to flight by the grace of exorcism, he could nevertheless do nothing to help the possessed boy; so he counselled the boy's father to put him on a cart and bear him to the monastery and to pray to the Lord for him at the relics of the blessed martyrs which are there. The father did as he was advised; but the holy martyrs of God would not grant him the cure that was sought, in order that they might show what a high place Cuthbert held amongst them. When, therefore, the insane boy horrified all who saw and heard him by howling, groaning and gnashing his teeth, and there was no one who could think of any kind of remedy, then one of the priests, being instructed in spirit that he could be healed by the help of the blessed father Cuthbert, came secretly to the place in which he knew that the water had been poured wherein his

presbiteri Tydi C ₃ O ₃ .	22 esset O ₄ .	23 inm... C ₁ VH.
24 inp... C ₁ VH.	25 martyrum HP ₁ C ₃ O ₈ .	26 deprec... O ₃ .
27 martyres HP ₁ O ₈ M.	28 Cudberhtus C ₁ V. Cuthberhtus H.	
29 ingemescendo C ₁ VH.	30-31 om. C ₁ .	32-33 dent. frend. O ₄ .
34 audito O ₃ .	35 aliquid O ₈ .	36 tum C ₁ VHO ₄ .
37 e O ₄ .	38 in margin Nomen presbiteri Cinimund C ₃ O ₃ .	39 Cudberhti C ₁ V.
Cuthberhti H.	40 san. posse P ₁ .	41 aquam fu. C ₃ .

lotum, tollensque inde modicam humi particulam immisit¹ in aquam. Quam deferens ad patientem² infudit in ore eius. Quo horribiliter hiante, uoces diras ac flebiles p. 117 emittebat. Statim autem ut attigit aquam, continui|t clamorem³, clausit os, clausit et⁴ oculos qui sanguinei et furibundi patebant, caput⁵ et corpus totum⁶ reclinauit⁷ in requiem⁸. Qui etiam placido sopore noctem trans-egit, et mane de somno⁹ simul et uesania consurgens, liberatum se a demonio¹⁰ quo premebatur¹¹ beati Cuthberti¹² meritis et intercessione cognouit. Mirandum et bonis omnibus delectabile spectaculum, cum uideres filium cum patre sospitem loca sancta¹³ circuire¹⁴, sanctorum auxilio gratias sanissima mente referre, qui pridie prae¹⁵ insania mentis nec se ipsum quis¹⁶ esset uel ubi esset poterat agnoscere. Qui ubi tota fratrum¹⁷ caterua astante¹⁸, uidente, et congratulante ad reliquias martirum¹⁹ genibus flexis dedit laudem Deo Domino et Saluatori nostro Iesu Christo, iam et ab hostis uerbere liberatus, et in fide firmior quam fuerat effectus, ad propria rediit. Ostenditur usque hodie fossa illa cui memorabile infusum est lauacrum quadrato scemate facta, ligno undique circumdata²⁰, et lapillis intus impleta. Est autem iuxta aecclesiam²¹ in qua corpus eius requiescit, ad partem meridianam. Factumque est ex eo tempore, ut plures sanitatum operationes per eosdem lapides uel eandem terram Domino donante fierent. |

p. 118 XLII. *Quomodo corpus ipsius post undecim²² annos²³
24 sine corruptione sit²⁶ repertum²⁵*

Volens autem latius monstrare diuina dispensatio quanta in gloria uir sanctus post mortem uiueret, cuius ante²⁷ mortem²⁸ uita sullimis²⁹ crebris etiam miraculorum patebat

1 inm. . . C₁VHP₁. 2 patientem C₃. 3 clamores C₁VHP₁O₄.
4 om. C₁VHO₄. 5 capud C₁C₃. add que P₁. 6 ins. in quietem O₄.
7-8 om. C₁VHO₄. 9 sompno O₃. 10 daem. . . O₈O₄.
11 praem. . . O₈. 12 Cudberhti C₁V. Cuthberhti H. 13 san.
loc. M. 14 ins. ac VH. 15 pre O₈. 16 qui C₁P₁C₃O₈O₃M.
changed from qui V. 17 frat. tota O₃. 18 ads. . . C₁VH.
188. . . P₁O₄. 19 martyrum HP₁O₈M. 20 circum. . . C₁VHO₄.

dead body had been washed. Taking a small particle of the earth, he put it in water and brought it to the patient, pouring it into his mouth, which was gaping wide in a horrible manner, and uttering fearful and lamentable cries. But as soon as he touched the water, he restrained his cries, shut his mouth and his eyes which before were wide open, bloodshot and furious, while his head and his whole body sank into repose. He also passed the night in quiet sleep, and in the morning awoke from both sleep and madness, realising that he had been freed from the demon by which he was oppressed through the merits and the intercession of the blessed Cuthbert. It was a wonderful and delightful spectacle for all good men, to see the son sound in health going round the holy places with his father and returning thanks with sound mind for the help of the saints, when the day before, on account of his insanity, he did not know who he was or where he was. And with the whole company of the brethren standing by, looking on and congratulating him, he gave praises to our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ as he knelt at the relics of the martyrs and, being freed from the scourge of the enemy and at length made stronger in faith than he was before, he returned home. The pit is still shown to-day into which that memorable bath of water was poured—it is in the form of a square with a border of wood on all sides and filled up with pebbles; and it is moreover near the church in which his body rests, on the south side. And it happened from that time, by God's permission, that many miracles of healing took place by means of those same stones or with some of that earth.

CHAPTER XLII. *How his body was found incorrupt eleven years afterwards*

But the divine Providence wished to show still further in what glory the holy man lived after his death, whose sublime life had been attested before his death by frequent signs and miracles;

21 eccl. . . C₁C₃O₃. 22 *ins. sit* VH. xi O₄. ^{cim} xi O₈. 23 *ins. sit*
 O₈O₃M. 24-25 *incorruptum repertum est* O₄. 26 *om.* VHO₈O₃M.
 27 *om.* C₁. 28 *om.* VH. *ins. in margin ante mortem* H.
 29 *subl.* . . C₁VHC₃O₄M.

indiciis, transactis sepulturae¹ eius annis undecim immisit² in animo fratrum³ ut tollerent ossa illius, quae more mortuorum consumpto iam et in puluerem redacto corpore reliquo sicca inuenienda rebantur⁴, atque in leui arca⁵ recondita⁶ in eodem quidem loco sed supra pauimentum dignae⁷ uenerationis gratia locarent. Quod dum sibi placuisse Eadberto⁸ antistiti⁹ suo medio ferme quadragesimae¹⁰ tempore referrent, annuit¹¹ consilio eorum, p. 119 iussitque ut | die depositionis eius quae est tertia decima¹² kalendarum Aprilium hoc facere meminissent. Fecerunt autem ita. Et aperientes sepulchrum¹³ inuenerunt corpus totum quasi adhuc uiueret integrum, et flexibilibus artuum compagibus multo dormienti quam mortuo similis. Sed et uestimenta omnia quibus indutum erat non solum intemerata, uerum etiam prisca nouitate et claritudine miranda parebant. Quod ubi uiderunt¹⁴, nimio mox timore sunt et tremore percussi, adeo ut uix aliquid loqui, uix auderent intueri miraculum quod parebat, uix ipsi quid agerent nossent¹⁵. Extremam autem indumentorum eius partem pro ostendendo incorruptionis signo tollentes, ¹⁶nam quae¹⁷ carni illius proxima aderant prorsus¹⁸ tangere timebant, festinarunt referre antistiti¹⁹ quod inuenerant, qui tum forte in remotiore a monasterio loco refluus undique maris fluctibus cincto solitarius manebat. In hoc etenim semper quadragesimae²⁰ tempus agere, in hoc quadraginta ante dominicum natale²¹ dies in magna continentiae²², orationis, et lacrimarum deuotione ducere consueuerat. In quo etiam uenerabilis praecessor eius Cuthbertus²³, priusquam Farne peteret sicut et supra p. 120 docuimus, | aliquandiu²⁴ secretus Domino militabat. Attulerunt²⁵ autem et partem indumentorum, quae²⁶ corpus sanctum ambierant. Quae²⁶ cum ille et munera gratanter acciperet²⁷ et miracula libenter audiret, nam et ipsa indumenta quasi patris adhuc corpori circumdata²⁸ miro

1 sepulture O₈O₃.2 inm... C₁VHP₁.3 ins. Dominus C₁H.

4 gloss above id est putabant H.

5 archa O₃.

6 gloss above id

est recondenda VH.

7 digne C₁VO₃.8 Eadberhto C₁VH.

9 antestiti VH.

10 quadragesime P₁C₃O₃.11 adn... C₁VH.12 xiii C₁VH. tertio decimo P₁. tertia decima O₈.

13 ins.

so He put it into the hearts of the brethren, eleven years after his burial, to take his bones—which they expected to find quite dry, the rest of the body, as is usual with the dead, having decayed away and turned to dust—and to put them in a light chest in the same place, but above the floor, so that they might be worthily venerated. When they reported their decision to Eadberht their bishop, about the middle of Lent, he consented to their plan and ordered them that they should remember to do it on the day of his burial, which is the 20th of March. They did so; and opening the sepulchre, they found the body intact and whole, as if it were still alive, and the joints of the limbs flexible, and much more like a sleeping than a dead man. Moreover all his garments, in which he had been clothed, were not only undefiled but seemed to be perfectly new and wondrously bright. When they saw this, they were struck with great fear and trembling, so that they hardly dared to say anything or even to look upon the miracle which was revealed, and scarcely knew what to do. But they took away the outer garments to show the miracle of his incorruption, for they did not dare to touch what was nearest the skin; and they hastened to relate to the bishop what they had found. He happened to be in solitude in a place remote from the monastery, surrounded on every hand by the sea at flood tide. Here he always used to spend the time of Lent as well as forty days before the Lord's birthday, in deep devotion, with abstinence, prayers and tears. In this place also his venerable predecessor Cuthbert, before he went to Farne, as we have explained above, for a while fought for the Lord in solitude. So they brought him part of the clothes that had enwrapped the holy body. He joyfully received these gifts and gladly listened to the story of the miracles, kissing the garments with great affection, as though they were still wrapped round the father's body; and he said: "Put fresh

eius C₃. sepulcrum O₃.

above scilicet aut V.

19 antestiti VH.

22 continencie O₃.

diu O₃.

28 circum... C₁VHO₄.

14 ins. fratres C₁VHO₄.

16-17 namque C₁O₃.

20 quadragesime C₃O₃.

23 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H.

26 que C₃O₃.

15 gloss

18 prossus C₃.

21 nathale O₃.

24 aliquam-

27 sus... O₄.

deosculabatur affectu, Noua inquit¹ indumenta corpori pro his² quae tulistis circumdate³, et sic reponite in thecam⁴ quam parastis. Scio autem certissime quia non diu uacuus remanebit locus, qui tanta coelestis⁵ miraculi uirtute consecratus est. Et beatus est multum, cui in eo⁶ sedem⁷ quiescendi Dominus uerae⁸ beatitudinis auctor atque largitor concedere dignatur. Adiecitque mirando quae⁹ quondam uersibus dixi, et ait,

Quis Domini expediet coelestia¹⁰ munera dictis?

Uel paradisiacas quae capit auris opes?

Dum¹¹ pius infesti dirupto¹² pondere loeti¹³,

Uiuere siderea¹⁴ semper in arce dabit,

Mortua nunc tanto qui membra decorat honore,

Pulchroque¹⁵ perpetuae¹⁶ pignore¹⁷ prestat opis¹⁸,

Quamque beata¹⁹ domus²⁰ sub tantoque²¹ hospite²² fulges,

Nescia quae²³ neu²⁴ lumine laeta²⁵ micas.

Nec²⁶ tibi difficile omnipotens mandare²⁷ sub aruo,

Ne deposta²⁸ uoret funera²⁹ labes³⁰ edax,

Qui triduo seruas coeti³¹ sub³² uiscere uatem³³, |

p. 121

Lucis iter pandens, mortis³⁴ ab ore tuo,

Qui ignibus in mediis insontia membra³⁵ tueris³⁶,

Ne Hebreum³⁷ noceat Chaldea flamma decus,

³⁸ Dena quater renouas³⁹ per frigora plebis amictum,

Quae Fariam⁴⁰ fugiens inuia⁴¹ seruat humum,

Qui rediuuia leuem formas⁴² in membra fauillam,

Cum tremet angelicis, mundus ab axe tubis.

Haec⁴³ ubi multis cum lacrimis ac magna compunctione⁴⁴ pontifex tremente lingua compleuit⁴⁴, fecerunt fratres ut iusserat, et inuolutum nouo amictu corpus leuique in theca reconditum supra pauimentum sanctuarii composuerunt⁴⁴.

1 inquit O₃. 2 hiis C₃O₃. 3 circum... C₁VHO₄.
 4 theca C₁VHP₁O₄. 5 cael... C₁V. cel... C₃O₃. 6 om. in eo O₃.
 7 ins. in eo O₃. 8 uere O₃M. 9 que O₃. 10 cael... C₁VO₄.
 cel... C₃P₁M. 11 cum O₈M. 12 dirupto C₁VH. 13 leti
 P₁O₃. 14 syderia M. 15 gloss above scilicet qui H. pulchroque C₃.
 pulchraque P₁O₈O₄. pulcraque O₃M. 16 perpetuas (s above V) H.
 perpetue O₃. 17 pignora C₃M. 18 opes C₁VH. 19 gloss above
 scilicet es H. 20 gloss above scilicet o H. 21 tanto quae P₁O₈O₄M.
 22 cespitae C₁. 23 gloss above scilicet et H. 24 gloss above id est
 maculae VH. 25 leta O₃. 26 gloss above scilicet est H.

garments around the body instead of those which you have taken away, and then replace it in the chest which you have prepared. For I know most assuredly that the place which has been consecrated by the virtue of so great a heavenly miracle will not long remain empty. And greatly blessed is he to whom the Lord, the author and giver of true blessedness, shall deign to grant a place of rest therein. And as he marvelled, he added words which I once put into verse, saying:

What tongue the heavenly gifts of God can tell?
 What ear the joys of Paradise can hear,
 Until within heaven's starry citadel
 The Lord in mercy grants us to appear,
 Who now adorns these lifeless limbs with grace,
 Fair pledges of good things that know no end?
 Blest home! how great a guest shines in this place,
 Free from all stain, where joy and glory blend!
 With ease, Omnipotent, his blest remains,
 Thou bidst corruption's gnawing tooth to spare—
 Thou, who couldst keep thy prophet in the reins
 Of the great whale three days, then to the air
 Open a path to light, even from death's jaws—
 Couldst save fair Hebrews from Chaldean flame,
 Or, forty years, fleeing from Egypt, cause
 Thy people's robes to be renewed; the same
 Who, when the angelic trumpets shake this earth,
 Shall from our ashes give our limbs rebirth."

When the bishop had finished saying these things with many tears and great emotion, the brethren did as he had commanded: they wrapped the body in a new garment and, putting it in a light chest, they placed it on the floor of the sanctuary.

27 *gloss above* id est imperari H. 28 *depasta* C₁VH. *gloss above* id est comesta VH. *deposita* P₁. 29 *gloss above* id est corpora mortua VH.
 30 *labis* C₁P₁O₄. 31 *caeti* V. *ceti* O₃. 32 *gloss above* pro in H. 33 *gloss above* id est Ionam H. 34 *gloss above* scilicet et H. 35 *gloss above* id est trium puerorum VH. 36 *gloss above* id est defendebas VH. 37 *Ebreum* C₁VHP₁. *Hebreorum* M. 38–39 *denaque terrae nouas* C₁. *changed from* *denaque terrae nouas* V. *gloss above* scilicet et qui H. 40 *uariam* C₁VH. *gloss above* scilicet plebs hebreorum VH. 41 *gloss above* id est de uia VH.
 42 *gloss above* id est futuri temporis H. 43 *ins. et huiusmodi plura* C₁VHO₄. *hec* O₃. 44 *comp...* C₁VH.

XLIII. *Quomodo corpus Eadberti¹ in tumulo² uiri Dei⁴
ponentes, sarcophagum⁵ illius desuper posuerunt^{6, 3}*

p. 122 Interea Deo dilectus antistes⁷ Eadbertus⁸ morbo corripitur acerbo⁹, et crescente per dies multumque | ingrauascente¹⁰ ardore languoris non multo post, id est pridie nonas Maias etiam ipse migravit ad Dominum, impetrato¹¹ ab eo munere quod diligentissime¹² petierat, uidelicet ut non repentina morte sed longa excoctus aegritudine¹³ transiret e corpore. Cuius corpus in sepulchro¹⁴ beati patris Cuthberti¹⁵ ponentes, apposuerunt¹⁶ desuper arcam¹⁷ in qua incorrupta eiusdem patris membra locauerant. Ubi *nunc usque si petentium fides exigat*¹⁸, miraculorum signa fieri non desinunt. Sed¹⁹ et indumenta quae²⁰ sanctissimum corpus eius uel uiuum uel sepultum uestierant a gratia curandi non uacant.

Greg.
Dial. II. 38

XLIV. *Qualiter²¹ aegrotus²³ ad tumbam eius²⁴
orando sit^{25, 22} curatus²⁶*

p. 123 Denique²⁷ adueniens transmarinis e partibus clericus quidam reuerentissimi et sanctissimi | Wilbrordi²⁸ Clementis Fresonum²⁹ gentis episcopi, dum aliquot³⁰ dies ibidem³¹ hospes moraretur, decidit in infirmitatem grauissimam, ita ut inualescente per longum tempus aegritudine³² iam desperatus iaceret. Qui cum uictus dolore uideretur sibi nec mori nec uiuere posse, inuento salubri consilio dixit ministro suo, Obsecro perducas me hodie post celebratas³³ missas, adorare ad corpus sacratissimum uiri Dei, erat enim dies dominica³⁴, spero per gratiam intercessionis eius his³⁵ cruciatibus eripiar, et uel sanatus ad praesentem³⁶ uitam redeam, uel defunctus³⁷ perueniam ad aeternam³⁸.

1 Eadberhti VH. ins. episcopi VHC₃O₃O₄M.
erunt O₄. 4 sancti O₉.

sarcophagum C₃. 6 posuerint VH.

8 Eadberhtus C₁VH.

C₁VHP₁O₄M. 11 inp... C₁.

C₁VHP₁C₃O₃M. 14 sepulcro O₃.

berhti H. Cutberti P₁.

9 aceruo C₁.

12 diligentissime O₉.

15 Cudberhti C₁V. Cuth-

16 adp... C₁VH.

2-3 ipsius posu-
erunt O₄. 5 sarcophagum VH.

7 antestis VH.

10 ingrauascente

13 egr...

17 archam O₃.

CHAPTER XLIII. *How the body of Eadberht was placed in the tomb of the man of God, and the sarcophagus of the saint placed upon it*

Meanwhile Bishop Eadberht, beloved of God, was attacked by a fell disease and, as the violence of the illness increased from day to day, he himself not long afterwards, that is on the sixth of May, went to be with the Lord: and thus he won from Him the boon that he sought most earnestly, namely, that he might depart from the body not by sudden death, but worn out by a long sickness. His body was placed in the sepulchre of the blessed father Cuthbert and they placed over it the chest in which they had put the incorrupt limbs of the same father; and there even now signs and miracles are not wanting, if an importunate faith seeks for them. Even the garments which covered his most holy body, whether in life or death, do not lack the grace of healing.

CHAPTER XLIV. *How a sick man was cured by praying at his tomb*

Now one of the clergy of the most reverend and holy Willibrord Clement, the bishop of the Frisians, who had come from across the sea, after staying there for some days as a guest, fell grievously ill so that his affliction increased for a long time and he lay in a hopeless condition. Overcome by the pain, he seemed as though he could neither live nor die, until, thinking of a profitable plan, he said to his servant: "I beseech you, lead me to-day, after mass has been celebrated, to worship at the most sacred body of the man of God"—for it was Sunday—"for I hope by virtue of his intercession to be freed from these tortures, so that either I may be restored to health in this present life, or else I may die and attain to eternal life." He did as he

18 <i>gloss above</i> id est retardat H.	19 set O ₃ .	20 que O ₃ .
21-22 ei. ad tum. aeg. or. sit O ₄ .	23 egrotus VHO ₃ M.	24-25 sit or. VH.
26 sanatus C ₃ O ₈ O ₃ O ₄ M.	27 om. C ₁ VH.	28 Uuilbrordi C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .
29 Fresiorum P ₁ .	30 aliquod C ₁ H. ins. ibidem O ₄ .	31 om. O ₄ .
32 molestia C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ . egr... C ₃ O ₃ M.	33 cael... C ₁ .	34 dom.
dies O ₈ .	35 hiis O ₃ .	36 pre... O ₄ .
37 defuntus C ₁ .		
38 eternam O ₃ . eterno C ₃ .		

Fecit ille ut rogauerat¹, baculoque innitentem aegrotum² in ecclesiam³ non paruo cum labore perduxit. Qui cum ad⁴ sanctissimi ac Deo dilecti patris sepulchrum⁵ genua curuaret, caput⁶ in terram dimitteret⁷, pro sua sospitate rogaret, tantas continuo uires suum corpus de incorrupto illius corpore accepisse persensit, ut absque labore⁸ ipse ab oratione resurgeret, absque adminiculo uel ministri ducentis, uel baculi sustentantis ad hospicium⁹ rediret. Qui post dies paucos roborata ad integrum uirtute, uiam qua¹⁰ disposuerat peregit.

XLV. *Quomodo paralyticus sit¹¹ per eius
calciamenta¹² sanatus¹³*

- p. 124 Erat in monasterio quodam non procul inde posito¹⁴
Greg. adolescens, *ea quam Greci paralysin¹⁵ uocant* infirmitate,
Dial. *omni membrorum officio destitutus*. Unde abbas ipsius sciens
IV. 16 in monasterio Lindisfarnensi¹⁶ medicos esse peritissimos,
misit eum illo, rogans infirmanti si quid possent curationis
conferrent. Qui cum suo quoque abbate et episcopo
iubentibus diligenter illi assisterent¹⁷, et quicquid nossent
erga eum industriae¹⁸ medicinalis impenderent¹⁹, nichil²⁰
omnino proficere ualebant, quin potius²¹ crescebat cotidie
morbus et paulatim in deteriora uergebat²², adeo ut
excepto ore nullum²³ pene²⁵ membrum²⁴ posset loco
p. 125 mouere. Cunque²⁶ a carnalibus medicis diu frustra laboran-
tibus desperatus ac desertus iaceret, confugit ad diuinum²⁷
²⁸ medici coelestis³⁰, ²⁹ auxilium³¹, qui in ueritate petitus
Psa. 102. 3 *propitius³² fit omnibus iniquitatibus nostris³³, qui sanat³⁴ omnes
languores nostros*. Rogauit nanque³⁵ ministrum suum ut
aliquam sibi portiunculam³⁶ de incorruptibilibus³⁷ sacri
corporis afferret³⁸ exuuiis³⁹, quia crederet per huius se
uirtutem ad gratiam sanitatis Domino largiente reuer-
surum. Qui consulto abbate attulit⁴⁰ calciamenta quae

1 rogatus fuerat O₄. 2 egr... C₁VHP₁C₃O₃M. 3 ecl...
C₁C₃O₃. 4 ins. sepulchrum C₁VHP₁O₄. 5 om. C₁VHP₁O₄.
sepulchrum O₃. 6 capud C₁. 7 demitteret O₃. 8 om. absque lab. M.
9 hospitium C₁VHP₁C₃O₄M. 10 quam VHO₄M. 11 om.
C₃O₈O₃O₄M. 12 ins. sit C₃O₈O₃O₄M. 13 sanitatem receperit O₄.
14 positum C₁. 15 paralysin C₁V. 16 Lindisfarnensium
C₁VHO₄. Lindisfarnensium M. 17 ads... C₁VH. assisterent P₁.

had asked and with no small effort led the sick man, leaning on his staff, into the church. He bent his knees at the sepulchre of the most holy father, beloved of God, and with head bowed to the ground he prayed for recovery; forthwith he felt that his body had received such strength from that incorrupt body, that he rose from prayer without any effort and, without the help of the servant who had led him or of the staff that had supported him, he returned to the guesthouse. After a few days, when his strength was completely restored, he set out on his intended journey.

CHAPTER XLV. *How a paralytic was healed by his shoes*

There was, in a certain monastery not far away, a youth who was deprived of all use of his limbs by the disease which the Greeks call paralysis. And his abbot, knowing that there were some very skilled physicians in the monastery at Lindisfarne, sent him there, asking whether they would if they could provide some cure for the sick man. On the command of both the abbot and the bishop, they diligently came to his aid and applied all the medical skill they possessed, yet they availed nothing at all; but rather his disease daily grew worse and gradually he became weaker, until he could hardly move a limb but only his mouth. But when he lay despaired of and deserted by the carnal physicians who had long laboured in vain, he fled to the divine aid of the heavenly Physician, Who, when sought in truth, "pardoneth all our iniquities and healeth all our diseases". He therefore asked his servant to bring him some portion of the incorruptible relics of the sacred body because he believed that, by the bounty of the Lord, he might return to the grace of health through its virtues. And having consulted the abbot, the servant brought the shoes which had been

18 industrie C ₃ O ₃ .	19 inp... C ₁ VH.	20 nihil C ₁ VH. nil P ₁ .
21 pocius C ₃ .	22 uertebat C ₁ VH.	23-24 memb. pene C ₃ . mem-
brorum C ₁ M.	25 paene O ₈ .	26 cumque C ₁ VHO ₄ M.
27 auxilium C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	28-29 coelestis medici O ₄ .	30 cael... C ₁ V.
cel... O ₃ .	31 om. C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	32 propicius P ₁ C ₃ .
C ₁ VHO ₄ .	34 nanat C ₁ .	33 ins. et
C ₁ VHP ₁ O ₄ .	37 incorrept... C ₁ .	35 namque C ₁ VHO ₃ .
id est spoliis uel uestimentis H.	38 adf... C ₁ VH.	36 portionem
	40 adt... C ₁ V.	39 gloss above

uiri Dei in sepulchro¹ pedes induerant, et ea pedibus dissolutis aegroti² circumdedit³. Siquidem primo a pedibus eum paralis⁴ apprehenderat⁵. Fecit autem hoc noctis initio⁶, cum tempus requiescendi adesset. Statimque ille Kings placidum dimissus in soporem, procedente *intempestae*⁷ 3. 20
noctis silentio coepit⁸ alternis palpitare pedibus, ut palam qui uigilabant et uidebant ministri animaduernerent, quia donata per reliquias uiri sancti uirtute medicandi, sanitas optata a planta pedum per⁹ caetera membra esset¹⁰ transitura. At ubi consuetum in monasterio nocturnae¹¹ orationis signum insonuit, excitatus¹² sonitu resedit ipse. Nec mora solidatis interna uirtute neruis artuumque compagibus uniuersis, et¹³ dolore fugato sanatum se esse p. 126 intelligens¹⁴ surrexit, et in¹⁵ gratiarum | actionem¹⁶ Domino omne nocturnae¹¹ siue matutinae¹⁷ psalmodiae¹⁸ tempus¹⁹ stando persoluit. Mane autem iam facto processit ad acclesiam²⁰ uidentibusque et congratulantibus uniuersis circuiuit²¹ loca sancta orando; et suo saluatori sacrificium laudis offerendo. ²² Factum nanque²³ est ut pulcherrima rerum conuersione is qui dissolutus toto corpore illuc²⁴ in uehiculo perlatus fuerat²⁵, inde strictis firmatisque membris omnibus domum per se rediret incolumis. Unde *meminisse iuuat*, quia *haec*²⁶ est *inmutatio*²⁷ *dexterae*²⁸ *excelsi*, cuius memoranda ab initio²⁹ mirabilia mundo fulgere non cessant.

Vergil
 Aen. 1,
 203
 Psa. 76. II

XLVI. ³⁰*Qualiter anachorita Felgildus*³² *operimento*³³
*parietis eius*³⁴ ³⁵*a uultu tumore est*^{37, 36} *mundatus*^{38, 31}

Nec praetereundum³⁹ arbitror quid miraculi coelestis⁴⁰
 p. 127 etiam per reliquias sanctissimi oratorii in | quo pater uenerabilis solitarius Domino militare consueuerat, diuina pietas ostenderit. Quod tamen utrum meritis eiusdem

1 sepulcro O₃. 2 egr... C₁VHP₁C₃O₃M. 3 circum... C₁VHP₁O₄. 4 paralysis C₁V. 5 adp... C₁VH. 6 inicio C₃O₃M. 7 intempeste C₃O₃. 8 caep... C₁V. cep... C₃O₃M. cet... O₃. 9 in C₁VHP₁O₄. 10 ess. memb. C₁VHP₁. 11 nocturne O₃. 12 concitus C₁VH. 13 ac C₁VHP₁O₄. 14 intellegens C₁VH. 15 om. C₁VH. 16 actione P₁O₈. 17 matutine O₃. 18 psalmodie VO₃. 19 munus P₁. *above* uel munus O₈. 20 eccl... C₁C₃O₃.

upon the feet of the man of God in the sepulchre and put them upon the nerveless feet of the sick man—for the paralysis had first seized him in his feet. He did this at the beginning of the night when the time for rest had come; immediately the sick man fell into a calm sleep and, as the silence of the dead of night came on, first one and then the other foot began to twitch, so that the servants, who were awake and watching, clearly perceived that the desired restoration had been given by means of the healing powers of the saint's relics, and that it would pass from the soles of his feet throughout his other limbs. And when the accustomed signal for the nightly prayer sounded through the monastery, he was aroused by the sound and sat up. Without delay the sinews and all the joints of his limbs were strengthened with inward power, the pain was banished, and he rose up realising that he had been healed, and spent the whole time of the nightly psalm-singing, or mattins, standing up and giving thanks to the Lord. When morning came he went to the church and, with everyone watching and congratulating him, he went round the holy places praying and offering the sacrifice of praise to his Saviour. And it came to pass, by a most happy turn of events, that he who had been carried there on a cart with all his body paralysed, returned home by himself safe and sound, with all his limbs under control and strong. Hence it is profitable to remember that this is the unchanging right hand of the Most High, whose wonders, memorable from of old, cease not to shine in the world.

CHAPTER XLVI. *How the hermit Felgild was cured of a swelling in the face by the covering of his wall*

I think that I ought not to pass over a certain heavenly miracle which the divine mercy showed by means of the fragments of the most holy oratory in which the venerable father used to fight in solitude for the Lord. But whether this ought to be

21 circuit C₁VH. circumit O₄. 22-23 factumque C₁VHP₁O₄. 24 om. M.
 25 erat C₁VHP₁. 26 hec P₁O₃. 27 imm... P₁O₄M. immutacio C₃.
 28 dextere O₃. 29 inicio C₃O₈M. 30-31 Quomodo Felgildus operimento
 parietis eius sanatus sit O₄. 32 Felgeldus VHC₃. 33 ins. eius M.
 34 ins. sit VH. om. eius M. 35-36 in uultu sit O₈O₃M. 37 om. C₁VHC₃.
 38 ins. sit C₃. 39 preter... VHO₈O₄M. 40 cael... C₁V. cel... O₃C₃.

beati patris Cuthberti¹, an successoris eius Edilwaldi² uiri aequae³ Deo dediti ascribendum⁴ sit, internus arbiter⁵ nouerit. Neque⁶ aliqua ratio uetat utriusque merito factum credi, comitante etiam fide reuerentissimi patris Felgildi⁷, per quem et in quo miraculum ipsum quod refero sanationis completum est. Ipse est qui tercius⁸ eiusdem loci et militiae⁹ spiritualis¹⁰ heres hodie maior septuagenario in magno uitae¹¹ futurae¹² desiderio terminum praesentis¹³ expectat. Cum ergo uiro Domini Cuthberto¹⁴ ad coelestia¹⁵ translato Edilwaldus¹⁶ eiusdem insulae¹⁷ et monasterii colonus existere coepisset¹⁸, qui et ipse multos antea per annos in monachica¹⁹ conuersatione probatus rite gradum anachoreticae²⁰ sullimitatis²¹ ascenderat²², repperit quia parietes praefati oratorii qui tabulis minus diligenter²³ coaptatis erant compositi, longa essent uetustate²⁴ dissoluti, et separatis ab inuicem tabulis facilem turbinibus praebuissent²⁵ ingressum. Sed²⁶ uir uenerabilis qui coelestis²⁷ aedificii²⁸ magis quam terreni decorem quaerebat²⁹, sumpto foeno³⁰ uel argilla uel quicquid p. 128 huiusmodi materiae³¹ repperisset³², stipauit³³ rimulas, ne cotidianis³⁴ imbrium siue uentorum iniuriis ab orandi retardaretur instantia. Cum haec³⁵ igitur Edilwaldus³⁶ ingressus locum uidisset, postulauit a frequentantibus se fratribus pelliculam uituli³⁷, eamque illo³⁸ in angulo quo et ipse et praedecessor³⁹ eius Cuthbertus⁴⁰ sepius orans stare uel genuflectere solebat, clauis affixam⁴¹ uiolentiis⁴² procellarum opposuit⁴³. At postquam ipse quoque expletis ibi⁴⁴ duodecim⁴⁵ continuis annis gaudium supernae⁴⁶ beatitudinis intrauit, ac tercius⁴⁷ locum eundem Felgildus⁴⁸ incolere⁴⁹ coepit⁵⁰, placuit reuerentissimo Lindisfarnensis

1 Cudberhti C₁V. Cuthberhti H. Cutberti P₁. Cuthberhti M.
 2 Aediluualdi C₁VH. Adeluoldi P₁. Eadiluualdi O₄. 3 eque O₃.
 4 ads... C₁VHC₃. ass... O₄. 5 arbitrer C₁. 6 nec O₃. 7 Felgeldi
 C₁VH. 8 tertius C₁VHP₁O₄M. 9 milicie O₃M. 10 spiritalis
 C₁VH. 11 uite C₃O₃. 12 future C₃O₃. 13 pre... O₄.
 14 Cudberhto C₁V. Cuthberhto H. Chutberto P₁. 15 cael... C₁V.
 cel... C₃O₃. ins. regna C₁VHP₁O₄. 16 Aediluualdus C₁VH.
 Oetheluualdus P₁. Ediluualdus C₃. Eadiluualdus O₄. 17 insule C₃O₃.
 18 caep... C₁V. cep... P₁C₃O₃. 19 monacica C₃. 20 anachoretice
 O₃. 21 subl... C₁VHC₃O₄. 22 ascendebat C₁VHP₁O₄.

ascribed to the merits of the same blessed father Cuthbert or of his successor Aethilwald, a man equally devoted to God, He knows who judges the heart. Nor does any reason forbid us to believe that it was wrought by the merits of both, accompanied also by the faith of the most reverend father Felgild, through whom and in whom the miracle of healing, to which I refer, was wrought. He is the third heir of that dwelling and of that spiritual warfare and to-day, more than seventy years of age, he awaits the end of the present life, eagerly longing for the life to come. Now when Cuthbert the man of God had been translated to the heavenly kingdom, Aethilwald began to inhabit the island and the hermitage, after having for many years previously been tested by the monastic life, and having duly risen to the heights of the hermit life. He found that the walls of that same oratory which had been made of planks not too carefully joined together, had been loosened through age, and the planks had come apart and allowed easy access to stormy winds. But the venerable Cuthbert who sought the splendour of a heavenly mansion rather than of any earthly habitation, used to take straw or clay or whatever material of that kind he could find and stuff up the cracks, so that he might not be hindered from the fervour of his prayers by the daily violence of rain or wind. When therefore Aethilwald entered the place and saw this, he asked the brethren who used to visit him for the skin of a calf, and fixed it with nails in the corner in which he and his predecessor Cuthbert used most often to stand or kneel in prayer; and so he kept out the violence of the storms. But after he had spent twelve years there continuously and had entered upon the joy of heavenly bliss, and Felgild the third hermit had begun to inhabit this place, Eadfrith the most reverend bishop

23 O₄ breaks off here. 24 ins. et C₁VH. 25 pre... O₈. 26 set O₃.
 27 cael... C₁V. cel... O₃. 28 edi... C₃O₃M. 29 quer... C₁O₃.
 30 feno C₃O₃. 31 materie C₃O₃. 32 repperiret C₁VHP₁. 33 stipasset
 C₁VHP₁. 34 cotidianas C₁. 35 om. P₁. hec O₃. 36 Aediluualdus C₁VH.
 Oidiluualdus P₁. Ediluualdus C₃. 37 uitulae C₁. 38 om. P₁. 39 prode...
 C₁VH. 40 Cudberhtus C₁V. Cuthberhtus H. Cutbertus P₁. 41 adf...
 C₁VH. 42 uiolentus O₃C₃P₁. 43 obp... C₁VH. 44 sibi M.
 45 xii C₁VH. xii P₁O₈. 46 superne O₃. 47 tertius C₁VHP₁.
 48 Felgeldus C₁VH. 49 incolare C₁VH. 50 caep... C₁V. cep... C₃O₃.

aecclesiae¹ pontifici Eadfrido² dissolutum uetustate oratorium illud a fundamentis restaurare. Quod dum esset opus expletum, et multi deuota religione a beato Christi athleta Felgildo³ postularent, quatinus aliquam illis particulam de reliquiis sancti ac Deo dilecti patris Cuthberti⁴ siue successoris eius Edilwaldi⁵ dare debuisset, uisum est illi diuisam particulatim memoratam pelliculam petentibus dandam, sed daturus eam aliis prius in se ipse quid haec⁶ uirtutis haberet expertus est. Habebat nanque⁷ uultum deformi rubore simul et tumore perfusum, cuius quidem p. 129 futuri in eo languoris | et prius cum adhuc communi inter fratres uita degeret aspicientibus in facie eius signa patebant. At cum in solitudine remotus minorem corpori cultum⁸, maiorem adhiberet continentiam, et quasi diutino carcere inclusus, rarius uel fotu⁹ solis uel aeris uteretur¹⁰ afflatu, excreuit languor in maius, faciemque totam tumentis ardore repleuit. Timens ergo ne forte magnitudine huiusmodi infirmitatis solitariam deserere uitam, et communem necesse esset conuersionem repetere, fideli usus est praesumptione, sperauitque se illorum ope curandum, quorum se mansionem tenere, et uitam gaudebat imitari. Mittens enim praefatae partem pelliculae¹¹ in aquam, ipsa aqua lauit faciem suam¹², statimque tumor omnis qui hanc obsederat et scabies foeda¹³ recessit, iuxta quod mihi¹⁴ et primo religiosus quidam presbiter¹⁵ huius monasterii Gyruensis¹⁶ indicauit, qui se uultum illius et prius tumens ac deformem nosse, et postea mundatum¹⁷ per fenestram manu palpasse referebat, et ipse postmodum Felgildus¹⁸ retulit, astruens quia res ipsa ita ut presbiter narrauerat esset completa¹⁹, et²⁰ quod ex eo tempore cum inclusus per multa annorum curricula maneret ut prius immunem²¹ ab huiusmodi molestia uultum semper

1 eccl. . . C₁C₃O₃.

2 Eadfrido M.

3 Felgildo C₁VH.4 Cudberhti C₁V. Cuthberhti H. Cutberti P₁.

5 Aediluualdi

C₁VH. Oidiluualdi P₁. Ediluualdi C₃.6 hec C₃O₃.

7 namque

C₁VHP₁O₃.

8 gloss above scilicet et VH.

9 potu C₁.

of the church at Lindisfarne decided to restore the oratory from its foundations, since it was falling to pieces through age. When the work was finished, many devout persons asked Felgild, the blessed warrior of Christ, to give them some portion of the relics of the holy father Cuthbert beloved of God, or of his successor Aethilwald. He determined to give this same skin to those who asked him, dividing it in pieces. But before he gave it to others, he first tried upon himself what virtue it had. Now his face was covered with a disfiguring redness and swelling, and even before, when he had lived a communal life among the brethren, the symptoms of this illness were clearly seen upon his face. But when he went into solitude he practised greater abstinence and took less care of his body, and being shut up as it were in long captivity, he enjoyed more rarely the warmth of the sun and the breath of the wind; thus his affliction increased, and the inflamed swelling covered the whole of his face. And fearing lest perhaps, owing to the heaviness of his affliction, he would have to give up his solitary life and take to communal life again, he hoped with the boldness of faith to be cured by the aid of those whose dwelling he rejoiced to inhabit, and whose manner of life he rejoiced to imitate. So he put a part of this same skin into water and washed his face with it, and immediately all the swelling which had covered it and the loathsome scab departed. This was first told me by a certain devout priest of this monastery at Jarrow who affirmed that he first knew Felgild's face in its swollen and deformed state, and afterwards had felt it with his hands through the window after it was healed. And Felgild himself related it afterwards, adding that it took place as the priest had narrated, and that from that time although he remained shut up as before for many years, his face had always been

10 *gloss above* scilicet cum VH. 11 pellicule O₈O₃. 12 suam fac.
 C₁VHP₁. 13 feda C₁VP₁C₃O₃. 14 michi M. 15 *in margin*
 Nomen presbiteri Ceolberct C₃. *in margin* Nomen presbiteri Ceolbercht O₃.
 16 Gyruensis C₁VH. Giruensis P₁O₃. 17 mundatam C₁VH. 18 Fel-
 geldus C₁VH. 19 expleta C₁VHP₁O₈O₃M. 20 ex C₁. 21 inm... C₁VH.

p. 130 haberet, agente | gratia Dei omnipotentis, quae et in prae-
 senti multos et in futuro¹ cordis et corporis nostri lan-
 Psa. 102. guores sanare consuevit, satiansque² in bonis desiderium
 4, 5 nostrum, sua nos in perpetuum misericordia et miseratione
 coronat³.

⁴Explicit liber de uita et miraculis sancti⁶ Cud-
 berhti⁷ Lindisfarnensis aecclesiae⁸ episcopi feliciter.
 Amen⁹, 5.

1 ins. omnes C₁VHP₁. 2 sac. . . C₃O₃M. 3 ins. Amen C₇VH.
 4-5 om. O₉O₄. 6 beatissimi patris C₃O₈O₃M. 7 Cuth-

free from this affliction, through the grace of Almighty God who, in this present age, is wont to heal many, and, in time to come, will heal our diseases of mind and body; for he satisfies our desire with good things and crowns us for ever "with lovingkindness and tender mercies".

End of the book of the life and miracles of St Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne. Amen.

berhti VH. Cuthberti P₁C₃O₃M. 8 eccl... O₃. 9 om. C₃O₈O₃M.

NOTES

NOTES TO THE ANONYMOUS LIFE



BOOK I

CHAPTER I (p. 60)

Prologue. The Prologue follows the regular pattern of the saints' lives written on the Antonian model. The writer expresses his unworthiness and incapacity to write the life of the holy man, but undertakes to do it at the express command of some superior. The tradition goes back finally to Athanasius' *Life of Antony* freely translated from the Greek into Latin by Evagrius, presbyter and later bishop of Antioch in the late fourth century, and to the *Life of St Martin* by Sulpicius Severus of about the same date. These lives, together with Jerome's *Life of St Paul*, became models for later lives of saints for several centuries, all over Western Europe. Thus Paulinus, in his prologue to the *Life of St Ambrose*, declares that he has been asked to write it in the style in which Athanasius and Jerome wrote the *Lives of St Antony and St Paul*, and in which Severus wrote the *Life of St Martin* (*Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, ed. Ballerini, Milan, 1883, vol. vi, col. 885).

The Prologue is a literary curiosity. Chapters 1 and 2 are simply a mosaic of borrowings of which, except for the proper names, not a word is original. For sources of borrowings see text. The greater part of the Prologue was afterwards borrowed by Eddius in his prologue to the *Life of St Wilfrid* (W. Levison, *Script. rerum Merov.* vi, pp. 181 f.; *Eddius*, p. 150).

The use of the *Epistola Victorii* is interesting. This letter is the introduction to Victorius' Paschal Cycle, which was used by the Roman church for fixing the date of Easter until the improved cycle of Dionysius Exiguus came into use. It shows that this cycle was known in the north fairly early, and there is some evidence of its use in the Celtic church at a much earlier date (cf. *O.E.N.* pp. 24n. and 48n.). The whole preface is an interesting illustration of Levison's statement that the historical learning of the seventh century in Northumbria sprang from two roots—chronology and hagiography (*Bede, L.T.W.* p. 112).

Eadfrith. Eadfrith became bishop of Lindisfarne in 698 after the death of Eadberht. Symeon describes him as a pious and worthy bishop (Symeon, *H.D.E.* vol. I, p. 38). He was greatly devoted to the memory of Cuthbert, for it was he, too, who encouraged Bede to write the *V.P.* and to whom the Prologue is addressed. He restored Cuthbert's oratory on Farne Island (*V.P.* c. 46). His name is also associated with the famous Lindisfarne Gospels (B.M. Cott. Nero D.iv), for in the tenth-century colophon which purports

to be written by the priest Aldred, we read that Eadfrith wrote this book, and there seems little doubt that if he did he must have done the illumination too (*A.E.E.* vol. v, pp. 341 ff. and J. Brønsted, *Early English Ornament*, London, 1924, p. 92 n.). If this is so, Eadfrith must have been a very remarkable calligraphist (but see R. A. S. Macalister, *The Colophon of the Lindisfarne Gospels*, Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 299-305). St Columba too was writing a psalter when he died; he had also made a copy of Finian's gospel secretly, which is said to have led to his leaving Ireland (*Vit. Col.* Reeves, III, c. 23, pp. 233 and 248 ff.). He had also written a gospel with his own hand which he left to St Berach (*L.I.S.* II, p. 39). When Eadfrith died in 721 he was buried near St Cuthbert, and his body, together with that of Eadberht, the bones of Aidan, or rather such as had been left by Colman, the head of Oswald and various other relics were taken with the body of St Cuthbert in its wanderings through Northumbria after 875 (see *V.P.* c. 39 n. p. 357). In 1104, when Cuthbert's body was translated to the Chapel of the Nine Altars, Durham, Eadfrith's remains were placed in another part of the church (Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, pp. 57, 252; see also *D.N.B.* s.v. Eadfrith).

CHAPTER III (p. 64)

V.P. c. 1, *V.M.* c. 1.

Tumma or **Trumwine**. Tumma or, as he is called in the *V.P.*, Trumwine was bishop of the Picts with his seat apparently in the monastery at Abercorn. After Ecgrith, king of Northumbria, was defeated by the Picts at Nechtansmere in 685, Trumwine had to retire to Whitby (*V.P.* c. 30 n. p. 353), where he lived on for a long time as a simple monk and where he died and was buried (*H.E.* IV, 26). This was presumably some time before the *V.A.* was written (i.e. 705 at the latest), as the phrase "sanctae memoriae" shows (though occasionally this phrase is used of a living person, cf. *Eddius*, pp. 46, 122, 140, 167). He accompanied King Ecgrith on a special journey to Farne in 684 to persuade the unwilling Cuthbert to accept the office of bishop (*V.A.* IV, 1; *V.P.* c. 24). It may be as Plummer suggests (II, p. 268) that it was on this occasion that Trumwine heard the story told in this chapter. On the subject of eyewitnesses, see Introduction, pp. 12 f. Tumma is a hypocoristic or intimate form of the name Trumwine (Redin, p. 72).

Elias. Bede does not mention this Lindisfarne priest. The name does not occur in the *Liber Vitae*. Judging by the latter and by the *Ecclesiastical History*, Scripture names seem to have been very sparingly used in the north at this time, with the single exception of the name John.

Games. St Wulfstan was also good at games, and it was while playing games that he was called to a life of greater devotion (*Vita Wulfstani*, ed. R. R. Darlington, R.H.S. 1928, p. 6).

Early prophecy of bishopric. The early prophecy of how a saintly child is in due course to become a bishop is fairly common in hagiographical

writings. It was prophesied of St Samson of Dol in his youth (*St Samson of Dol*, p. 16). Cf. also *Vita Eligii*, 1, 2 (*Script. rerum Merov.* iv, p. 670) and Anso, *Vita Ursuari* (*ibid.* vi, p. 454). Rufinus (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, x, 15, ed. T. Mommsen and E. Schwartz. *Eusebius, Werke* II, Leipzig, 1908, p. 90) tells how Athanasius was recognised as a bishop, while still a boy, by some of his playmates.

CHAPTER IV (p. 66)

V.P. c. 2, *V.M.* c. 2.

Cuthbert's knee. Cuthbert was apparently suffering from synovitis or water on the knee, due perhaps to some injury. Poulticing would be the usual remedy a doctor would still recommend. But for another explanation see note on *V.P.* c. 37, p. 355.

Angelic ministrations. The angels in the Egyptian deserts helped the anchorites while they were alive, warned them of the approach of death, and received their souls after death (cf. *H.L.* cc. 8, 29, 34, 71). St Martin too was frequently visited by angels (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* II, 13; Halm, p. 196). St Antony was caught up to the third heaven by angels (*Vit. Ant.* c. 37; Migne, LXXXIII, col. 155) and the same tradition is found in the Irish lives too, where stories of angelic assistance abound. We read, for instance, that Mochuda of Rahen had a convent whose number was "seven and seven score and seven hundred, and every third man among them conversed with angels" (*L.I.S.* II, p. 300). In Adamnan's *Life of Columba* a whole section is devoted to angelic ministrations. Angels play an important part in the life of Cuthbert. He saw angels taking the soul of Aidan and of Hadwald to heaven (I, 5; IV, 10); he received an angel into the monastery at Ripon and was fed with angelic food (II, 2); he was assisted to build his hut on Farne by angels (*V.P.* c. 17); and they ministered to him during his last days on Farne Island. Plummer (*V.S.H.* I, p. clxxxii) points out that in the Irish legends it is clear that angels have taken the place of the fairies of the older religion. It may be true to a lesser extent in the English lives, though the literary influences are probably enough to account for most of the stories of angelic ministrations.

CHAPTER V (p. 68)

V.P. c. 4, *V.M.* c. 4.

Feeding flocks. Many saints kept sheep in their youth, such as Patrick, Walaricus, Simeon Stylites and Coemgen. It does not necessarily follow that Cuthbert was of peasant extraction (see *V.P.* c. 6n. p. 344).

The soul of Aidan. Visions of souls being carried to heaven by angels are common in the lives of the saints. A priest in Ireland saw the soul of Cedd, with a company of angels, taking the soul of Chad to heaven (*H.E.* IV, 3; for other instances, see *H.E.* III, 8; IV, 9). A whole series of visions of this sort is related in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, and in almost every case

these visions are of the same type. The soul of the dead or dying person is surrounded by a band of angels and is often enclosed in a globe of fire, as here, while the one to whom the vision is revealed is invariably absent at a greater or less distance from the death-bed (see further *Bede*, *L.T.W.* pp. 213 ff.). Perhaps the prototype is the vision seen by Antony of the death of Amon, related in the *Evagrian Life of Antony* (*Vit. Ant.* c. 32; Migne, LXXIII, col. 153). Antony learns almost immediately of the death of Amon. Bede says that Cuthbert heard the next morning, while the *V.A.* makes it a few days afterwards. In the similar story told by Gregory of Tours concerning the vision granted to Bishop Severinus of Cologne of the death of St Martin, the death occurred "the same day and hour" as Severinus heard the heavenly choir (Gregory of Tours, *Virtutes Martini*, I, 4; *Script. rerum Merov.* I, p. 590). The story occurs very often in MSS after Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin* and forms part of the collection known as the Martinelli (*B.H.L.* II, 5621). See H. Delehaye, *Anal. Boll.* XXXVIII, 1920, pp. 11 ff.

Aidan. Aidan was the first bishop of Lindisfarne. Bede gives us practically all the information we possess about this wise and gentle saint. He was a monk of Iona (*H.E.* III, 3) and was sent at the request of King Oswald to reconvert Northumbria after the disastrous invasion of Penda. He was consecrated bishop probably in 635. He fixed his see at Lindisfarne, probably because of its likeness to Iona and the fondness of the Irish missionaries for out-of-the-way sites (*H.E.* II, p. 126), and also because he did not wish to associate his mission with that of Paulinus by placing his seat at York. His teaching was most successful. He became the close friend of the saintly King Oswald and, after the death of the latter in 642, he continued to be friendly with Oswini, king of Deira. Oswini was murdered with the connivance of Oswald's brother Oswiu, king of Bernicia. Aidan survived his patron only twelve days, dying on August 31st, 651, at Bamburgh (*H.E.* III, 3, 5, 6, 16, 17). It is interesting to note that Aidan was accustomed to retire to the island of Farne for meditation, so that Cuthbert was following the tradition of the earlier saint. Bede speaks in the highest terms of Aidan's beauty of person and character and of his wonderful humility. He was buried at Lindisfarne, his body being translated to the right side of the altar, that is, presumably, the south side, when the larger church was built. Part of his relics were carried away by Colman after the Synod of Whitby in 664. Part of them afterwards accompanied the body of St Cuthbert in its wanderings and finally reached Durham in 995 (see note to *V.P.* c. 39, p. 357). *Aidanus* is equivalent to the Irish name *Aedhán*, the diminutive of *Aedh*.

R. Leader. Bede does not mention the scene of the incident. The Leader falls into the Tweed two miles below Melrose (cf. W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1926, p. 471).

In populari uita. The same phrase occurs in Bede's *Epistle to Egbert*, par. 5. "Popularis" comes from "populus" in the sense of "lay" or "secular", just as λαϊκός comes from λαός (*H.E.* II, p. 380). Compare also the Irish term "tuatha" = "lay", derived from "tuath", a division of land.

CHAPTER VI (p. 70)

V.P. c. 5, *V.M.* c. 6.

Chester-le-Street, "Kuncacester". (See other forms in the text and cf. Mawer, pp. 43-4.) The name occurs in *V.A.* only. A mistaken reading of the Bollandists made earlier editors guess Lanchester as the scene of the miracle, though it is only fair to note that C. J. Bates had seen the *Tricr* and *Arras MSS* (T and A) and had given the correct forms of all the place-names in the *V.A.* in an article entitled, "The Names of Persons and Places mentioned in the early Lives of St Cuthbert" (*Arch. Ael.* N.S. xvi, 1894, pp. 81 ff.). This story emphasises the fact that a large part of County Durham was deserted country until well on into the Anglo-Saxon period. The rarity of Anglian pagan burials in the county emphasises the same fact. The writer of the *Vita S. Oswaldi* in the eleventh century declares that the land between the Tees and the Tyne was in the sixth century one vast deserted region and haunt of wild beasts (*Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 1; Symeon, *H.D.E.* 1, p. 339). Cuthbert was doubtless travelling along the Roman road.

Miraculous food. The simple story told by the Lindisfarne monk is much heightened in the corresponding account in the *V.P.* Here he is merely weather-bound; in the *V.P.* he is being specially honoured by God for his insistence on observing the Friday fast. The story is reminiscent of one told by Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* 1, 11; Halm, p. 163) of the Egyptian abbot who went to visit a recluse near the Nile, and on going into his cell found a basket of palm branches, divinely provided, full of warm bread, hanging fixed to the door post. The story belongs to a type which may be called the miraculous provision of food. Other examples in the life of Cuthbert are the provision of food by the angel at Ripon (II, 2), of dolphin flesh (II, 4) and of the fish provided by the eagle (II, 5). All these miracles are most likely reminiscences of such scriptural stories as the food provided for Elijah by the ravens, or the feeding of the multitudes, or the angels ministering to our Lord in the desert. For other possible sources see *Bede*, *L. T. W.* p. 210.

Shepherds' dwellings. Stevenson in his note on this passage (Stevenson, *C.H.* p. 554) very appositely quotes Camden on the subject of these shepherds' huts: "All over the Wasts, as they call them, as well as in Gillesland, you see as it were the ancient Nomades; a Martial sort of people, that from April to August lye in little Hutts (which they call Sheals or Shealings) here and there dispers'd among their flocks" (Camden's *Britannia*, ed. E. Gibson, London, 1695, col. 851).

CHAPTER VII (p. 72)

Wearying the reader. It was the custom in writing saints' lives to apologise for not relating the whole of the miracles of the saint on the plea that the hearer or reader might be wearied. Sulpicius, for instance, does so in the passage our author has borrowed in 1, 2. In the first preface to Adamnan's *Life of St Columba* a similar plea is put forward. (Cf. also John 21. 25.)

Military service. This is the only reference in the *V.A.* to Cuthbert's military service. We learn nothing of it in Bede nor of his vision of the reeve's soul carried to heaven. It makes it highly probable that Cuthbert did not enter the monastery until he had reached at least the age of seventeen. He was perhaps fighting in Oswiu's army against Penda.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I (p. 74)

Cuthbert's asceticism. This description of Cuthbert's asceticism is borrowed verbally from the Evagrian *Life of Antony*. It need not therefore be taken too seriously. But, as other incidents in Cuthbert's life show, he was given to asceticism, though not to the wilder forms common among the Egyptian hermits, and described in the *Vitae Patrum* or the *Lausiac History* of Palladius. These ascetic excesses were also prevalent in the Irish monasteries through the influence of Lérins and the Gallo-Roman foundations of St Martin. Fasting was carried to excess amongst the Egyptians. St Antony took food every two or four days only (*Vit. Ant.* c. 3; Migne, LXXIII, col. 128). On the other hand, judging by other passages in the same life (e.g. cc. 25, 27), the saint seems to have been aware of the dangers of protracted fasting and to have warned his followers against it. Another form of asceticism consisted in going without sleep. Macarius of Alexandria tried to do without sleep altogether and only gave it up when he began to go mad (*H.L.* c. 18). The same hermit spent six months in a marsh infested by mosquitoes. He looked so hideous on his return that he was recognised by his voice only (*loc. cit.*). Eustathius' body was so dried up that the sun shone through his bones.

In Ireland fasts were prolonged for two, three or four days (Gougaud, *C.C.L.* p. 98 and n.). Adamnan of Coldingham abstained from food and drink except on Sundays and Thursdays (*H.E.* iv, 25). Other forms of austerity were praying, standing up to the neck in water (ii, 3 and n. p. 319), while some allowed worms to devour their flesh (*V.S.H.* Introd. p. xcvi, n. 14). Finnhua of Bri Gobann remained suspended on iron hooks for seven years (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 400). The crown of martyrdom was denied to the Irish saints until the Norse incursions at the end of the eighth century. But, instead, they sought to win the martyr's crown by extreme asceticism. In a seventh-century Irish homily, the writer describes three kinds of martyrdom: white martyrdom, which implies abandoning everything for God's sake; blue martyrdom, freeing oneself from evil desires by means of fasting and labour; and red martyrdom, enduring death for Christ's sake (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 197; see also A. Wilmart, "Analecta Reginensia", *Studi e Testi*, LIX, Rome, 1933, pp. 56, 78). Gregory also makes the distinction between those who suffered outward and those who suffered inward martyrdom (*Greg. Dial.* iii, 26, p. 197. See further W. Levison, "Die echte und die verfälschte Gestalt von Rimberts Vita Anskarii", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische*

Geschichte, xxiii, 1919, p. 114 and n. 1). Perhaps this is why our author twice refers to the saint after his death as martyr (iv, 15; iv, 17). It is interesting to note that in Wales, the form Merthyr (martyr) is often found in place-names dedicated to saints who were not martyrs such as Merthyr Cynog, Merthyr Tydfil. See also L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages*, London, 1927, pp. 147 ff., 159 ff., 205 ff.

But the gradual introduction of the rule of St Benedict into the monasteries of Northumbria, during the seventh century, discouraged all the more spectacular forms of asceticism. "In place of rivalry in ascetic achievement, St Benedict established a common mode of life... common prayer, work and reading; and the sanctification of the monk was to be found in living the life of the community" (Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, London, 1919, p. 45).

Cuthbert's virtues. This description of St Cuthbert's virtues which is a verbal borrowing from the *Actus Silvestri*, a life of St Sylvester not yet edited in full, and found among other places in Li (see p. 33), occurs again at the beginning of Adamnan's Life of St Columba. Levison has collected other instances in which the same description is used for other saints (W. Levison, "Sigolena", *Neues Archiv*, xxxv, 1910, pp. 227f. and "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende", *Studi e Testi*, xxxviii, Rome, 1924, pp. 213 f.). The text of the *Actus* used by the author is what Levison calls "Text B".

CHAPTER II (p. 76)

V.P. c. 7, *V.M.* c. 7.

Tonsure. The passage "postquam... susceperat" is quoted by Amalarius (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Lib. iv, c. 39; Migne, cv, col. 1234. I owe this reference to Dr Levison). The passage is also quoted by Eddius in his *Life of Wilfrid* (c. 6).

The different forms of tonsure were one of the subjects of controversy between the Roman and Celtic Churches. The Celtic form is generally supposed to have been a shaving of the hair to a line from ear to ear behind which the hair was grown. In the *Hákonar Saga*, St Columba appears to King Alexander III of Scotland in a dream and he is described as being *mjök fram-snoðinn*, "very bald in front" (*Hákonar Saga*, ed. G. Vigfusson, Rolls Series, 1887, p. 260. I owe this reference to Prof. Bruce Dickins). There is some reason for believing that the Celtic tonsure was of Druidic origin (*V.S.H.* p. clxvi, n. 1; *Vit. Tr.* p. 509; also Gougaud, *C.C.L.* pp. 201 ff. and references).

The shape of the tonsure, the formula used in baptism and, most of all, the date of Easter, were the three main points of difference between the Roman and the Celtic churches. It is curious to notice that, although Cuthbert is said to have received the Petrine or Roman tonsure, nevertheless shortly afterwards (as appears from *V.P.* cc. 7, 8 compared with *H.E.* v, 19) he and Abbot Eata and the rest of the brethren were driven out of Ripon and back to Melrose because they refused to accept the Roman Easter.

Monastic vows. In the *V.P.* Cuthbert is said to have taken monastic vows at Melrose. Here it is implied that he took them at Ripon. The former is much more probable, especially in view of the detailed and circumstantial account which Bede gives, based on what he had learned from the eyewitness Sigfrith.

Guest-master. We are told in the *V.P.* account (p. 176) that he was elected "suscepiendorum officio praepositus hospitum", corresponding to the "fertigis" of an Irish monastery. As this officer was in touch with the outside world, no brother would be chosen for this post unless he were a man of great tact and virtue (cf. *H.E.* 1, p. xxviii.).

Guests. In the Celtic monasteries, as also in the Egyptian and Gallo-Roman monasteries, guests were received with great enthusiasm. Warm water was fetched in a footbath and the duty of foot-washing was performed by the abbot or one of the monks. St Martin always did it himself. On a fast day, the fast might be relaxed and the brethren permitted to share the guests' food. A separate building was provided for them as the story here shows. See also *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 53, pp. 96 ff.

Wintry weather. We learn from the *V.M.* that the incident happened in December.

Meals. The Benedictine and Columban rules only permitted one meal a day and that towards evening. But in Columban monasteries it is clear that a meal was taken about 3 p.m. while in Benedictine monasteries the meal came to be taken about midday and there was sometimes extra supper in the evening between Easter and Pentecost. But the Columban rule allowed travellers, even penitents, to eat at the third hour and reserve something for the journey's end (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 386, n. 5). It is clearly some such permission that Cuthbert has in mind, when he offers him food (cf. also *V.P.* c. 5 and n. p. 344). The food for the day's meal of the monastery is in course of preparation and only a few scraps of yester-day's meal are available for the guests.

Similar miracle. This miracle like many others has a scriptural precedent which the author refers to in the earlier part of the chapter, namely Abraham entertaining angels unawares (Gen. 18) (cf. *Bede*, *L.T.W.* pp. 207ff.). The prototype of the provision of warm bread is perhaps the story of the Egyptian abbot quoted above (I, 6n. p. 314).

CHAPTER III (p. 78)

V.P. c. 10, *V.M.* c. 8.

Plegils. The name *Plegils* comes second in the *Liber Vitae* on f. 19 under the heading of *presbyteri*. It is possibly the same man. The name *Plectgils* occurs in the list of clerics on f. 30 and *Plegils* in the list of monks on f. 35. Nothing is known of this man beyond what we learn here.

Aebbe or Ebba. Sister of St Oswald and Oswiu and aunt of King Ecgfrith. For further details about her see *D.N.B.* and *D.C.B. s.v. Eonflod*. She has given her name to St Abb's Head. Ebchester, Co. Durham, is also according to Ekwall (*Oxford Dictionary of Place Names*, Oxford, 1936, p. 152) the "Chester" of Ebba or Ebbe (see Mawer, p. 71). As the parish church in Ebchester is dedicated to St Ebba, it is quite possible that the tradition may be true that her brother Oswiu gave her the Roman site there to found a monastery inside a disused fort, just as her monastery at Coldingham was probably inside a disused fort (cf. Fursey's monastery at Burgh Castle, Bassa's at Reculver or Cedd's at Othona). For the date of her death see below. Her remains were brought to Durham in the eleventh century by the arch-relic-hunter Aelfred Westou (*Bede, L.T.W.* pp. 105 ff. and iv, 14n. p. 339).

Coldingham. In County Berwick. There are still traces of a mediaeval monastery near by. But on St Abb's Head itself there are traces of an ancient fort with buildings inside, and it is quite possible that here we have the site of Aebbe's monastery inside the disused fort. The description of the place in the fuller account given in *V.P. c. 10* fits in well with this site. See *Antiquity*, viii, 1934, pp. 202 ff. for photographs and further details, in a note by O. G. S. Crawford. The date of the foundation by Aidan is uncertain. Aethilthryth (St Audrey) entered this monastery after she left her husband Ecgfrith to take the veil at Wilfrid's instigation in 672 (*H.E.* iv, 19).

Double monasteries. The monastery here was one of the double monasteries which seem to have arisen in Gaul in the seventh century and thence to have passed to England. They consisted of monks and nuns under the supervision of an abbess usually of royal or noble birth. Symeon tells us, speaking of Coldingham, that they consisted of congregations of monks and nuns residing in the same place but in different dwellings (Symeon, *H.D.E.* i, p. 59). The most famous of them was that at Whitby under Hilda. We read in Bede of other similar double monasteries at Hartlepool, Barking, Ely, and Bardney (*H.E.* ii, p. 150). There were others at Repton, Wimborne, Minster (Thanet) and Wenlock (cf. P. Stephanus Hilpisch, "Die Doppelklöster: Entstehung und Organisation", *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens herausgegeben von Ildefons Herwegen*, xv, Münster in Westf., 1928, pp. 44 ff.). We do not hear of scandals at any except at Coldingham. Bede tells us (*H.E.* iv, 25) that it was consumed with fire as a punishment for the wickedness and corruption that existed there. The *A.S.C.* dates the fire in 679. Symeon on the other hand declares that the fire took place during the period of St Cuthbert's episcopate 685-7 (Symeon, *loc. cit.*). This fits in better with the traditional date of Aebbe's death (683) for Symeon distinctly declares that Cuthbert, shocked by the immorality at Coldingham, forbade women to enter his church at Lindisfarne and gives some examples of the awful retribution which fell upon those who sought to enter his church at Durham (Symeon, *loc. cit.*).

Cuthbert's attitude to women. Cuthbert's attitude to women is always represented both in *V.A.* and *V.P.* as being of the friendliest. He

pays a visit to Aebbe here, he is deeply devoted to his fostermother Kenswith (ii, 7), he visits Aelflaed twice (iii, 6; iv, 10) and answers her questions, he is on friendly terms with Iurminburg, wife of Ecgrith (iv, 8), he stays at the monastery of the Abbess Verca (*V.P.* c. 35) and receives from her a linen cloth in which he is wrapped after his death (*V.P.* c. 37). The position of women generally was high in Anglo-Saxon times, as the appointment of a woman over the double monasteries shows (cf. G. F. Browne, *The Importance of Women in Anglo-Saxon Times*, London, 1919, pp. 11 ff.). But when the Normans came over and the Continental belief in the inferiority and impurity of women was introduced, this fear and dislike of women came to be attributed, very unfairly, to the saint, and attempts were made to explain his dislike. Symeon's excuse was the most popular. The "Irish" Life tells three different stories to explain this dislike (*Arch. Ael.* Ser. iv, 6, 1921, pp. 88 ff.). In Ireland, though the saints of the primitive period were on friendly terms with women, the Irish saints of the second order (second half of the sixth century) had all the Egyptian dislike of them. An amusing story is told of the childhood of St Brendan when a little girl, wishing to play with him, jumped into the chariot in which he was seated reading his psalms, he showed his incipient saintliness by flogging her severely with the reins and driving her away in tears (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 249). It was an Irish saint who said on seeing a sheep: "In hoc loco, non ero; ubi enim ovis, ibi mulier; ubi mulier, ibi peccatum" (*V.S.H.* i, p. 250).

Immersion. This was a regular form of asceticism among the Irish, Welsh, Breton and Scottish saints, St Patrick and St Coemgen among their number (*Vit. Tr.* p. 485; *L.I.S.* ii, p. 123). The saints stood immersed in cold water, generally during the night, reciting psalms and prayers. Other Anglo-Saxon saints who indulged in ascetic practices of this nature were Drihthelm of Melrose, Wilfrid, and Aldhelm (Gougaud, *C.C.L.* p. 95).

Sea animals. Aelfric in the Anglo-Saxon homily on the life of St Cuthbert describes the creatures as seals (Wyatt, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 82). Bede calls them otters. Probably the story was originally told of otters, for the otter in Ireland was supposed to have magical properties, and several stories are told of their friendliness to the saints in the Irish lives. An otter used to bring St Coemgen a salmon every day to supply his monastery, while on another occasion, when the same saint dropped a psalter into a lake, an otter dived for it and brought it up unharmed (*L.I.S.* ii, pp. 123, 125).

Spies. A similar story is told of the spy who followed St Fintan by night to see where he was praying and found him surrounded by heavenly light. The saint rebuked the spy and warned him not to repeat the offence (*V.S.H.* ii, 102). Another similar story is that of the brother who spied upon St Columba's tryst with the angels. In this instance, too, the spy is most strictly forbidden to say anything about the incident until after the death of the saint (*Vit. Col.* Reeves, iii, 16, p. 217). It is extremely common for a saint to forbid those who have witnessed a miracle to make any mention of it until after his death. Compare Chad's injunction to Owini, the brother

who witnessed the angelic visitors who came to warn him of his approaching death (*H.E.* iv, 3). The prohibition probably derives from our Lord's command to His disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration (*Matth.* 17. 9), a passage which Bede quotes in relating this same miracle (*V.P.* c. 10). But, in addition, the spy forms a valuable witness as the saga of the saint grows rapidly in the years after his death. The prohibition also helps to explain why nothing was heard of the miracle at the time of its happening, a difficulty which might otherwise arise in the minds of his contemporaries who outlived him and witnessed the gradual development of the saga. And, in addition to all this, one must not forget the widespread folklore belief that a wonderworker does not like to be spied upon by unauthorised persons. This dislike is found in the Irish saints' lives and in the secular stories, and is preserved in modern fairy-tales. Cf. the story of Wayland Smith as described by Scott in *Kenilworth* (c. 10). Cf. also the story of St Ciaran and the eavesdropper whose eye was plucked out by a pet crane (*St Ciaran, Irish Life*, c. 24).

Animals and birds. Cuthbert's friendliness with animals and birds is in both the Egyptian and the Irish tradition. Miss Waddell has collected the best stories of both traditions in her book called *Beasts and Saints* (London, 1934). She has also included the Cuthbert stories. The tradition of Cuthbert's affection for the eider ducks, that still breed plentifully on the Farne Islands, is preserved in the name of "St Cuthbert's birds" by which they are still known. In the "Irish" life a story is told of a seal which rescued a psalter which Cuthbert had dropped into the sea. For other illustrations of the friendliness of the Irish saints to beasts and birds see *V.S.H.* I, pp. cxliiff. Bede in *V.P.* c. 21 (see note p. 350) attempts to interpret these stories by explaining that we lose our dominion over the animal world by neglecting to serve the Lord and Creator of all things. In the *V.A.* and *V.P.* we learn how Cuthbert was provided with food by his horse (i, 6), how the sea animals at Coldingham ministered to him (ii, 3), how an eagle provided him with food (ii, 5), how the birds departed from his crops at his command (*V.P.* c. 20) and how the ravens brought him lard for his boots (iii, 5). And in every case Cuthbert's attitude towards the animals and birds is uniformly kind and thoughtful. Note particularly Bede's account of the horse finding the bread and meat in the shepherd's hut (*V.P.* c. 5).

CHAPTER IV (p. 82)

V.P. c. 11, *V.M.* c. 9.

Niuduera regio. This region, which is equivalent to Bede's Niduari (*V.P.* c. 11), is of course the region of the Nid people. Professor Max Förster maintains that the original form must have been *Nuid-* rather than *Niud-*, but all the available MSS of the *V.A.* agree in the form *Niud-* (cf. Max Förster, "Zur i-Epenthese im Altenglischen", *Anglia*, LIX, 1935, p. 297). It is usually supposed that it refers to a Pictish settlement near the R. Nith in Dumfriesshire, but Professor Watson considers it most improbable that

the Picts in question lived in the south-west of Scotland (W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1926, pp. 175 ff.). Nor does the account here and in *V.P.* c. 11 fit in well with such a situation. There may quite well have been another river of the same name on the east coast of Scotland. Bates ("The Names of Persons and Places mentioned in the early Lives of St Cuthbert", *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xvi, 1894, pp. 81 ff.) associates Kirkcudbright (that is the cell of St Cuthbert) with this incident, but there is another Kirkcudbright in Ayrshire which is certainly not connected with it.

Epiphany. That is, January 6th. This day was in very early times the feast both of the Nativity and of the Baptism. But in the west it came to be associated chiefly with the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem, though the connection with the Baptism was never entirely forgotten. In addition, the feast of the turning of the water into wine was also celebrated on this day. Possibly this miracle became connected with it owing to the rite of the "Blessing of the Waters", which in ancient times took place on this day. Water drawn on the day and stored acquired special merit, and according to some traditions was turned into wine (*E.R.E.* s.v. Epiphany). Augustine in a sermon on the Epiphany (*Sermo cxxxvii*; Migne, xxxix, col. 2014) draws attention to these three feasts celebrated on the day of Epiphany and adds that the feast of the feeding of the five thousand was also celebrated on the same day. The writer of the gloss which was afterwards inserted in the text of H, T, B and P had this sermon in mind.

Dolphin flesh. The dolphin was long considered to be a fish (not a mammal as it really is), and so the church permitted it to be eaten during Lent. It was until recently considered a great delicacy in parts of France.

Tydi. The priest Tydi as we gather from this incident belonged to Melrose and was also responsible for the story of the miraculous food provided by the eagle (ii, 5). Later on he tells the story of the child cured at *Medilwong* (iv, 6) and of the demoniac cured at Lindisfarne (iv, 15). It is fairly clear therefore that he was transferred from Melrose to Lindisfarne, perhaps at the same time as St Cuthbert. He was a contemporary of the writer of the Life, and is possibly the priest of that name mentioned in the *Liber Vitae* in the list of priests on f. 19b. The name Tidi occurs in a list of clerics on f. 26. Nothing further is known of him. For the form of the name see Redin, p. 128.

The gift of prophecy. The gift of prophecy was a sign of increasing spiritual power, as we see in the Life of Antony (*Vit. Ant.* c. 38; Migne, lxxiii, col. 156) and in the life of Benedict. In fact, the words used by Gregory to describe Benedict's spiritual growth in this direction are borrowed verbally by Bede to describe Cuthbert's experience (*V.P.* c. 11; see text). After this incident an increasing number of instances of his prophetic powers is given. Macarius of Egypt, when he was forty years old, received grace to contend against evil spirits both by healing and by forecasting the future (*H.L.* c. 17). St Martin too acquired prophetic gifts and the power of foreseeing events

(Sulp. Sev. c. 21; Halm, p. 131). St Columba was so greatly endowed with prophetic gifts that Adamnan devotes the first book of his life of the saint to describing examples of them.

CHAPTER V (p. 84)

V.P. c. 12, *V.M.* c. 10.

R. Teviot. The form *Tesgeta* which occurs in all the MSS is due to a misreading of *Tefgeta*, caused by the easy confusion between an *s* and an *f* in the insular script. The same mistake occurs apparently in iv, 10 where *Ofingadun* becomes *Osingadun*. The Teviot is a Roxburghshire river, the largest tributary of the Tweed (cf. J. B. Johnston, *Place-names of Scotland*, 3rd ed., London, 1934, p. 308).

Eagle. This would be the white-tailed eagle—*Haliaëtus albicilla*—which lives mostly on fish. It is the eagle described in the Anglo-Saxon poem on the battle of Brunanburh as “earn æftan hwit” (*Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, ed. N. Kershaw, Cambridge, 1922, p. 70). Until recently it occasionally appeared in England in the autumn.

CHAPTER VI (p. 86)

V.P. c. 13, *V.M.* c. 11.

Illusory fire. A similar story of an illusory fire occurs in Gregory's Life of St Benedict (*Greg. Dial.* ii, 10, p. 97). A bronze idol is thrown on to the kitchen fire and immediately the whole kitchen seems to be ablaze, but the saint prays and the fire departs, leaving the kitchen unharmed. Bede refers to this incident in *V.P.* c. 14. There are Irish instances of illusory fires of much the same kind. Once when St Fintan and his brethren were eating, the refectory seemed to be ablaze, but the saint drove away the illusory fire by his prayers (*V.S.H.* ii, p. 99). In these cases it is the work of the devil; but sometimes, like the burning bush, it is a divine sign. The house in which St Wilfrid was being born seemed to be on fire (*Eddius*, pp. 4, 151), and a similar story is told of the birth of St Fechin (*V.S.H.* ii, p. 77).

CHAPTER VII (p. 88)

V.P. c. 14, *V.M.* c. 12.

Kenswith or Coenswith. The system of fosterage, which was extremely widespread in Ireland and Scandinavia, seems to have been common in England also (for examples see *E.R.E.* s.v. Fosterage). In Ireland and Wales, and probably in England too, it was mostly confined to children of noble birth (cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Cambriae*, ii, 4 and 9, ed. J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series, 1868, vi, pp. 211, 225; *V.P.* c. 6n. p. 344). Fosterage in Ireland ended at the age of 17, and at this age too the youth had to decide whether he would enter a monastery, though he might decide two years

earlier (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 213 n.). According to *V.P.* c. 4 it was his vision of the death of Aidan which led Cuthbert to make up his mind to take to the monastic life. Aidan died in 651. If the age of decision was the same in the north of England, as is highly probable, then Cuthbert would be born about 634. It could hardly have been later, as he had seen some military service before he entered the monastery (I, 7 and n. p. 315). It may possibly have been a year or two earlier. Cuthbert would therefore be something more than 53 years old, when he died in 687.

Hruringaham. This place has not been identified. Judging from I, 5 it must be somewhere near the River Leader and the Lammermuir Hills and in the neighbourhood of Melrose. For various guesses about this and other unidentified places in the lives see Bates' article mentioned above (*Arch. Ael.* N.S. XVI, 1894, pp. 81 ff.). See also *Antiquity*, VIII, 1934, pp. 97 ff.

Fire extinguished. Many saints are said to have put out fires by their prayers. Bede mentions Marcellinus of Ancona (*V.P.* c. 14 and n. p. 347). Another instance is to be found in the *Life of St Martin* (Sulp. Sev. c. 15; Halm, p. 124).

CHAPTER VIII (p. 90)

V.P. c. 15, *V.M.* c. 13.

A devil cast out. It is not clear why our author should have put this incident here, before he tells us about the removal of St Cuthbert to Lindisfarne. He takes the trouble to explain that Cuthbert was prior of "our church" and it is clear from III, 1 and IV, 1 that by "our church" he means Lindisfarne. Bede in both *V.M.* and *V.P.* preserves the same order, though in *V.M.* he states emphatically that

Tempore namque fuit Lindisfarnensis in illo
Praepositus cellae

and he is equally emphatic in *V.P.* c. 16 (see n. p. 348).

Hildmer. We learn from *V.P.* that he was a reeve of King Ecgfrith. Nothing more is known of him except that Bede in *V.P.* c. 31 describes how he was healed of a very serious illness by means of bread which the saint had blessed.

Travelling on horseback. It was the custom of the Celtic monks to travel on foot, probably for purposes of mortification and also out of humility (see *V.P.* c. 6n. p. 344). We know for instance that Aidan, Chad, Kentigern and Malachy generally travelled thus. Even Wilfrid, anti-Celtic though he was in his sympathies, nevertheless did his last journey to Rome on foot as an old man of seventy for purposes of mortification (*Eddius*, c. 50; Gougaud, *C.C.L.* pp. 175 f.). But Cuthbert seems to have had no qualms about riding on horseback. Bede tells us (*V.P.* c. 9) that he sometimes travelled on horseback but more often on foot when preaching in the surrounding villages.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I (p. 94)

V.P. cc. 16 and 17, *V.M.* cc. 14 and 15.

Adcides. This curious form, which as a glance at the variant readings will show, has been a stumbling-block to the scribes, may possibly be a misreading of the name of some tribe or place whither Cuthbert went after leaving Melrose and going to Lindisfarne. It is just possible that it might be a reference to an earlier attempt on the part of Cuthbert to live the life of an anchorite. There are two caves in Northumberland traditionally associated with Cuthbert, both known as Cuddy's or St Cuthbert's cave. One is near Doddington where there is also a Cuddy's well. The other is in the Kyloe Hills near Holburn and fairly close to Lindisfarne. On the other hand *adcides* may simply be a misreading of *abscedēs*, i.e. *abscedens*.

Eata. Eata was a pupil of St Aidan and abbot of Melrose when Cuthbert entered the monastery. He afterwards went to Ripon, taking Cuthbert with him. He left, together with Cuthbert, rather than accept the Roman Easter. Evidently in the intervening period both he and Cuthbert must have accepted the Roman practice, for when Colman left Lindisfarne after the Synod of Whitby, because he could not accept the Roman rule, Eata was chosen to take his place as abbot of Lindisfarne, while still remaining abbot of Melrose. When Wilfrid's great diocese of Northumbria was divided in 678, Eata became bishop of Bernicia. In 681 this Bernician diocese was further divided. He remained at Lindisfarne while Tunberht succeeded him at Hexham. When Cuthbert was elected bishop in 685, the latter was allowed to remain at Lindisfarne while Eata went to Hexham. Eata died of dysentery (*V.P.* c. 8) about 686 (*D.N.B.* s.v. and *H.E.* II, p. 193).

The Lindisfarne rule. We gather from Bede that discipline was somewhat lax at Lindisfarne when Cuthbert arrived. It is clear from this passage that it was not merely the Benedictine rule which Cuthbert introduced. *Regula* is probably used here rather to signify the ascetic teaching of the saint or else the "traditional not codified observance of a monastery" (Gougaud, *C.C.L.* p. 79). There were moreover many Gaulish monasteries which adopted the rule of Columban together with that of St Benedict. The more practical as well as the more moderate Benedictine rule was added to that of Columban as early as the seventh century and finally supplanted it. It is therefore very possible that the traditional rule of St Cuthbert, probably that also in use at Melrose and Ripon (*V.P.* c. 9), was observed, together with the Benedictine rule, tending to make the latter stricter and more ascetic than was the original intention of the founder (cf. W. Levison, "Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche", *Historische Zeitschrift*, cix, 1912, pp. 7f.).

Contemplative and active life. The distinction between the two types of life, the active and contemplative, seems to have been first definitely

formulated by St Gregory (*Homilies on Ezechiel*, II, ii, 7, 8; Migne, LXXVI, cols. 952, 953, quoted by Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, p. 96). The theory was accepted in Ireland and the same division between the "vita theorica" or "contemplativa" and the "vita actualis" is found in the earliest Irish writings. The superiority of the contemplative over the active life was an accepted doctrine throughout the church all through the Middle Ages, and held by Bede as firmly as the rest (*H.E.* II, pp. 68 ff.; see also *V.P.* c. 17 and n. p. 349).

Hermits. In Ireland the third order of Irish saints at the beginning of the seventh century are described as anchorites who dwelt in desert places. This desire for the desert, reminiscent of the Egyptian hermits, was found in England too. Fursey spent the latter part of his life in seclusion (*H.E.* III, 19). Wihtberht had lived a hermit life in Ireland (*H.E.* V, 12). Drihthelm lived a solitary life near Melrose (*H.E.* V, 12), and Haemgils went to Ireland to live a solitary life (*H.E.* V, 12). It will be seen that all these except Drihthelm had a close connection with Ireland.

Devils. Much less emphasis is laid on the devils in the *V.A.* than in the *V.M.* or *V.P.* (cf. *V.P.* cc. 17, 22, 37), though even in these there is not a great deal. In the saints' lives of the strict Antonian model the fight with devils was an integral part of the warfare carried on by the Christian soldier. Contrast the large part played by devils in the *Life of St Martin* or Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* (cf. Kurtz, pp. 108 ff.). Stones were also thrown by devils at St Dunstan (Stubbs, *Dunstan*, pp. 15, 28).

Farne. Our author does not mention the first period of Cuthbert's retirement when he made his way to a retreat only a short distance from the monastery. The Farne Islands are a series of rocky islands and reefs off the coast of Northumberland. Farne, the largest of them, is about sixteen acres in area, with precipitous rocks on the west side, but the rest of the coast is fairly low. It is about one and a half miles from the mainland near Bamburgh and about seven miles from Lindisfarne. The remains of the fourteenth-century medieval chapel doubtless mark the site of Cuthbert's hermitage. Farne had already been used by Aidan as a place of retreat and in Bede's time his solitary cell was still to be seen (*H.E.* III, 16). After Cuthbert's death his successors were Aethilwald and Felgild and, later on, Aelric, Aelwine, Bartholomew, and Thomas an ex-prior of Durham (see *D.C.B. s.nm.*). Soon after the death of Bartholomew, the convent at Durham decided that Farne should henceforth be inhabited by at least two monks, one the *magister* or *custos*, the other his *socius* (J. Raine, *North Durham*, London, 1852, pp. 341 ff.). For an excellent and detailed account of the island as it was in 1848, see Eyre, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 32 ff. In the same place Eyre quotes a twelfth-century account of the island.

An island was often chosen by hermits or small communities of monks, and to-day their beehive-shaped cells are still to be seen in a ruined condition in Ireland on Inishmurray, Skellig Michael, Ardoilean and elsewhere (Lord Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ed. by Margaret Stokes, I, London,

1875, pp. 27ff.). In Scotland they are found amongst other places on an island in Loch Columcille, on Eilean na Naoimh, and on the Brough of Deerness and the Brough of Bissay in Orkney (J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Edinburgh, 1881, pp. 94ff. and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1921-2, p. 67). We have literary references in Adamnan and elsewhere to journeys made by the Celtic monks in search of an island solitude (*Vit. Col.* I, 20; II, 42; see also *V.S.H.* I, p. cxxii). Hereberht (IV, 9) lived on an island in Derwentwater still known as St Herbert's Isle. There was an island near Llantwit too on which a hermit lived (*St Samson of Dol*, p. 26). Cf. also T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids*, London, 1927, pp. 138ff.

Almost no one. The author seems to imply here that others had attempted to live on Farne as well as Cuthbert. For Aidan's residence in Farne see above, p. 325.

Cuthbert's dwelling. These huts that Cuthbert made for himself are, as we see from the fuller account in the *V.P.* and *V.M.* and in *H.E.* IV, 28, of the same type as those used by the hermits in Egypt. Amon for instance made himself two round huts (*H.L.* c. 8), while John of Lycopolis made himself three round cells in one of which he worked and ate, in one he prayed and the other was for his bodily needs (*H.L.* c. 35). The cashel or wall around it also goes back to the old tradition; the high wall enclosing the separate buildings is still the regular plan of the Coptic monasteries of Upper Egypt (E. H. Sawyer, "The First Monasteries", *Antiquity*, IV, 1930, pp. 316ff.). Such was the arrangement of John of Beverley's retreat near Hexham and such too was the regular plan of Irish monasteries, as can still be seen at Skellig Michael and elsewhere. The round dwelling with a dug-out floor may be a development of the pre-Christian type of Anglo-Saxon dwellings such as are occasionally found round in shape and with a dug-out floor (T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes, *Archaeology in England and Wales*, 1914-1931, London, 1932, pp. 320ff.). But the use of great stones seems to point rather to that "megalithic feeling" in early Anglo-Saxon architecture which Baldwin Brown attributes to Irish influences (*A.E.E.* II, p. 46).

cubitum uiri. Compare Rev. 21. 17: "cubitorum mensura hominis" and Irish *fer chubat*.

CHAPTER II (p. 96)

V.P. c. 17, *V.M.* c. 15.

Large stones. See note on angelic ministrations (I, 4, p. 312). A precisely similar incident is recorded of St Benedict when he was building his own cell (*Dial.* II, 9, pp. 96-7).

Mirabilis Deus, etc. This quotation from *Psa.* 67. 36 (*Vulg.*) is extremely familiar in saints' lives. "Sanctis suis" of course means "holy places", but it was naturally taken to refer to the saints.

CHAPTER III (p. 98)

V.P. c. 18, *V.M.* c. 16.

Fountains and wells. A similar incident is related of Antony (*Vit. Ant.* c. 27; Migne, LXXIII, col. 150); and of Benedict (*Greg. Dial.* II, 5, pp. 88-9) to which Bede refers in *V.P.* c. 19. The production of fountains of water by a saint is common enough, especially in the Irish lives. Generally speaking the fountains are not produced by what Plummer calls the "more prosaic process of digging", but by the saint's crozier or bell, by a touch of the horse's hoofs, or from a saint's blood or tears. But St Colman, St Fechin and St Maedoc all produced wells in the way described here (*V.S.H.* I, 272; II, 77, 151). The numerous holy wells associated with the name of a saint (cf. Cuddy's well near Doddington, Northumberland) show how the pagan cult of fountains had been given a Christian veneer and, as Plummer says (*V.S.H.* I, c), doubtless these stories of the miraculous production of fountains and wells are a sign of this; but one must not, on the other hand, overlook the obvious Scriptural analogues and their influence on these stories, such as Moses striking the rock or the verses quoted by Bede in telling the same story in the *V.P.* (see *V.P.* c. 18, text). There are still two shallow wells on Farne, one inside Prior Castell's tower and the other close to the landing, near the site of the guest-house.

CHAPTER IV (p. 98)

V.P. c. 21, *V.M.* c. 19.

Timber. The timber was to be used as a foundation for a building over a small hollow or chasm in the rocks for his "daily necessities". There is still a chasm in the rocks near the site of his dwelling, known as "St Cuthbert's gut". It was probably over this hollow that St Cuthbert put up his little closet, using the piece of timber as a sort of bridge foundation. The story has an obvious didactic intention, which Bede makes full use of in his account. The brethren had failed in holy obedience and the forces of nature are called in to make up for their deficiencies. See also *V.P.* c. 36 and n. (p. 354).

CHAPTER V (p. 100)

V.P. c. 20, *V.M.* c. 18.

Ravens. The mediaeval tradition of this story describes the birds as crows, as for instance in the Cuthbert paintings on the Carlisle stalls (about 1500) and the *Metrical Middle English Life*. Aelfric in his homily on Cuthbert calls them ravens (Wyatt, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 85). Fowler points out that there are no trees on Farne on which crows would build, though rooks do occasionally build elsewhere. His opinion is that the birds were probably jackdaws which abound there now (*Metr. Life*, p. 69).

Manual labour. Manual labour was encouraged among the monkish communities in Egypt and Ireland. Bede had strong views on the importance of manual labour in the life of the community, as well as to the individual (see *H.E.* i, p. xxv). Antony set the example for hermits in the story quoted by Bede in *V.P.* c. 20 (*Vit. Ant.* c. 25; Migne, LXXIII, col. 149). Fursey also worked with his hands during his hermit life (*H.E.* III, 19). Manual labour was also ordained by the Rule of St Benedict (*Regula Benedicti*, c. 48, pp. 88 ff.).

Clausus. This was a still greater advance in the rigour of a hermit's life. Gradually the hermit became more and more devoted to the contemplative life and weaned from the active life as Bede's comments show (*V.P.* c. 17; cf. also Homilia 35 (*Opp.* v, p. 263) and *H.E.* i, p. xxxin. and II, p. 69). John of Lycopolis spent thirty years entirely confined to his little cells, receiving only the necessaries of life through a window just as St Cuthbert did (*H.L.* c. 35).

Penitent ravens. Compare the charming story of the penitent she-wolf who had stolen the hermit's food (*Sulp. Sev. Dial.* I, 14; Halm, p. 166), and of the grateful lioness who brought the hermit the gift of an animal's skin (*loc. cit.* c. 15; Halm, p. 167f.).

CHAPTER VI (p. 102)

V.P. c. 24, *V.M.* c. 21.

Aelfflaed. Aelfflaed was half-sister of Aldfrith and daughter of Oswiu and Eanflaed. She was dedicated to the service of God by her father after his victory over Penda in 655. She was sent to Hilda first at Hartlepool and then at Whitby, where she must have been when the great Synod of 664 took place. She succeeded Hilda as abbess in 680. Her name follows those of Eanflaed and Iurminburg in the list of queens and abbesses in the *Liber Vitae*, f. 13. The date of her death is uncertain (see *D.C.B.* s.v.).

The nine orders of angels. The angels were distributed into three hierarchies of three orders each, according to the early tradition of the Church—the first order consisting of cherubim, seraphim and thrones; the second of dominions, virtues and powers; the third of principalities, archangels and angels. This arrangement of hierarchies appeared first in its fully developed form in the treatise *περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας* ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, III, coll. 119 ff.).

Coquet Island. This island, which lies opposite the mouth of the R. Coquet, would form a convenient meeting place between Farne and Whitby. It was, according to Bede (*V.P.* c. 24), already celebrated for its companies of monks. Several pre-Conquest objects have been found on the island, particularly a ring bearing the inscription OWI in runes. At the beginning of the twelfth century it was the scene of the hermitage of the Dane known as St Henry of Coquet (*A History of Northumberland*, v, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1899, p. 315).

Ecgrith. Ecgrith was the second son of Oswiu whom he succeeded as king of Northumbria in 670 or 671 (cf. *H.E.* II, p. 211). His first wife was the saintly Aethilthryth, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles. She is better known as St Audrey. She left Ecgrith before the consummation of their marriage to take the veil and so Ecgrith married again as he had a right to do according to canon law, this time marrying Iurminburg. He was slain by the Picts in 685 at the disastrous battle of Nechtansmere. It was Ecgrith who helped Benedict Biscop to found the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow; his name is on the contemporary dedication stone still preserved in the church at Jarrow. See also note on IV, 8 pp. 334 ff. and *D.C.B.* s.v.

Aldfrith. Aldfrith succeeded to the throne after the death of Ecgrith. He was an illegitimate son of Oswiu and an Irish princess. This fact explains Aelfflaed's apparent temporary forgetfulness of his existence. Aldfrith was well known in Ireland where he was known as Flann Fina, his mother's name according to Irish authorities being Fina. He lived in exile during his brother Ecgrith's life, in Ireland according to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 1887, p. 57), but in Iona according to the *V.A.*, probably in both. Aldhelm dedicated his work on metres to him and also wrote another letter, which still survives, to a certain Ehfridus usually identified with Aldfrith (though Ehwald does not accept the identification) on his return from Ireland. He congratulates him in florid style on his return from a six years' stay in Ireland and reminds him that, thanks to Adrian, Theodore, and other scholars, England can supply equally good instruction (*Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, *M.G. Auctores Antiquissimi*, xv, 1919, pp. 486 ff.). Aldfrith had a considerable reputation in Ireland as a teacher and a learned man, though none of his writings has survived, the poems attributed to him being much later in date. His court seems to have been a centre of learning and a connecting link between Irish and Northumbrian culture during the late seventh century. Both A. S. Cook and F. Liebermann have suggested that the court of Aldfrith may well have been the place where the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* originated (R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf. An Introduction*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1932, p. 489; see also *Vit. Col.* Reeves, p. 185 n.). The reference here to the fact that Aldfrith is still living gives a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the *V.A.* Aldfrith died in 705. The reference to the raising of the relics of Cuthbert in 698 and the miracles which happened at least a year afterwards point to a date between 699 and 705 for the life (see Introduction, p. 13).

Prophecies about rulers. These prophecies about kings and rulers form a class by themselves in the stories of prophetic powers related of the saints. Aidan prophesied the death of King Oswini (*H.E.* III, 14). Cedd predicted the death of Sigebert of Essex (*H.E.* III, 22). Columba prophesied concerning the successor of King Aidan just as Cuthbert does here, and about Aengus son of Aedh Comman (*Vit. Col.* Reeves, I, 9, p. 35; I, 13, p. 42). Benedict also predicted the future of King Totila (*Greg. Dial.* II, 15, pp. 102-3). The Chadwicks see in this incident of Aelfflaed, affinities with Celtic mantic literature (H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I, Cambridge, 1932, p. 472).

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I (p. 110)

V.P. c. 24, *V.M.* c. 21.

Cuthbert becomes bishop. Cuthbert's reluctance to accept a bishopric is only in accordance with the attitude of a large number of saints who were made bishops under protest, including Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Chad, Wilfrid and Dunstan. The most extraordinary example is perhaps that of Ammonius who cut off part of his ear to avoid being made a bishop, and even threatened to cut out his own tongue, so they left him to his life of contemplation (*H.L.* c. 11). It is in fact a constantly recurring hagiological feature and whenever the hero of a saint's life is made a bishop, one may almost take it for granted that he will at first refuse, either on the ground of unworthiness or, like Cuthbert, so that he may not have to forsake the contemplative for the active life.

Council. This *senatus* is presumably the gathering of the king's officials and personal retainers. Bede refers to the gathering as a *synodus* (as does the *V.A.* chapter title) and declares that Theodore presided over it (*V.P.* c. 24).

Saxons. It was the habit of the fifth-century inhabitants of Britain to call all the invaders Saxons, whether they were Angles, Saxons or Jutes, or any other nationality. Today the Celtic races speak of the English as Saesneg or Sassnach. One may compare the way in which the later ninth-century invaders were all classed as Danes, no matter to which of the Scandinavian families they actually belonged. The Latin writers of the seventh century in Northumbria, even though they were Angles, seem to have adopted the same nomenclature. Even Bede who draws attention to the distinction between Angles, Saxons and Jutes did not draw the distinction when writing in Latin. Bede quotes Hwaetberht as saying that Monkwearmouth is in Saxonia, while Bede himself, in the very chapter in which he makes the distinction mentioned above, refers to the "Anglorum sive Saxonum gens" (*H.E.* i, 15; *H.E.* ii, p. 368). Wilfrid speaks of himself as "episcopus Saxoniae" and elsewhere calls the Mercians "Saxones" (*Eddius*, cc. 21, 30). For further discussion of the subject see J. N. L. Myres in Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 343 ff. and R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I, Oxford, 1935, pp. 157 ff.

Tumma. See note to I, 3, p. 311.

Bosa. Bosa, who is stated in four of the MSS to have accompanied Trumwine, was a pupil of Hilda at Whitby and was made bishop of Deira with his seat at York when Wilfrid was driven out by King Ecgfrith in 678, and his diocese divided. When Wilfrid was restored in 686, Bosa was expelled from the see, only to be restored when Aldfrith again expelled Wilfrid in 691 or 692. He died in 704 or 705 (see *D.C.B.* s.v. For the form of the name see Redin, p. 86).

Theodore. When, on the death of Deusdedit, Wighard was chosen primate with the consent of the church of the English nation (*H.E.* iii, 29), he was sent to Rome to receive the pallium from Pope Vitalian, but died of the plague in Rome in 667. The Pope thereupon appointed Theodore of Tarsus, giving him as colleague and adviser Abbot Adrian, an African and abbot of a monastery near Naples. After various hindrances they arrived in Canterbury together with Benedict Biscop in 668. Though a man of nearly 67, Theodore threw himself into the work of the province with enthusiasm. His influence not only as an administrator but as a patron and encourager of arts and letters cannot well be overestimated. He died in 690, aged 88 (*H.E.* v, 8; *D.C.B. s.v.* and Bright, pp. 256ff.).

Cuthbert's virtues. This account of Cuthbert's virtues as a bishop has been copied word for word by Eddius to describe Wilfrid (*Eddius*, c. 11). It is borrowed from Isidore of Seville's description of a bishop's qualifications, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, c. 5; Migne, LXXXIII, cols 785-6. I am indebted to Dr Levison for the reference.

quid, cui, quando, quomodo. A series of indirect questions introduced by *quid, cui, quando, quomodo*, etc. was a common rhetorical device in Late Latin writers. For a collection of such passages see C. Weyman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, München, 1926, pp. 267, 296.

canones. The term *canon* is used in the sense of a Testament in the Life of St Cainnech: "Cum sanctus Kainnicus utrumque canonem legisset" (*V.S.H.* I, p. 53), i.e. the Old and New Testaments. The Egyptian tradition of learning large portions of the Scriptures, especially the Psalter, by heart was preserved in the Celtic Church. Aidan's disciples employed themselves in reading the Scriptures and learning the psalms (*H.E.* III, 5), while Wilfrid learned the whole Psalter by heart in his youth (*Eddius*, c. 3).

CHAPTER III (p. 114)

V.P. c. 29, *V.M.* c. 23.

Wife of a gesith healed. This story is very similar to one told of John of Beverley by Bede (*H.E.* v, 4). For a discussion of the type of miracle to which this belongs see *Bede*, *L.T.W.* p. 209. For the meaning of the term 'gesith' see H. M. Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 325ff.

Hemma. The name occurs twice in the *Liber Vitae* in the list of priests on f. 18b. It is scarcely likely that either of these can be this man. For the form of the name see Redin, p. 76.

Kintis. This place or district has not been identified.

Beta. Four of the MSS read "Beda". If this is the correct reading it is probably the same person as the "maior Beda presbiter" referred to in *V.P.* c. 37 (and see n. p. 355). Glosses in two of the MSS of the *V.M.* (P and K) attribute the incident to Aethilwald, probably through confusion with the Aethilwald mentioned in the next chapter (Jaeger, p. 101n.). The name Beta may be a short form of some compound with *Bet-*, such as *Betwald*, *Betfrith*, *Betgils* (Redin, p. 44).

CHAPTER IV (p. 116)

V.P. c. 30, *V.M.* c. 24.

Aethilwald. As we learn from the *V.P.*, Aethilwald was at this time acting as servant of Cuthbert, the task of a young novice, just as Wilfrid in his youth acted as servant to Cudda (*Eddius*, c. 2). He was prior of Melrose at the time that the *V.A.* was written, while at the time of the writing of the *V.P.* he was abbot of the same monastery. He was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne, apparently, in 721. It was he who caused an elaborate case to be made for the Lindisfarne Gospels, and also a cross in memory of Cuthbert. The cross bore Aethilwald's name and shared in the wanderings of the saint's body, being erected finally in Durham churchyard (*H.E.* II, p. 297; Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, p. 39). It has long since disappeared. This Aethilwald must not be confused, as he often is, with the hermit who followed Cuthbert on Farne (*V.P.* c. 46 and n. p. 359).

Bedesfeld. This place has not been identified.

Similar miracle. St Martin similarly cured a paralytic woman with holy oil (Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* c. 16; Halm, p. 125).

CHAPTER V (p. 116)

V.P. c. 32, *V.M.* c. 26.

Penna. Nothing is known of this man. Owing to a slip of the Bollandists the name has always hitherto been printed as Henna. It may be a hypocoristic form of some compound in Pen-, such as Penheard, Penweald, Penwealh.

Carlisle. Cf. Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, p. 53: "Luel quod nunc Carleol appellatur."

Ahse. The only guess that has been made as to the identity of this region, between Hexham and Carlisle, is that of Cadwallader Bates (*Arch. Ael.* N.S. XVI, 1894, pp. 81 ff.), who suggested Aesica or Great Chesters, a station on the Roman Wall. One objection to this is that Ahse is stated to be a region.

Tents. St Patrick also used tents when journeying (*Vit. Tr.* pp. 41, 184, 278; *H.E.* II, p. 240). "Tabernaculo", says Bede, "solemus in itinere uel in bello uti" (*Expositio in II Epist. Petri*, cap. I; *Opp.* XII, 249). Referring to the period between 875 and 883 when St Cuthbert's body was being carried about from place to place, Reginald of Durham says that "when no house afforded him an hospitable roof, he remained under the covering of tents" (c. 14; Eyre, *St Cuthbert*, p. 101).

Putting us forth. This scriptural trait, derived of course from the story of the raising of Jairus' daughter, occurs again and again in the saints' lives. Thus in the *Life of St Martin* there are two stories of his raising the

dead, and in each case he began by putting out all the people (Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* cc. 7 and 8; Halm, pp. 117, 118). Columba when raising a boy from the dead drove away the multitudes from the scene of the miracle (*Vit. Col.* II, 32). St Samson of Dol also sent away all the other brethren except one, when he restored a brother almost dead at Llantwit (*St Samson of Dol*, p. 19). Cf. also *loc. cit.* p. 33 and the *Life of St Germanus of Auxerre*, c. 38 (*Script. rerum Merov.* VII, p. 279, 1).

CHAPTER VI (p. 118)

V.P. c. 33, *V.M.* c. 27.

Tydi. See note on II, 4 (p. 321).

Medilwong. This place has not been identified; Symeon of Durham mentions Mediluong as the scene of the murder of Oswulf, king of Northumbria (Symeon, *H.D.E.* II, 41, 376). It probably means "middle field" rather than "field of discussion", as Stevenson and others suggest (*Opp. Min.* p. 278). Craster has suggested that it is the original name of one of the Middletons in Ilderton, though it might equally well be the one in Belford (cf. Mawer, p. 142).

Epidemics. There were several visitations of the plague in the seventh century, one of the worst being in the year of the Synod of Whitby, 664. It seems to have raged on and off throughout the second half of the seventh century (*Vit. Col.* Reeves, p. 182n.). It can hardly have been typhus, as Plummer suggests (*H.E.* II, p. 196), that Boisil at any rate died of, judging from the symptoms described by Bede in *V.P.* c. 8, but rather the bubonic plague. On the other hand, the fact that the Irish and Welsh names for it mean "yellow sickness", from the yellow colour of the patient, would point to some disease other than plague, of which jaundice was one of the symptoms. Perhaps more than one epidemic disease was raging.

CHAPTER VII (p. 120)

V.P. c. 25, not in *V.M.*

A priest. Three of the MSS give the name of the priest as Baldhelm. Bede names Baldhelm as his source and describes him as a Lindisfarne monk (*V.P.* c. 25). He was fond of singing the praises of Cuthbert. The name occurs three times in the *Liber Vitae*; once on f. 15 third in the list of anchorites, once in the list of clerics on f. 24, and once in the list of monks on f. 36b.

tarda molimina, etc. The quotation is from St Ambrose (*Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, II, 19, ed. C. Schenkl, Vienna Corpus, XXXII, pars 4 (1902), 52). The same quotation appears in part in *Eddius*, c. 19: "tarda molimina nesciens." Compare also "Dialogus de Scaccario" I, 7 (*Stubbs, Select Charters*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, 9th ed., Oxford, 1913, p. 216; ed. A. Hughes, C. G. Crump, C. Johnson, Oxford, 1902, p. 90 and cf. p. 187). I am indebted to Dr Levison for this information.

Sibba. Nothing further is known of this man. Sibba is the name of a bishop of Elmham in the early ninth century, and it occurs occasionally in place-names such as Sibton, Suffolk, and the Sibfords in Oxfordshire. It is probably a hypocoristic form of Sigebert (but see Redin, p. 78).

CHAPTER VIII (p. 122)

V.P. c. 27, V.M. c. 29.

Ecgfrith's death. Ecgfrith was apparently supreme over some part of the Pictish land; but it was clearly an uneasy rule. We read in *Eddius* (c. 19) of a victory gained over them somewhere about 672 with the help of Beornhaeth. Ecgfrith had undertaken the expedition into Forfarshire against the advice of his friends, including Cuthbert. From the time of this overwhelming defeat Northumbria's strength began to grow less (*H.E.* iv, 26). He was slain on Saturday, May 20th, 685, at Nechtansmere, having been trapped into the mountains by the Picts. According to Symeon he was buried at Iona (Symeon, *H.D.E.* i, p. 32; see also iii, 6n. p. 329).

Roman remains. This is an interesting reference to Roman work. The impression made by the Roman remains upon the Angles and Saxons was considerable. It is clear from this passage that the true origin of these Roman buildings and structures was known to the more educated Anglo-Saxons as far back as the seventh century, but the phrase often used to describe them in Anglo-Saxon literature is *eald enta geweorc*, the old work of giants. An Anglo-Saxon poem "The Ruin" describes the ruins at Bath in some detail (*Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, ed. N. Kershaw, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 54-5). The Roman cities to a large extent seem to have been left severely alone as places of habitation by the Saxon peasants who regarded towns as "tombs surrounded by nets" (Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi, 2, 12, quoted by Myres in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, p. 439). But occasionally a Roman city seems to have been taken over at a comparatively early date. Thus Canterbury became the seat of the kings of Kent; we hear of a reeve of the city of Lincoln about 628, who was converted by the preaching of Paulinus (*H.E.* ii, 16); and we read here of the reeve of Carlisle. But the archaeological evidence for a continuous survival of any of the Roman cities, including London, is very slight (Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 425 ff.). William of Malmesbury refers to Roman ruins existing in his time at Carlisle (*Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 1870, p. 208; for a further discussion of antiquarian learning in Anglo-Saxon times see H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, i, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 295 ff.).

The queen. Iurminburg was the second wife of Ecgfrith, whom he married after Aethilthryth had left him to enter a monastery. Iurminburg seems to have been very hostile to Wilfrid and to have plotted against him (*Eddius*, c. 24). After her husband's death she took the veil and, to quote *Eddius*, "from being a she-wolf she was changed into a lamb of God, a perfect

abbess and an excellent mother of the community". Her name occurs in the *Liber Vitae* (f. 13) in the list of queens and abbesses between Eanfled and Aelfflaed.

Second sight. A very similar instance of second sight is the story told by Palladius of Didymus of Alexandria who saw in a trance the death of the Emperor Julian at the exact moment when the event happened (*H.L.* c. 4).

CHAPTER IX (p. 124)

V.P. c. 28, *V.M.* c. 30.

St Herbert's Isle. The island of Derwentwater on which Herbert lived his hermit's life is still called St Herbert's Isle. His name appears in the list of anchorites on f. 15 of the *Liber Vitae*. This visit to Carlisle took place after the incidents related in the previous chapter, when Cuthbert was in Carlisle in order to bestow the veil on Iurminburg and ordain priests (*V.P.* c. 28).

Maris. Here used in the sense of a mere.

Similar miracle. St Fintan is also related to have gained permission for two brothers to die together. One of them had to be recalled to life so that this could happen (*V.S.H.* II, p. 105).

Foreknowledge of death. A large number of saints from St Antony onwards were permitted to know the date of their death. This is the most common type of prophetic vision. Bede relates several instances where angelic visitors brought a warning: to Chad (*H.E.* IV, 3), to Earcongota (*H.E.* III, 8), to Sebba king of Essex (*H.E.* IV, 11), to Wilfrid at Meaux (*H.E.* IV, 11; cf. *Eddius*, c. 56). Cuthbert, we are told, was warned by a divine oracle, though its exact nature is not described. Boisil and Caedmon also knew of their coming departure, though we are not told how the knowledge came to them. This form of foreknowledge perhaps owes its conception to the story of Hezekiah who was promised fifteen years of life by the word of the Lord (Isaiah, c. 38). *Eddius* quotes this passage in connection with Wilfrid's vision at Meaux. It was doubtless due to the fear of sudden death (cf. *Eadberht's* prayer, *V.P.* c. 43), which lasted all through the mediaeval period and of which an echo occurs in the Litany. The saint who was forewarned was given time to prepare himself and fortify himself for his departure by his last communion (see further *Bede*, *L.T.W.* pp. 211 ff.).

CHAPTER X (p. 126)

V.P. c. 34, *V.M.* c. 31.

Aelfflaed. See III, 6 and n. (p. 328).

Osingadun. *Osingadun* is possibly a misreading of *Ofingadun*. The confusion of the insular *s* and *f* has already been seen in the form *Tesgeta* in II, 5. Bede tells us the place referred to was an estate belonging to Aelfflaed's

monastery, that is Whitby. There is an Ovington which lies on the southern slope of the north bank of the Tyne, a mile west of Ovingham. There is Anglo-Saxon work in the church at Ovingham and he might have been consecrating a church there. But there seem to be no traces of any Anglo-Saxon connections with Ovington. Furthermore Bede in the *V.P.* account describes how Aelfflaed made inquiries at the "larger monastery", presumably Whitby, and the news of the death of Hadwald was brought next morning. This would make the identification with Ovington, Northumberland, still less likely. On the other hand, the incident is related immediately after the account of Cuthbert's visit to Carlisle, and Ovington, Northumberland, would be on his way between Carlisle and Lindisfarne. It cannot be the Ovington in North Riding as the earlier forms show. Ovenden near Halifax was in the possession of the church at Durham in the twelfth century, but apart from that there seems no reason for identifying it with the place mentioned here.

We are told definitely in the *V.A.* that *Osingadun* was in Cuthbert's see, but in the *V.P.* account (c. 34) Bede seems to imply that the place was outside his diocese. Carlisle was within his jurisdiction because the king gave him the site on the occasion of his consecration at York in 685, as we learn from the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Symeon, *H.D.E.* 1, p. 199). The *Historia* also states that Cuthbert founded a congregation of nuns and placed an abbess there and founded schools.

Fodder from trees. The reason given in the *V.M.* for Hadwald's fall is that he was climbing a tree to get fodder for his flock. Sir James Frazer in his edition of Ovid's *Fasti* (*Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*, III, London, 1929, p. 358) has collected some references to this custom of using the branches of trees for fodder, from Hesiod, Theocritus, and Vergil. He quotes Paley as saying that in countries where grass is less plentiful than with us, sheep, goats and cattle are still fed in great measure on the foliage and succulent twigs of trees.

Hadwald. Nothing further is known of Hadwald though the name Hadwald occurs four times in the *Liber Vitae* (ff. 23, 26*b*, 27, 31*b*). It is hardly likely to be this man in any case.

Similar miracle. A similar story of how Antony saw in a trance the ecclesiastical troubles caused by the Arians in 339 at Alexandria is found in *Vit. Ant.* c. 51 (Migne, LXXIII, col. 162).

The mass. The mass was a dedication mass for the church. The point at which Aelfflaed burst into the church was some time during the canon of the mass. It would have been more appropriate if she had arrived at the point where commemoration is made of the faithful departed. But it is the commemoration of the living, at an earlier point in the canon, which begins with "Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque"; the commemoration of the departed begins with "Memento *etiam*, Domine". It is just possible, of course, that in the original version of the story Aelfflaed did enter at this point.

CHAPTER XI (p. 128)

V.P. c. 36, *V.M.* c. 32.

Cuthbert's return to Farne. Before accusing Cuthbert of lightly throwing up his episcopal duties, as is so often done, one must remember that he had had a warning that the day of his death was approaching. Apart altogether from any supernatural warnings, Cuthbert probably knew well enough that his end was not far off, and he felt that the effort of making these constant episcopal journeys was too much for a body already worn out by asceticism.

CHAPTER XII (p. 128)

V.P. c. 38, *V.M.* c. 35.

Walhstod. When Bede is giving his account of England in 731, at the end of *H.E.* (v, 23), he mentions a Walchstod, bishop of Hereford. It is possible but not likely that it is the same man. The Walchstod mentioned by Bede was bishop some time between 727 and 736. The name Ualchstod appears in the *Liber Vitae* in the list of priests on f. 19*b* and in the list of clerics on f. 26 and twice on f. 27.

CHAPTER XIII (p. 130)

V.P. cc. 39 and 40, *V.M.* cc. 36 and 37.

Cuthbert's death. The brief account here of Cuthbert's death and burial contrasts strongly with the long account in *V.P.* of Cuthbert's last days with which Bede was furnished by Herefrith. The washing of the dead body was part of the ritual preparation for burial. Wilfrid's body was washed twice before its burial (*Eddius*, c. 66).

His burial. The custom of placing the unconsecrated host on the dead body is mentioned in the miracles of St Otmar by Iso Magister, 1, 3 (Migne, cxxi, col. 782). It is possible that this took the place of the consecrated host which was once put into the mouth of the dead but had been forbidden by the Church. There is an instance in Gregory's *Life of Benedict* where the saint orders the consecrated host to be placed on the breast of a young monk who had been buried but whom the earth had previously refused to receive (*Greg. Dial.* II, 24, pp. 116-17). Plummer compares the shoes placed upon the feet of the dead with the "hell-shoon" with which in heathen Scandinavia it was the custom to bind the feet of a corpse (*H.E.* II, p. 270). The whole of the passage from "Postquam. . . gaudentem" is quoted by Amalarius in his *De eccl. offic.* (Migne, cv, col. 1236).

Wrappings. The wrapping was waxed presumably with the object of keeping out the air. When the coffin was reopened in 1104 the inner coffin itself was covered with a linen cloth of a coarse texture dipped in wax (Symeon,

H.D.E. 1, p. 255). Reginald of Durham in describing the examination of the body at the translation in 1104 says that it was everywhere enveloped with a very thinly woven sheet of linen next to the body. This he described as the winding sheet which the Abbess Verca gave Cuthbert (*V.P.* c. 37). He was clothed then in an alb, amice, mitre, gold fillet, stole and fanon, tunic, dalmatic and episcopal shoes. Next to the dalmatic were robes of silk and three covering robes above. In the place of these covering robes there were put in 1104 three costly robes, two of silk and the third and outer one of the finest linen. When the coffin was opened in 1827, the remains of five silken robes were found (Raine, *St Cuthbert*, p. 193). Four of these are still to be seen in the chapter library at Durham (see C. F. Battiscombe, "The Relics of St Cuthbert", *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, VIII, pt 1, 1937, 43-79).

Stone coffin. This stone coffin was given to the saint by Cudda (*V.P.* c. 37 and n. p. 355).

CHAPTER XIV (p. 130)

V.P. c. 42, *V.M.* c. 38.

The incorrupt body. The phenomenon of the undecayed body has been known from earliest times. References to it are found in the classical authors (e.g. Quintus Curtius, x, 10; Pausanias, v, 20). Saintyves quotes several modern examples of corpses preserved in a mummified form such as those still to be seen in the crypt of St Michel at Bordeaux or in the catacomb of the Capuchins at Palermo. (For a discussion of the whole subject see P. Saintyves, *En marge de la Légende dorée*, Paris, 1930, pp. 284 ff.) Bede refers to four saints whose bodies were found incorrupt after death: Aethilberg (*H.E.* III, 8), Fursey (*H.E.* III, 19), Aethilthryth (*H.E.* IV, 19), and Cuthbert. In addition we may add Oswald's relics (*H.E.* III, 6), while it is implied that the body of Earcongota was also incorrupt. Aelfric in his Homily on St Edmund (Thorpe, *Analecta Saxonica*, London, 1846, p. 125) mentions also St Edmund and St Withburga, Aethilthryth's sister, while William of Malmesbury adds Aelfheah also (W. Stubbs, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Gesta Regum*, I, Rolls Series, 1887, p. 260). In the *Acta Sanctorum* it is recorded of a very large number of saints and martyrs that their bodies were found incorrupt after periods varying from a few days to hundreds of years. It was regarded, as Bede points out, as a sign of purity of life that the body should remain incorrupt after death. It is curious that an incorrupt body on the other hand is often regarded in popular tradition with the greatest suspicion. There was a lingering belief that the bodies of excommunicated people would not perish in the grave (Saintyves, *op. cit.* p. 286), while witches and wizards like Michael Scot were preserved in the same way (cf. Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto 2, st. 19; Bede, *L.T.W.* pp. 221 ff.; also William of Newburgh, Bk v, cc. 22-4, *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series, 1885, pp. 474-82).

The body of Cuthbert was still alleged to be incorrupt in the early eleventh century when it was often seen by Aelfred Westou the sacrist. There is a long anonymous account of the translation and the opening of the coffin in 1104 which appears frequently among the sets of miracles attached to many MSS of the *V.P.* such as O₃, O₆, Ar₂, H₁, H₂, Ad₁, Ad₂, Dj₁, Dj₂, Du, Va, etc. (printed in Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, pp. 247 ff.; see also p. 49 above). In this account there is a circumstantial description of the examination of the incorrupt body. In 1537 Henry VIII's commissioners visiting the monastery are said to have found the body in the same condition (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Soc. CVII, p. 102). The tomb was opened again in 1827 when a mere heap of bones was found. There are some who maintain that the incorrupt body was removed in 1538 to another part of the church and that another body was substituted. The incorrupt body still remains, it is asserted, in a secret place in the Cathedral known only to three Benedictines. For a full, though biased, account of the incorrupt body, see J. Raine, *St Cuthbert*, Durham, 1828; see also C. F. Battiscombe, *loc. cit.*

Decani. According to the Benedictine rule, certain monks of good testimony and holy conversation in a monastery were given the charge of ten younger monks for disciplinary purposes, in order to lighten the abbot's burden. Sometimes more than ten were placed under this *decanus* (*Regula Benedicti*, c. 21, p. 56). This arrangement goes back to pre-Benedictine times as one of St Jerome's epistles shows (St Jerome, *Epistle* p. 22, 35, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna Corpus, LIV, 1910, p. 197). For later uses of the word see Stubbs, *Dunstan*, Introduction, p. xiv.

Eadberht. After the death of Cuthbert, Wilfrid held the see for a year. Eadberht who had been a monk at Lindisfarne was then appointed bishop. Bede (*H.E.* IV, 29) tells us that he was famous for his knowledge of the scriptures and for his almsgiving. He was careful to give tithes of all he possessed to the poor. He also replaced the thatched roof of the Lindisfarne church by a roof of lead. The permission of the bishop had to be obtained for the elevation of the relics, for this elevation was the equivalent of the canonisation of the saint (H. Delehaye, *Sanctus*, Brussels, 1927, pp. 184 ff.).

Relics. From earliest times, a saint's tomb became a place of sanctity and acquired miraculous powers together with anything which had been in contact with it. The bodies of the saints in Europe were at first protected from the many translations and dismemberments which they afterwards suffered, and representative relics such as these here described had to suffice. It was customary to deposit relics in a church at its dedication and the crypts at Ripon and Hexham, the places made by Wilfrid for the deposition of the relics he had brought from Rome and elsewhere, still remain. Gregory the Great ordered Mellitus not to destroy the temples of the idols but, having destroyed the idols themselves, to sprinkle the temple with holy water, erect altars and place relics therein (*H.E.* I, p. 30). For the extent to which the rage for relics, especially the bones of saints, grew, one has only to note the story of Aelfred Westou, sacrist of Durham about 1020, who gathered together

the bones of Bede, Aidan, Boisil, Aebbe, Eadberht, Eadfrith, Aethilwald and several other saints connected with Cuthbert and placed them all together in the shrine of the latter at Durham (Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, pp. 88, 221).

CHAPTER XV (p. 132)

V.P. c. 41, *V.M.* c. 40.

Martyr. Cuthbert is twice referred to as martyr in the *V.A.*, here and in iv, 17. He is looked upon as having obtained the equivalent of martyrdom. In iv, 16 he is twice called confessor, that is, one who has confessed his religion in face of great danger without necessarily having suffered death for it. See note to II, I (pp. 315 f.).

Similar miracle. A very similar miracle is recorded of Wilfrid and the water with which the body was washed (*Eddius*, c. 66). For further examples of miracles connected with the relics of saints, especially healing drinks, etc., made by steeping some holy relic in water, see *Bede*, *L.T.W.* pp. 217ff.

CHAPTER XVI (p. 134)

V.P. c. 44, *V.M.* c. 41.

Willibrord. Willibrord Clement, as Bede calls him, was educated under Wilfrid at Ripon and afterwards in Ireland (Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, cc. 3, 4). He set out for Frisia in 690 with eleven companions. He obtained the help of Pippin, duke of the Franks, and won many converts. Pope Sergius consecrated him archbishop of the Frisians and gave him the name of Clement, with his seat at Utrecht. He died in 739 at the monastery of Echternach which he had founded (*H.E.* v, 10, 11 and *Script. rerum Merov.* vii, 134, n. 1).

CHAPTER XVII (p. 136)

V.P. c. 45, *V.M.* c. 43.

Monastic doctors. In the same way we read that sick people came to Iona for medical attention (*Vit. Col.* I, 27, Reeves, pp. 55ff.).

CHAPTER XVIII (p. 138)

Other miracles. For the miracle of the holy bread, see *V.P.* c. 31 and for the miracle of water changed into wine, *V.P.* c. 35.

Winfrith. Winfrith can hardly be the famous Boniface for the latter was not ordained bishop until 722. It might be Winfrith, bishop of Mercia, in succession to St Chad (*H.E.* iv, 3), though he was deposed by Theodore for disobedience, soon after the Council of Hertford, somewhere about 676. I know of no other Winfrith.

NOTES TO BEDE'S PROSE LIFE



PROLOGUE (p. 142)

Bede's method. Bede's method of working is very clearly illustrated by this Prologue. His first draft is verified by Herefrith and others who had known Cuthbert personally, while a fair copy is sent to Lindisfarne for general approval. Compare also his method of writing the *H.E.* as described in his Preface to that work. It is typical of Bede's carefulness that he omits the names of the witnesses given by the author of the *V.A.* but where he has any fresh information to give, or where he has himself heard the story from some other source, then, as he tells us in the Preface, he is careful to name his witnesses, adopting the principle he had learned from his favourite author Gregory (Greg. *Dial.* Preface to Bk 1, p. 16). He also distinguishes between witnesses who saw the incidents themselves and those who heard them from another (cf. cc. 5, 6 and 23). He does not in fact mention the *V.A.* at all in this place, though he mentions it as a source in the Preface to the *H.E.* He is attempting to write a life which shall be more attractive and fuller than the very concise, but none the less readable, little life by the anonymous monk of Lindisfarne. Perhaps, as Levison suggests (*Bede, L. T. W.* p. 127 n. 1), this is why he does not mention his source, out of delicacy, not wishing to hurt the feelings of the author who had written the briefer life.

Herefrith. Herefrith was an abbot of Lindisfarne, but by the time that Bede wrote the *V.P.* had apparently resigned the office. He was at one time in the monastery at Melrose, for he tells the story of Cuthbert's illness there, when the plague attacked the monastery carrying off Boisil among others (*V.P.* c. 8). Later on he attended the saint in his last illness and gave the full and complete account of his death which Bede incorporated in his *V.P.* in cc. 37-40. It is probably his name which appears in the *Liber Vitae* under the list of anchorites on f. 15, where he appears as "Herefrid presbyter". If it is the same man, it probably means that he gave up the office of abbot of the monastery in order to take to the hermit life.

It has been suggested by H. Hahn (*Bonifaz und Lul*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 175 ff.) that Herefrith may have been the author of the *V.A.*, but it seems very improbable that one who gave Bede such an affecting account of the saint's last days should have written the very perfunctory chapter which the anonymous author devotes to Cuthbert's death; an even more convincing proof that it was not Herefrith is that the author of the *V.A.* was under the impression that Cuthbert took monastic vows at Ripon. Bede tells us, what is certainly correct, that it was at Melrose that he took them. Herefrith, who had himself been at Melrose in Boisil's time, must have known this fact (cf. also Introduction, p. 12 and cc. 8 n. and 23 n. pp. 346, 351).

Guthfrith. Guthfrith afterwards became abbot of the monastery at Lindisfarne. It is he who told Bede the story of the calming of the sea by Aethilwald, Cuthbert's successor as hermit on Farne Island (*H.E.* v, 1). Guthfrith was apparently dead when Bede wrote the *H.E.*, that is about 731. The name Cuthfrith occurs in the *Liber Vitae* (f. 15*b*) in the list of abbots of the rank of priest. The name Guthfrith appears on f. 18*b* under the heading of priest.

Mansionarius. The office of *mansionarius* is defined by Du Cange as "custos et conservator aedis sacrae, aedituus". It is evident that his duties were connected with the care and upkeep of the church including the altar, so that the entry of Bede's name in the album of the church would be part of his duty.

Album. The "album congregationis" would be the *Liber Vitae* or its predecessor, a list of names both of the living and the dead, for whom prayers were offered during the celebration of mass. In its earliest form it was a diptych, or two-leaved tablet, on which the names of the dead members of the community were written on the left-hand side, and the living on the right. These names were read out after the mementos of the dead and of the living in the canon of the mass. These diptychs were often made of ivory—hence perhaps the name "album". But at a later stage, as the list grew, the diptych was enlarged by the insertion of extra leaves and was gradually replaced by a *Liber Vitae*. The *Liber Vitae* of Lindisfarne and Durham has been preserved in the British Museum (MS Cott. Domit. vii). It was composed in the ninth century at Lindisfarne, presumably on the basis of the older album, and contains lists of benefactors as well as members of the community. The name of Bede appears five times in the *Liber Vitae*, see c. 37*n*. p. 355. Plummer in his introduction to *H.E.* (1, pp. xxvii f.) gives examples of the habit of formal agreement or confraternity between monasteries for mutual prayer and examples of individuals requesting to be placed on such lists. Alcuin enjoyed a similar privilege with regard to Wearmouth and Jarrow. For further information, see A. Ebner, *Die klösterlichen Gebetsverbrüderungen bis zum Ausgange des Karolingischen Zeitalters*, Regensburg, 1890; U. Berlière, *Revue liturgique et monastique*, xi, 1926, 134 ff.

CHAPTER III (p. 160)

The miracle of the rafts. This incident is omitted in the *V.A.* The monastery was declared by Smith to be that of Tynningham, situated on the river Tyne, which runs through Haddingtonshire. This site is certainly not far from the scenes of Cuthbert's early youth, but Tynningham is on the north side of the river and not the south, as Bede distinctly says here. Further on the three occasions when Bede mentions the river Tyne in the *H.E.* (v, 2; v, 6; v, 21), it is clear that he means the Tyne between Durham and Northumberland. Stevenson believes that it was this river Tyne, while Raine considers that it is Tynemouth monastery which is referred to. But again Tynemouth is on the wrong side of the river. The English Metrical

Life of Cuthbert (Surtees Soc. LXXXVII, p. 34) makes South Shields the scene of this incident. Canon Savage in a paper called "Abbess Hilda's first religious house" (*Arch. Ael.* N.S. XIX, 1898, pp. 47ff.) makes out a very good case for believing that the monastery mentioned here is a monastery at South Shields, to which possibly St Hilda was first sent (but see Bright, Preface, p. x); it was this monastery over which Verca afterwards became abbess and where Cuthbert turned the water into wine (*V.P.* c. 35). A marginal gloss in Ar₂ in a late fifteenth-century hand reads "forte ubi iam est capella sancte Hilde". This miracle is referred to in the anonymous *Vita Oswaldi* to illustrate a somewhat similar miracle performed by St Oswald at Ramsey (*H.Y.* I, p. 448). For the comparison of the rafts with birds cf. *Beowulf*, l. 218. "flota..fugle gelicost".

The hostile onlookers. The remarks of the onlookers show how slow was the progress of Christianity in the more remote districts and in fact everywhere. St Gregory's letter to Mellitus quoted in *H.E.* (I, 30) shows how clearly that wise prelate realised that the progress from heathenism to Christianity was slow. We read later on in the *V.P.* of the incantations and amulets which the people used to ward off disease (*V.P.* c. 9 and n. p. 346). A striking example of this same mixture of heathenism and Christianity is to be found in Bede's account of Redwald, king of the East Saxons, who in the same temple had an altar to Christ and another one on which he offered up sacrifices to devils, that is to say to his pagan gods (*H.E.* II, 15; for other examples see *Bede*, *L.T.W.* pp. 202ff.).

Witness. Notice how careful Bede is to state his authority when he is not depending on the *V.A.* A marginal gloss in C₃, O₃ and H₂ gives the name of the brother as Baella.

CHAPTER IV (p. 164)

News of Aidan's death. The *V.A.* says that Cuthbert heard of the death of Aidan after a few days. Aidan died at Bamburgh, so that it is unlikely that the news would reach Cuthbert on the banks of the river Leader, nearly fifty miles away, in a few hours, unless of course this is also to be treated as a miracle.

CHAPTER V (p. 168)

Food miraculously supplied. Bede's account of this miracle is greatly heightened when compared with the simple story in the *V.A.* There no mention is made of the woman who pressed him to eat, nor of any compulsory fast; the point is that the Lord provided him with food in a desert place. In the *V.P.* the point is that the Lord rewarded him for having refused to break his fast, even when travelling, until the ninth hour. According to the Columban rule, monastic travellers were allowed to eat at the third hour (see *V.A.* II, 2), and presumably the same rule would hold good for the faithful laity on a fast day. A marginal gloss in O₃ and H₂ gives the name of the place

in which the widow lived as *Loedra* and the place in which the food was provided as *Aloent*, perhaps Alwent near Gainford, Co. Durham. The river Allen was originally called Alwent and Allendale was Alwentdale; see Mawer, s.v. *Allen* and *Alwent*.

Fasts. In the ancient church Wednesdays and Fridays were both fast days; the Jews set aside Mondays and Thursdays as fast days, and the early Christians, while adopting the Jewish custom, altered the fasting days to Wednesday and Friday (cf. Tertullian, *De Ieiuniis*, c. 14; Migne, II, col. 973). Bede tells us that Aidan observed both these days; in fact he uses the same words as here in describing Aidan's Friday fast (*H.E.* III, 5 and n.). Possibly Cuthbert observed the Wednesday fast too; indeed we learn in the next chapter that he found it difficult in his earlier years to fast for long periods, lest he should become unfitted for the labour required of him. It is worthy of notice that Cuthbert did not abstain from flesh on Friday. There was much variation in this matter of abstinence, especially among the laity, in the early mediaeval church (see Cabrol, s.v. Abstinence; also L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices of the Middle Ages*, London, 1927, p. 148).

Ingwald. Nothing further is known of Ingwald. The name Inuald occurs in the *Liber Vitae*, f. 19 in the list of priests. It is not to be inferred from this passage that Bede was living at Wearmouth at the time. Wearmouth and Jarrow together formed one monastery (*H.E.* I, p. 393). Ingwald may have lived at Wearmouth, though Bede certainly was at Jarrow when he wrote this (cf. cc. 6 and 46).

CHAPTER VI (p. 172)

Melrose. Cuthbert's reception at Melrose is described by Bede only. The *V.A.* implies that he took his monastic vows at Ripon. It is much more likely, however, that it was at Melrose, for this place was close to the scene of his vision of Aidan and in the district in which he spent his youth. The site of the monastery was old Melrose, about two and a half miles east of the existing monastery ruins. The seventh-century buildings were burned down by Kenneth MacAlpin in 839.

Cuthbert's social position. Cuthbert is often said to have been of peasant extraction, presumably because he was keeping sheep when he saw the vision of Aidan. But it by no means follows. Cuthbert would probably not have been sent to foster-parents if he had not been of noble birth. We read of his long journey on horseback far from the scene of his childhood (*V.A.* I, 6 and *V.P.* c. 5); here we find him again mounted and carrying a spear. Riding on horseback at this time was the privilege of the noble classes in Ireland and almost certainly in Northumbria. That is why Aidan unless compelled by necessity refused to go on horseback (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 245). The servant is possibly the monastery servant though it may well be Cuthbert's own servant, just as it was the servants of his family who carried him out when his knee was diseased (*V.P.* c. 2). These things do not seem to fit in well with Cuthbert's supposed lowly origin.

Boisil. Boisil was prior of the monastery, a "priest of great virtues and of a prophetic spirit" (*H.E.* iv, 27). The town of St Boswell's is named after him. Bates (*Arch. Ael.* N.S. xvi, p. 86, quoted by Plummer, *H.E.* II, p. 266) states that the church at Tweedmouth is dedicated to St Boswell. This however seems to be an error. The church of Lessudden in Roxburghshire is apparently the only church dedicated to him (J. M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 242). The touching account of his death occurs in chapter 8 (see below). He twice appeared in a vision to a companion of the priest Ecgbert and a former disciple of his own, bidding Ecgbert not make his intended journey abroad to do missionary work on the Continent (*H.E.* v, 9). For the date of his death, see below.

Sigfrith. This Sigfrith cannot be the abbot of Wearmouth of the same name who died in 688 and had therefore long been dead when Bede wrote the *V.P.* The name occurs in the *Liber Vitae* under "Nomina clericorum" on f. 28, but it is a common name as a glance at the *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (ed. W. G. Searle, Cambridge, 1897, pp. 417ff.) will show.

Intoxicants. Custom differed in monasteries and among the saints with regard to their attitude to intoxicating liquors. Palladius declared "that to drink wine with reason was better than to drink water with pride" (*H.L.* Prol.). Beer was drunk in the Columban monasteries and Cuthbert himself on one occasion drank water which had been miraculously turned into wine (*V.P.* c. 35; cf. also *V.A.* III, 3). In the *Life of St Samson of Dol* it is stated that "no one ever saw him drunk", though the writer adds that "never did he put away altogether from himself any drink" (*St Samson of Dol*, p. 22). In the *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 21 (Symeon, *H.D.E.* I, p. 361) we learn that after the arrival of King Ceolwulf, licence was given to the monks of the church at Lindisfarne to drink wine and beer; for previously they were in the habit of drinking only milk and water, according to the old tradition of St Aidan.

CHAPTER VII (p. 174)

Alhfrith. We learn from Bede (*H.E.* III, 25; III, 28; v, 19) that Alhfrith was king and reigning at the same time as his father Oswiu. Florence of Worcester (*an.* 664) describes him as under-king of Deira. He married Cyniburh, daughter of Penda of Mercia, who after her husband's death is said to have become abbess of a monastery at Castor near Peterborough (Hardy, I, pp. 370, 371). Alhfrith was greatly influenced by Wilfrid and it was largely owing to the latter's influence that he became a strong supporter of the Roman party. He even wished to accompany Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid to Rome in 653, but was forbidden by his father Oswiu. The monastery which he founded at Ripon and gave in the first instance to Eata, he afterwards gave to Wilfrid somewhere about 660, when Eata and his followers refused to accept the Roman Easter. He was present at the Synod of Whitby, in 664, strongly supporting the Roman party; after this he disappears from history. As we know that he rebelled against Oswiu

(*H.E.* iii, 14), we can only conclude that he was either slain or exiled. The famous Bewcastle cross in Cumberland was perhaps put up in his memory. It has on its west side a long runic inscription in which have been read the names of certain people who put up the cross to Alhfrith. On the north side is the name CYNIBURUG (*A.E.E.* vol. v, *passim*).

Store-house. The *V.A.* calls this a "cubiculum"; Bede who is closely following the *V.A.* calls it a "conclauē". It seems therefore that it must have been some kind of room or dwelling used for storage. It is clear from both accounts that the guesthouse was a separate building.

CHAPTER VIII (p. 180)

Boisil's death. This long and beautiful account of Boisil's death is peculiar to the *V.P.* As it was Herefrith who related it to Bede, it makes it very unlikely that Herefrith can have been the author of the *V.A.* as has been suggested (see *V.P.* Prologue and notes p. 341). Boisil must have died some years before the Synod of Whitby, for very soon after that Cuthbert was transferred to Lindisfarne. Boisil's death took place after the expulsion of Eata from Ripon which was in 660 or 661. After his death Cuthbert acted "for some years" as prior of Melrose as the next chapter shows. His remains were brought to Durham about 1020 by Aelfred Westou.

The gospel. For Boisil's foreknowledge of the date of his death, see note on *V.A.* iv, 9, p. 335. The copy of the gospel of St John from which he was reading was long supposed to be the gospel of St John preserved in the library of the College of Stonyhurst in Lancashire. It is a small book measuring $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ in. and has its original seventh-century binding. Baldwin Brown, however, in 1930, pointed out that this gospel has not seven, but eleven gatherings (*A.E.E.* vi, i, pp. 1 ff.). In the same place he puts forward other arguments to show that it is very improbable that this is the Boisil gospel. (For further description of this gospel, see G. D. Hobson, *English Binding before 1500*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 1, 2 and plate I.)

CHAPTER IX (p. 184)

Incantations and amulets. For other examples of the use of these "ligaturae" or "fylacteria" as Bede calls them in *H.E.* iv, 28, see Plummer's note, *H.E.* ii, p. 266. In one of the Canons of Clovesho (A.D. 747) we get a passage which is reminiscent of Bede's words. It is entitled "Ut omni anno episcopi parochias suas peragrent". It bids every bishop visit his see every year, teaching those who rarely hear the word of God and forbidding them to make use of pagan customs such as "divinos, sortilegos, auguria, auspicia, fylacteria, incantationes" and all such heathen errors (*H.* and *S.* iii, pp. 363-4). It will be noticed that when Cuthbert became a bishop, as well as before his consecration, he considered it his duty to make the pastoral journeys which

the Council of Clovesho laid down. The same magical observances are often referred to in the Penitentials and in the sermons based upon the model set by Caesarius of Arles (d. 542).

CHAPTER X (p. 188)

Appointed hour. Cuthbert would return in time for the mattin office, or lauds, which in Benedictine monasteries began immediately after mattins, at dawn ("incipiente luce", *Regula Benedicti*, c. 8, p. 41). In the *V.A.* (II, 3) he returns home at "cockcrow" to unite in prayer with the brethren.

CHAPTER XI (p. 192)

Bede's informant. The brother who afterwards became a priest was Tydi (*V.A.* II, 4).

CHAPTER XIV (p. 200)

Similar miracles. The miracle concerning Benedict referred to here is in St Gregory's *Dialogues* (II, 10, p. 97; see also note on *V.A.* II, 8, p. 323). So also is the story of Marcellinus Anconitanus (*Greg. Dial.* I, 6, p. 42).

CHAPTER XV (p. 202)

Reeve of King Ecgfrith. If Ecgfrith were actually king, then the incident must have happened after 671, the year in which Ecgfrith probably came to the throne. A marginal note in three MSS gives his wife's name as Eadswith (see p. 204 n. 7).

CHAPTER XVI (p. 206)

Arrangements at Lindisfarne. Bede gives two accounts of the arrangements in the Lindisfarne monastery, one here and one in *H.E.* IV, 25. By a comparison of the two, it is possible to deduce that the arrangements did not differ so much from those of an Irish monastery as is often supposed. In Ireland a bishop living in the monastery was subject to the abbot—the monastic bishop usually not being a diocesan. Aidan, as Bede tells us in *H.E.*, was the founder of the monastery and consequently its first abbot too. The other bishops who followed Aidan lived in the monastery, took part in the election of the abbot, and then, together with all the others in the monastery, were subject to his rule, or at least so Bede seems to imply in this place (but see *Bede*, *L.T.W.* p. 72).

Gregory's letter. Bede is quoting here from Gregory's reply to Augustine's questions. He inserted nearly the whole letter into his *Ecclesiastical History* (*H.E.* 1, 27). Levison notes that some attempts have been made to prove that the letter is not genuine but was forged at some period between 721-31; he points out that its presence in this Life proves that it is at least earlier than 721 (*Bede, L.T.W.* p. 128, n. 2).

Wife of the reeve. Bede wishes to make it quite clear that although he has placed the story of the cure of the reeve's wife (following *V.A.*) in the Melrose series of miracles, it really belongs to the Lindisfarne period (see *V.A.* II, 8 and note p. 323; also *V.P.* c. 15 n. p. 347).

Chapter. See note on *V.A.* III, 1, p. 324. The custom of reading a portion or chapter of the Rule each day led to the assembled body of monks being called the Chapter, and their meeting place the Chapter-house (*N.E.D.* s.v. Chapter).

Midday rest. There is another reference to this midday rest in *V.P.* c. 35. It was a feature of the Benedictine Rule that it permitted this rest during the summer months, and contrasts with Cuthbert's Irish asceticism with its traditional tendency to forego sleep as a means of mortification. In fact it is probable that the troubles we read of here are due to the clash between the less austere Benedictine customs which, through the growing Roman influence, were becoming more common even in Lindisfarne, and the more austere Irish customs which were partly traditional at Lindisfarne and partly strengthened by Cuthbert's arrival to act as provost under Eata, who was now abbot of both Melrose and Lindisfarne (see also Du Cange, s.v. meridia and Plummer, *H.E.* 1, xxvi, n. 5).

Tears. Bede says again in his Commentary on Exodus (xxx, 18; *Opp.* VII, p. 364) that tears are most fitting, especially when celebrating the Divine mysteries. The gift of tears was possessed by many saints, the most famous being St Dunstan (Stubbs, *Dunstan*, pp. 50, 379).

Who stood by. In the canon of the mass, in the "memento" of the living, the body of worshippers is described as "omnes circumstantes". All evidence goes to show that standing was the usual posture, and even kneeling at the consecration came later, possibly in the twelfth century with the elevation. There is some evidence, however, for prostration at the consecration at an early period in Ireland (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 349).

Sursum Corda. The *Sursum Corda* is of course part of that dialogue between priest and congregation which leads up to the canon of the mass. The reference to the lifting up of the voice is explained by the fact that at this point of the service there is an "ekphonesis", or raising of the tone of the voice, the preceding prayer having been said "secrete".

Dress. The simplicity of Bede's time would seem to have disappeared in Alcuin's day, for he warns the monks of Lindisfarne against glorying in the vanity of their dress (*Epist.* 20, *M.G. Epist.* IV, Berlin, 1895, pp. 57 and

58). A very similar account of Augustine's dress of which Bede is probably thinking is found in Possidius' *Life of St Augustine*, c. 22; cf. also Jerome, *Epistle*, 22, 27, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna Corpus, LIV, 1910, p. 183: "Vestis nec satis munda nec sordida et nulla diversitate notabilis."

CHAPTER XVII (p. 214)

Contemplative life. The feeling was general and widespread in Egypt, in Gaul, and in Ireland, and, as we see by Bede's words in this chapter, in England too, that the life of the hermit, the life of divine contemplation, was more advanced than the cenobitic life (Ryan, *Monast.* pp. 258 ff.). As a result, in sixth-century Ireland the monks were ready to make for the desert, even against the wishes of their abbot, so greatly did they thirst for the life of contemplation. Bede is careful to state that Cuthbert entered on the hermit life with the full consent of his abbot. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. I, p. 10 and III, in. p. 324.

Cuthbert's first cell. The first scene of his hermit life is supposed to be the rocky islet called St Cuthbert's Isle, about one hundred yards from Lindisfarne, and south-west of the priory. It is surrounded by water at high tide, but can be approached over a slippery ridge of stones at low tide. There are traces of an ancient chapel, still to be seen on the island, which used to be called the chapel of St Cuthbert in the Sea (J. Raine, *North Durham*, London, 1852, p. 146).

Rheuma. Bede also speaks of the "rheuma" in his *De Temporum ratione*, c. 29, and in *H.E.* v, 3. He owes the idea to Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, IV, 42, as C. W. Jones has shown (*Classical Review*, XLVI, 1932, pp. 248 ff.; cf. also G. Macdonald, *Classical Review*, XLVII, 1933, p. 124 and Levison in *Bede*, *L.T.W.* p. 118 n.).

CHAPTER XVIII (p. 216)

Maundy Thursday. Maundy Thursday or Coena Domini was in Ireland a day specially devoted to the care of the person, when the monks washed their heads, had their hair cut and so forth. But the custom of bathing on this day in preparation for Easter was widespread. St Augustine refers to the practice in one of his letters (*Ep.* 54, 7, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna Corpus, XXXIV, pars II, 1888, p. 168). Ritual feet-washing was throughout the Middle Ages observed in every monastery on this day, when always the superior had to wash the feet of the inferior. The feet of subordinate priests, of the poor or of inferiors were washed by priests, bishops, nobles and sometimes even sovereigns (*E.R.E.* s.v. Feet-washing). Maundy Thursday was in fact called Skyre Thursday in the north of England, possibly from O.N. *skíra*, to purify. In the south of England it became Shere Thursday, and so arose an imaginary etymology from the cutting of the hair for Easter.

When Brendan reached the island of the Procurator, the latter speedily prepared a bath for Brendan and his men for it was the day of the Lord's Supper (*L.I.S.* II, p. 59).

Feet-washing. St Cuthbert in his scorn of washing seems to have been seeking to rival Antony, who neither bathed his body in water nor ever washed his feet, nor even endured so much as to put them into water unless compelled by necessity (*Vit. Ant.* c. 23; Migne, LXXIII, col. 147).

Genuflexions. Prayer amongst the Irish was accompanied by gestures of adoration, by prostrations and genuflexions, and the arms were often held outstretched to form a cross. An Irish gloss relates that James the Less used to make two hundred genuflexions in the day and two hundred in the night, on the bare flags of marble in the Temple at Jerusalem, so that his knees were as large as camel's knees. For this reason James the Less became very popular among the Irish ascetics (Gougoud, *C.C.L.* pp. 91-2). It is not quite clear why the callus at the junction of Cuthbert's feet and shins should have been caused by genuflexions. For another explanation, see note to chapter 37, p. 355.

CHAPTER XIX (p. 220)

The birds driven away. This story of the driving away of the birds is not found in *V.A.* The prototype of this miracle is obviously the story which Bede quotes of Antony driving away the wild asses from his little plot in the desert in which he had planted a few herbs (*Vit. Ant.* c. 25; Migne, LXXIII, col. 149). The reference to Benedict concerns the story of how the saint produced a well from a rock on the top of a mountain to save the monks in the three monasteries on the mountain coming down to the valley for their water (*Greg. Dial.* II, 5, p. 88).

CHAPTER XX (p. 222)

Similar miracle. The incident to which Bede refers here is the story of the raven who obeyed the commands of St Benedict and removed some poisoned bread beyond human reach (*Greg. Dial.* II, 8, pp. 91 ff.).

CHAPTER XXI (p. 224)

Cuthbert's power over animals. The idea of the dominion over the lower creation, originally given to man, having been lost by sin is common in the lives of saints. Liselotte Junge gives a collection of such passages in *Die Tierlegenden des Hl. Franz von Assisi*, Leipzig, 1932. Bede himself discusses the same subject in his *Commentarii in principium Genesis*, c. i (*Opp.* VII, p. 27).

CHAPTER XXII (p. 228)

Devils. The passage is reminiscent of the account in the Evagrian Life of the devils by whom Antony was tempted (*Vit. Ant.* c. 20; Migne, LXXXIII, col. 144). See also *V.A.* III, I and note, p. 325.

Crowds. Crowds also resorted to Antony, and again Bede is obviously thinking of the chapter describing this in the Evagrian Life. It became a regular feature of the Lives based on the Antonian model to describe how crowds resorted to the saint. Felix in his *Life of Guthlac* closely models his account of the resort to the hermit on this account of Bede (Felix, *Vita Guthlaci*, IV, 31; see Kurtz, pp. 118 ff.).

CHAPTER XXIII (p. 230)

Herefrith. This story is peculiar to Bede and is again based on the testimony of Herefrith. See note to prologue p. 341.

CHAPTER XXIV (p. 234)

Synod. This was the synod held in the neighbourhood of the river Aln at a place called *Adtuifyrði*, i.e. "at the double ford" (*H.E.* IV, 28 and n.). It was a mixed body of ecclesiastics and laics. Bright suggests that it was where the Aln is crossed by two fords near Whittingham (Bright, p. 373). Alnmouth has also been suggested.

CHAPTER XXV (p. 238)

Conference with Eata. This was probably the occasion when the arrangement was made whereby Eata became bishop of Hexham and Cuthbert became bishop of Lindisfarne. See note to *V.A.* III, I (p. 324).

CHAPTER XXVII (p. 242)

Sabbath. In the Celtic church the sabbath was strictly kept. The "Cain Domnaig" or Law of the Sunday, which was passed as a law in the ninth century but was probably much earlier, prohibits both riding and beginning a journey on Sunday. St Columba, for instance, refused to go to a monastery with Berach "on my feet to-night, for the eve of Sunday has begun". So Berach carried him (*L.I.S.* II, p. 38).

Chariot. A reproduction of a chariot such as the one here mentioned appeared on the sculptured stone at Meigle in Perthshire, which perished when the church was burnt down in 1869. It is pictured in J. R. Allen and J. Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1903, pt. III, p. 331. Chariots were widely employed in Northumbria and in Ireland. St Patrick and St Brigid and many other Irish saints used them, though they refused to ride on horseback (Ryan, *Monast.* pp. 244 ff.).

Royal city. Presumably Bamburgh. Bede on three occasions in the *H.E.* (iii, 6, 12, 16) refers to Bamburgh as the "royal city".

Plague. The story of Cuthbert's foreknowledge of the coming of the plague is not told in the *V.A.* Plummer quotes the story to illustrate the hardness of monastic life in Northumbria at this time (*H.E.* i, p. xxx). It would appear from the story, too, that Cuthbert occasionally sought the company of his brethren at Lindisfarne on feast-days.

Story-telling. Possibly these stories would be prose sagas preserved by oral tradition and dealing with either secular or ecclesiastical subjects. It is likely, for instance, that some of the stories related by Bede in the *Æcclesiastical History* were derived from sagas handed down by oral tradition—such as the story of Gregory and the Angles (*H.E.* ii, 1) or the debate in the Northumbrian Council (*H.E.* ii, 13). And it is highly probable that many of the stories about St Cuthbert in the *V.A.* and *V.P.* are based on the sagas of the saint told at Lindisfarne and elsewhere. Occasionally apparently, secular themes were welcomed in the monasteries in the form of heroic poems. Alcuin in a letter to Hygebald, bishop of Lindisfarne, written in the year 797, warns him that, when priests dine together, it is fitting for them to listen to a reader and not to a harpist, to the discourses of the fathers, not to the poems of a heathen. "What", he adds, "has Ingeld to do with Christ? Strait is the house; it will not be able to hold them both." We are not told what was the subject or character of the songs referred to in the story of Caedmon (*H.E.* iv, 24), which is the earliest reference to the cultivation of poetry or minstrelsy in England (cf. H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 41, 79; and H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, i, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 335-7).

Ecgrith's bodyguard. Ecgrith's bodyguard or "comitatus" all died around their prince after the fashion of the Heroic Age. It was, as Tacitus tells us (*Germania*, c. 14), the greatest disgrace among the Teutonic nations for a *comes* to take to flight even when his lord had fallen. When Cynewulf, king of Wessex, had been slain by Cynheard (*A.S.C. an.* 755) the king's men all refused the terms offered them and fought until all had been killed except one British hostage (see further *O.E.N.* pp. 166ff.).

CHAPTER XXVIII (p. 248)

Hereberht's illness. The *V.A.* account has nothing to say of the sufferings endured by Hereberht in order that he might be accounted worthy to die on the same day as Cuthbert.

CHAPTER XXX (p. 254)

Aethilwald. In the *V.A.* account (iv, 4) Aethilwald is described as prior of Melrose; here he is described as abbot. Unfortunately the date of Aethilwald's appointment as abbot of Melrose is unknown.

Bedesfeld. The village of *Bedesfeld* in which the nuns had taken refuge has not been identified; but we presume that their flight took place about 685, when Ecgrith was killed by the Picts at Nechtansmere and when Trumwine had to leave his monastery and see at Abercorn, and flee to Whitby.

CHAPTER XXXI (p. 254)

Blessed bread. For the wide use of relics steeped in water, and the liquor given as a drink, see *Bede, L.T.W.* pp. 217ff. and *V.A.* iv, 15 n. p. 340. This miracle is not told in full by the author of the *V.A.* but merely referred to in the last chapter in a list of miracles omitted.

CHAPTER XXXII (p. 256)

Church. It is interesting to note how the church was the natural place to look to for a night's shelter, as also in Iceland until very recently. For the many uses to which churches were put in mediaeval times, see *A.E.E.* 1, pp. 346 ff.

CHAPTER XXXIII (p. 258)

The dying boy. In the *V.A.* (iv, 6) the mother and son are still alive. Whether Bede had any definite information or not we do not know, but here he presumes that they are dead.

CHAPTER XXXIV (p. 260)

The death of Hadwald. Bede has spoiled the simpler story in the *V.A.* (iv, 10). There the point is that Aelflaed rushes breathlessly into church to tell him the name of the dead shepherd and arrives just as Cuthbert has reached the part of the mass where the faithful departed are remembered. It is longer but much less dramatic in Bede. Cf. Plummer, *H.E.* 1, p. xlvii.

CHAPTER XXXV (p. 264)

Water changed to wine. Probably the monastery at South Shields. See note on *V.P.* c. 3, p. 343. This story is not told in the *V.A.* but merely referred to in the last chapter. It was Verca who gave him the linen sheet in which he was afterwards buried. Her name does not appear in the *Liber Vitae*. In marginal glosses in C₃, O₃ and H₂ the name of the priest is given as Beda, that of the servant as Betuald and that of the Jarrow brother as Fridumund (Fridmund H₃). The name Fridumund occurs under the list of abbots in the *Liber Vitae*, f. 17.

CHAPTER XXXVI (p. 266)

The uncooked goose. This story is not in the *V.A.* It illustrates well the duty of obedience; even though the cooking of the goose was unnecessary, yet the question of holy obedience was involved, and nature herself was at one with the saint in impressing the heinousness of his disciples' offence in disobeying his simplest command (see *Bede, L.T.W.* pp. 223 ff.). Bede's love of a picturesque incident doubtless led him to include this miracle.

Cynimund. The name Cynimund is a common one and occurs eleven times in the *Liber Vitae*, twice in the list of priests, once on f. 18*b* and again on f. 19. The same name occurs also under "Nomina regum vel ducum" on f. 12. Nothing further is known of this priest. There is another Cynimund mentioned in *H.E.* III, 15, but Bede states that he was a monk of Jarrow or Monkwearmouth ("our church"). As the name is so common, it is highly improbable that it is the same man. The name also occurs in a marginal gloss to c. 41. See note below (p. 358).

CHAPTER XXXVII (p. 270)

Old complaint. In *V.P.* c. 8 we learn that after St Cuthbert recovered from the plague, he was left with some after effects which troubled him for the rest of his life. When St Cuthbert's tomb was opened in 1899 and the contents examined, it was found that the bones of the sternum and clavicle showed extensive signs of disease. Dr Selby Plummer, who examined the bones, was inclined to think that the disease was of tubercular origin and that the "imperfect diagnosis of those days might well confound a tubercular lesion coincident in one subject with the prevailing epidemic plague in others" (Dr Selby Plummer, "St Cuthbert. Notes on the examination of his remains", *Northumberland and Durham Medical Journal*, 1899, pp. 1-15).

Cross. There is a certain amount of early evidence for the setting up of free-standing crosses to mark a place of burial or for some other reason. We read of a cross by which Columba sat on his last walk before his death (*Vit. Col. Reeves*, III, 23, p. 231). There are numerous crosses mentioned in the documents connected with the life of St Patrick (*Vit. Tr.* pp. 72, 276, 325, 326). The Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses are generally ascribed to the late seventh century, while the Acca cross, lately in Durham and now in Hexham, was probably one of the crosses mentioned by Symeon of Durham, placed at the head and the foot of Acca's grave (*Symeon, H.D.E.* II, p. 33). Further there is the cross associated with Cuthbert and put up by Aethilwald which is also mentioned by Symeon (I, 39) and which was afterwards brought to Durham. (For a full account of the early history of the cruciform monument, see *A.E.E.* v, c. 6.)

Dwelling. The dwelling is the house mentioned in *V.P.* c. 17 near the landing-place used for the reception of the brethren. It probably stood on the site near the landing-place, where a rough stone shelter now stands.

Cudda. This Cudda is possibly the same as the one mentioned in *Eddius*, c. 2. There he is described as "ex sodalibus regis", meaning, probably, one of the king's thegns. This man gave up secular life owing to a paralytic infirmity and became a monk at Lindisfarne. Wilfrid was sent to him as a young man by Queen Eanfled to act as his servant. The name appears second in the list of abbots in the *Liber Vitae* on f. 17 and again under the list of clerics on f. 24. It is a hypocoristic form of some name with the prefix Cuth-, such as Cuthbert, Cuthwine, etc. (*Redin*, pp. xxxvi, n. 2 and 62).

Ulcer. It is not clear whether the suppurating ulcer was on the front or the heel of the foot. If it were on the heel, it might be due to a bedsore brought on through neglect. Dr Selby Plummer (*loc. cit.*) connects it with the extensive callus at the junction of the feet and legs mentioned in c. 18. He points out that the illnesses from which Cuthbert suffered, the acrid tumour of the knee (c. 2), the tumour in the groin (c. 8), the callus at the junction of the foot and leg (c. 18) and this ulcer of the foot, are all to be associated with tubercular mischief. His appearance and temperament, his charm of manner, his hysterical tears (c. 16) and his tendency to go off into visions (c. 34, etc.) are all symptomatic, according to Dr Selby Plummer.

Onions. Raw onions are still used by travellers in hot countries and by others for the purpose of allaying thirst (see Fowler in *Metz. Life*, p. 103).

Beda. It is not known who Beda the elder was. The name of Beda appears five times in the *Liber Vitae*, twice in the list of priests and three times in the list of clerics (see Prologue, n. p. 342).

Cuthbert's gifts. Compare Bede's own anxiety when he was dying to divide his little possessions, his pepper, napkins and incense, among his fellow-monks (*H.E.* I, p. lxxvi). St Antony similarly divided up his garments on his death-bed between Athanasius and Serapion (*Vit. Ant.* c. 58; Migne, LXXIII, col. 167).

Cuthbert's burial place. Cuthbert's anxiety to have his body left in Farnie is paralleled by Antony's anxiety to have his body buried in a place known to no one but his two faithful followers (*Vit. Ant.* c. 58; Migne, *loc. cit.*).

Flee to my body. The right of asylum was, as we learn from the Laws of Ine (c. 5) and the Laws of Alfred (c. 2), common to churches and monasteries during the Anglo-Saxon period (F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 39, 65). But some churches, especially those which possessed the body and relics of a famous saint, seem to have had special privileges in this respect. After the Conquest certain churches received special privileges by charter from the king (see *Cath. Enc.* s.v.

Asylum). Among these churches were Beverley, where the privilege was called the "Peace of St John of Beverley"; Hexham with its relics of Acca and Alhmund; Ripon where the bones of Wilfrid lay; and Tynemouth where St Oswin was buried and where the privilege of sanctuary was known as the "Peace of St Oswin". When St Cuthbert's body was brought to Durham, the right of sanctuary continued to be exercised there. All through the Middle Ages, right up to 1524, there are entries in the registers of the cathedral recording the names and crimes of those who sought sanctuary. Persons who took refuge fled to the north door and knocked for admission, using the large knocker which still survives. Over the north door were two chambers in which there were always two guardians who admitted fugitives at any hour of the day or night, and the Galilee bell was immediately tolled. The fugitives were then provided with a gown of black cloth which had a yellow St Cuthbert's cross on the left shoulder. They were given bedding and provision at the expense of the house for thirty-seven days.

Needless to say this right of sanctuary came, as Cuthbert foresaw, to be greatly abused, and all through the Middle Ages laws and regulations were made limiting these privileges. Finally, in the reign of James I, the privilege was entirely denied to criminals, though it was not until the reign of George I that the sanctuary of St Peter's at Westminster was abolished (*Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense*, Surtees Soc. v, 1837, pp. xviff.).

CHAPTER XXXVIII (p. 280)

Similar miracle. Bede has taken the story of Augustine told here, with verbal borrowings, from the text of St Augustine's Life by Possidius, c. 29. See text, p. 282.

CHAPTER XXXIX (p. 282)

Cuthbert's farewell. The farewell speech is again based on the Antonian model. One may compare Chad's farewell speech to his followers (*H.E.* iv, 3) or Columba's last words as described by Adamnan in *Vit. Col.* iii, 23 (Reeves, p. 234). While Antony bids his followers beware of the heresies of the Meletians and Arians (*Vit. Ant.* c. 58; Migne, lxxiii, col. 167), Cuthbert bids his beware of the Celtic heretics. This seems inappropriate enough, coming from one who was so deeply influenced by the Irish tradition of Iona and Lindisfarne and who had left Ripon rather than accept the Roman Easter. Bede in his Life of Cuthbert follows the *V.A.* in carefully refraining from mentioning the reason for his and Eata's departure from Ripon, and these words which have been put into his mouth do not ring true. On the other hand, in the *H.E.* (iii, 25) Bede clearly states the reason for their departure. Bede seems to have been influenced here partly by his literary model—the Evagrian Life of Antony—and partly by his desire to attribute his own Roman convictions to his favourite saint. Again the words in which he claims that they will recognise his true worth after his death, by no means

fit in with the picture of the humble-minded saint which Bede gives us elsewhere, but remind us much more of the words that Tennyson puts into the mouth of St Simeon Stylites in his poem about that saint.

Cuthbert's body. Cuthbert's warnings about what they are to do with his body if trouble arises, seem to be connected with the troubles referred to vaguely in the next chapter as happening between the death of Cuthbert and the election of Eadberht at Lindisfarne. But Cuthbert was speaking more truly than he knew, for the day came when the monks of Lindisfarne had to follow their patron's instruction. After the fall of York in 867, the ravages of the Danes became so frightful that Bishop Eardulf in 875, hearing of the approach of Halfdene king of the Danes and his ravaging army, took up the body of the saint and departed from Lindisfarne. For seven years the saint's body was carried about into different parts of Northumbria, until in 883 peace was restored, and the saint rested at Chester-le-Street. Here it remained until 995 when once more, owing to political troubles, Bishop Aldhun took the body to Ripon and thence to Durham. Aldhun finished a church and shrine for it in 998. The present church was begun by Bishop William of St Carilef in 1093, and in Bishop Ranulf Flambard's time the work was sufficiently advanced to permit of the retranslation of the body in 1104 to the feretory behind the high altar.

Sacraments. The sacraments referred to are penance and extreme unction. The sacrament of extreme unction was given before the viaticum. Cuthbert then received holy communion, under both kinds, receiving it sitting, as we learn from the *V.M.* (Eyre, *St Cuthbert*, p. 79; J. Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, London, 1845, pp. 44-6).

CHAPTER XL (p. 284)

The prophetic psalm. This psalm (Vulgate 59, A.V. 60) forms part of the office for mattins or lauds on Wednesday in both the Roman and Benedictine breviaries. The date of his death was Wednesday, March 20th, 687. It is difficult not to connect the troubles here vaguely referred to with Wilfrid, who was in charge of the diocese between the death of Cuthbert and the election of Eadberht in the following year. Wilfrid's dislike of the Celtic Church was well known. It is highly improbable that Bede, though he possibly disliked Wilfrid, would have mentioned his name even though he were the cause of the trouble. The troubles may well have been caused, as the Bollandists long ago suggested (*AA.SS. Mar.* III, pp. 114f.), by Wilfrid's attempts to do away with the traditional rule of the monastery and to substitute the pure Benedictine rule; or alternatively it may have been his desire to exercise his authority over the monastery where until that time the bishop had either been abbot himself or had lived in subjection to the abbot. Jaeger has shown clearly that it cannot refer to an attack of the Picts, as Bright suggests (Jaeger, p. 120; see also Introduction, p. 9 above).

Visio Pacis. This, the usual mediaeval interpretation of "Jerusalem" goes back to St Jerome (Hieronymus, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, 1, Göttingen, 1870, pp. 50, 9 and 62, 5). It is found in the sixth- or seventh-century hymn

Urbs beata Hierusalem, dicta pacis visio,

and also in Cynewulf's Anglo-Saxon poem on Christ, lines 50-51:

Eala, sibbe gesihð, Sancta Hierusalem,
Cynestola cyst, Cristes burglond.

And again it is found in the M.E. poem "The Pearl", where in l. 952 Jerusalem is said to mean "Sy3t of pes".

Right side of the altar. The bones of Aidan had already been buried on the right (i.e. the south) side of the altar at Lindisfarne (*H.E.* III, 17). When Colman left Lindisfarne after the Synod of Whitby, he took some of Aidan's bones with him. Cedd was also buried on the right side of the altar in his church at Lastingham.

CHAPTER XLI (p. 288)

Relics. The relics of the blessed martyrs may possibly be some of those relics brought back in large numbers by both Benedict Biscop and by Wilfrid. For a discussion of the use of relics in the seventh century, see *Bede, L.T.W.* pp. 216ff. The author of the *V.A.* puts this miracle after the translation.

Cuthbert's superiority. This is the only example in Bede of the widespread type of relic miracle in which, other relics having been unsuccessful, the relic of some particular saint proves effective, thereby showing his superior virtues. The incident in both form and language closely resembles the healing of a cleric through the power of St Benedict when the relics of other martyrs were unavailing (*Greg. Dial.* II, 16, pp. 103ff.). A marginal gloss in C₃, O₃ and H₂ gives the name of the priest who recommended Cuthbert's aid as Cinimund; cf. c. 36 above and note, p. 354.

CHAPTER XLII (p. 290)

Date of burial. The 20th of March was the day on which St Cuthbert died, so that he was buried on the day of his death. This was a regular custom, so that the festival of a saint is often called his "depositio" (*Plummer, H.E.* II, p. 240).

Lenten retreat. St Kentigern used to retire to a solitary place during Lent (*Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern*, ed. Forbes, 1874, p. 188), and also Bishop Dubricius (*St Samson of Dol*, p. 37).

The new coffin. The chest referred to is undoubtedly the wooden coffin, many pieces of which were recovered when the tomb was opened in 1827 and are now preserved in the Chapter Library at Durham. Reginald of Durham (c. 43) refers to the coffin which was seen at the translation of

1104 and describes the carving on it. There is no doubt that the coffin he describes is the one found in fragments in 1827. The character of the carving, the runic and other inscriptions, all fit in with a seventh-century date. For a detailed description of it, see *A.E.E.* v, pp. 397ff., and Raine's *St Cuthbert*, pp. 188ff.

Will not long remain empty. It is clear from c. 43 that Eadberht is prophetically referring to his own place of burial.

Poem. This little poem may perhaps have belonged to Bede's "Librum epigrammatum heroico metro, sive elegiaco", which he mentions in his list of works at the end of the *H.E.* and which is now lost. It is not quite clear whether Bede put into verse words previously uttered by Eadberht or whether Eadberht is quoting a poem previously written by Bede. The author of the *English Metrical Life* understood it to mean the latter (*Metrical Life*, p. 116). Bede would be only twenty-four years old at the time, so that this is the less likely alternative. The English verse is a fairly free rendering of the original. "Fariam . . . humum" means Egypt. Cf. Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary* s.v. Pharius. Dr Levison suggests to me that Bede perhaps borrowed the expression from Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

CHAPTER XLIV (p. 296)

Sunday mass. Mass was celebrated by the Irish, as by others, on Sundays and other feast-days, such as Easter Day, Christmas, and the anniversary of certain saints (Ryan, *Monast.* p. 345). Presumably from this passage, Sunday mass was the custom at Lindisfarne, as also at Llantwit (*St Samson of Dol*, p. 24).

CHAPTER XLV (p. 298)

The paralytic cured. This miracle is a good deal heightened from the simple account in the *V.A.*

Mattins. That is, the mattin office which began at cockcrow (cf. c. 101. p. 347). Lauds followed at dawn.

CHAPTER XLVI (p. 300)

Aethilwald. Aethilwald as we learn from *H.E.* (v, 1) was a monk at Ripon. Guthfrith relates the story of how he calmed the sea when a hermit on Farne. He died on the island in 699. His name, in the form Oediluald, comes first in the list of anchorites in the *Liber Vitae*, f. 15. This is also the form of the name in the *H.E.* (v, 1).

Felgild. The name Felgeld comes fourth in the list of anchorites in the *Liber Vitae* on f. 15. It is probably the same man. Nothing more is known of him. The name of the Jarrow monk is given in a marginal note in C₃, O₃ and H₂ as Ceolbercht, a name which occurs as that of an abbot of priestly rank in the *Liber Vitae*, f. 15b.

INDEX

- Abbo of Fleury, 35
 Abercorn, 311, 353
 Acca, Bp of Hexham, 10, 356
 Acca Cross, 10, 354
 Acomb, H. W., ix
 Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*, 13, 23, 31, 312, 314, 316, 322, 326, 333, 356
 Adamnan of Coldingham, 315
Adcides, 95, 324
 Ado of Vienne, 2
 Adrian, Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, 329, 331
Adtwifyrdi, 351
 Aebbe, St, Abbess of Coldingham, 24, 81, 189, 318-19, 340
 Aedh Comman, Irish king, 329
 Aedington, Robert de, 41
 Aelfflaed, Abbess of Whitby, 12-13, 103, 127, 231, 235, 263, 319, 328-9, 335-6, 353
 Aelfheah, Abp of Canterbury, 35, 338
 Aelfheah, Bp of Wells, 20-1
 Aelfred Westou, sacrist of Durham, 318, 339, 346
 Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham, 319, 327, 338
 Aelric, hermit of Farne, 325
 Aelwine, hermit of Farne, 325
 Aengus, Irish king, 329
Aesica, see Chesters, Great
 Aethelgar, Bp of Crediton, 20
 Aethelstan, King of England, 2, 20-1
 Aethelwold, Bp of Winchester, 35
 Aethilberg, Abbess of Faremoutier-en-Brie, 338
 Aethilburg, Queen of Northumbria, 5
 Aethilthryth, St, Abbess of Ely, 1, 35, 318, 329, 334, 338
 Aethilwald, Abbot of Melrose, Bp of Lindisfarne, 13-14, 117, 255, 331-2, 340, 352, 354
 Aethilwald, hermit of Farne, 303, 305, 325, 332, 342, 359
 Agatho, Pope, 8-9
 Agilberht, Bp of the West Saxons and Paris, 6
 Ahse, 117, 332
 Aichard, St, Abbot of Jumièges, 18
 Aidan, St, Bp of Lindisfarne, 4-5, 7, 11, 22, 24, 26, 31-5, 39-40, 71, 165, 167, 209, 311-13, 318, 323-6, 329, 331, 340, 343-5, 347, 355, 358
 Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, 25, 31
 Alban, St, 35, 42
 Album, 146, 342
 Alcuin, 2, 340, 342, 348-9, 352
 Aldfrith, King of Northumbria, 4, 8-10, 13, 43, 105, 115, 237, 239, 328-30
 Aldhelm, St, Bp of Sherborne, 39, 319, 329
 Aldhun, Bp of Durham, 357
 Aldred, priest of Durham, 311
 Alexander, Bp of Lincoln, 39
 Alexander III, King of Scotland, 316
 Alexandria, 315, 336
 Alexis, St, 41
 Alfred, King of England, 2, 355
 Alhfrith, sub-king of Deira, 6-7, 175, 345-6
 Alhmund, St, Bp of Hexham, 356
 Allen, river, 344
 Allen, J. R., 351
 Allen, T., 22, 25
 Allendale, 344
 Aln river, 351
 Alnmouth, 351
Aloent (Alwent), 170, 344
 Alt, J., 29
 Amalarius, 316, 337
 Amantius, St, 20
 Ambrose, St, 12, 122, 310, 330, 333
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 334
 Ammonius, Egyptian hermit, 330
 Amon of Nitria, 313, 326
 Amulets, 185, 343, 346
 Ancona, see Marcellinus
 Anderson, J., 351
 Andrew, St, 29
 Angels, 5, 67, 69, 77, 97, 113, 159, 161, 177, 179, 217, 235, 312, 320, 328, 335
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 318

- Anna, King of East Anglia, 329
 Anselm, St, of Canterbury, 35-6, 39
 Anso, Abbot of Lobbes, 312
 Anstis, J., 28
 Antony, St, 4, 312-13, 315, 321, 327-8, 335-6, 350-1, 355-6; see also *Evagrian Life of Antony*
 Ardoilean, Ireland, 325
 Arians, 336, 356
 Arles, see Caesarius
 Arnstein, 18
 Arras, St Vaast monastery, viii, 17-18; see also under MSS
 Asceticism, 7, 75, 247, 315-16, 319, 344, 352; see also under Cuthbert
 Asylum, 279, 355
 Athanasius, St, 4, 11, 13, 310, 312, 355; see also *Evagrian Life of Antony*
 Attenborough, F. L., 355
 Augustine, St, Bp of Hippo, 14, 17, 31, 37, 281, 283, 321, 330, 349, 356
 Augustine, St, of Canterbury, 209, 348
 Austreberta, St, 35
 Austria, Emperor of, 38
 Auxerre, see Germanus
 Ayrshire, 321

 Baella, monk of Jarrow, 164, 343
 Baldhelm, priest of Lindisfarne, 12, 120, 241, 333
 Ballerini, P. A., 310
 Bamburgh, "The royal city", 5-6, 245, 313, 325, 343, 352
 Bardney, 318
 Barking, 318
 Barley, 221
 Bartholomew, hermit of Farne, 24, 29, 34, 325
 Basle, 51-5
 Bassa, a priest, 318
 Bates, Cadwallader J., viii, 314, 321, 323, 332, 345
 Bath, Somerset, 334
 Battiscombe, C. F., 338-9
 Becker, G., 18, 39-40
 à Becket, Thomas, Abp of Canterbury, 34
 Beda, the elder, monk of Lindisfarne, 262, 265, 277, 353, 355
 Bede, the Venerable, *passim*
 Bede, *Anon. Life of (B.H.L. 1070)*, 24-25, 35
 Bede, *Brevis Commemoratio (B.H.L. 1071)*, 34-6, 39
 Bedesfeld, 43, 117, 254, 332, 353
 Bedfordshire, 2
 Beehive huts, 325-6
 Belford, 333
 Bell, Richard, Prior of Durham, Bp of Carlisle, 28
 Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, 329, 331, 345, 358
 Benedict, St, of Nursia, 28, 40, 97, 203, 223, 316-17, 321-2, 324, 326-7, 329, 347, 350, 358
 Benoît I, de Béthune, Abbot of St Omer, 17
 Beornhaeth, sub-king of Northumbria, 334
Beowulf, 10, 329, 343
 Berach, St, 311, 351
 Berlière, U., 342
 Berne, 36; see also under MSS
 Bertin, St, 17
 Beta, priest of Lindisfarne, 115, 331
 Betwald, priest at Verca's monastery, 266, 331, 353
 Beverley, 9, 42, 356; see also under John
 Bewcastle Cross, 10, 346, 354
 Birinus, Bp of West Saxons, 35
 Bissay, Brough of, 326
 Blasius, St, 41
 Bobbio, 39-40
 Bodleian Library, Oxford, 22-3, 26; see also under MSS
 Boisil, Prior of Melrose, 4-5, 12, 173, 175, 181, 183, 185, 187, 231, 333, 335, 340-1, 345-6
 Bollandists, viii, 37-8, 42, 51, 53-4, 314, 332, 357; see also under MSS
 Bonaventura, St, 30
 Bond, E. A., 42
 Bongars, J., 36, 52
 Boniface, St, Abp of Mainz, 2, 340
 Bonnefontaine, 42, 53
 Bordeaux, 338
 Bosa, Abbot of Melrose and Lindisfarne, 8-9, 110, 330
 Bosco, Johannes de Sacro, see Holywood, J.
 Boston, John, monk of Bury, 41
 Brendan, St, of Clonfert, 36, 319, 350

- Bright, W., 331, 343, 351, 357
 Brigid, St, 351
 British Museum, 10, 32; see also under MSS
 Brønsted, J., 311
 Brough Hall, Yorks., 32
 Brown, G. Baldwin, 326, 346
 Browne, G. F., 319
 Brunanburh, 322
 Brüning, G., 31
 Brussels, 18, 38; see also under MSS
 Burgh Castle, 318
 Bury, see Richard
 Bury St Edmunds, 41
 Butler, Cuthbert, 316, 325
- Cabrol, F., 344
 Cadwallon, King of the British, 5
 Caedmon, monk of Whitby, 335, 352
 Caesarius of Arles, 347
 Cainnech, St, of Aghaboe, 331
 Cambrai, 33, 38; see also under MSS
 Cambrensis, see Giraldus
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ix, 20; see also under MSS
 Cambridge, Trinity College, ix, 21; see also under MSS
 Camden, W., 314
 Canons, 112, 331
 Canterbury, 331, 334
 Canterbury, St Augustine's, 25
 Capgrave, J., 37
 Capuchins, 338
 Carilef, see William
 Carlisle (*Luel, Lugubalia*), viii, 4, 28, 32, 44, 117, 123, 125, 243, 327, 332, 334-6
 Castell, T., Prior of Durham, 29, 327
 Castor, 345
 Cedd, St, Abbot of Lastingham, 312, 318, 329, 358
 Celtic forms of Christianity, vii, 5, 7, 9, 56-7, 285, 310, 316, 323, 331, 351, 356-7
 Ceolbercht, monk of Jarrow, 305, 359
 Ceolfrith, Abbot of Jarrow, 8, 10
 Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria, 345
 Chad (Ceadda), St, Bp of York and of the Mercians, 7, 9, 312, 319, 323, 330, 335, 340, 356
 Chadwick, H. M., ix, 310, 329, 334, 352
 Chadwick, N. K., 322, 329, 334, 352
 Chambers, R. W., 329
- Chapter House, 348
 Chapter Meeting, 4, 211, 348
 Chariots, 245, 351
 Charles, Comte de l'Escalopier, 38
 Chartres, 28
 Chester-le-Street (*Kuncestre*), 2, 4, 20, 37, 44, 71, 314, 357
 Chesters, Great (*Aesica*), 332
 Christ, K., 39
 Christianity, attitude of common people to, 163, 165, 185, 343
 Christmas, 83, 193, 247, 271, 293, 359
 Chrysostom, St, 38
 Churches, 127, 245, 259, 263, 265, 279, 299, 336, 339, 353, 354-5
 Ciaran, St, of Clonmacnois, 320
 Cirey, J. de, 34
 Cîteaux, 34
 Clairvaux, 36
 Clement, see Willibrord
 Clovesho, council of, 346-7
 Coemgen, St, 312, 319
 Coens, M., 19
 Coenswith, see Kenswith
 Coffin, see under Cuthbert
 Coldingham, 4, 81, 189, 318
 Colgan, J., 53
 Collingwood, R. G., 330
 Colman, St, Bp of Lindisfarne, 7, 9, 311, 313, 324, 327, 358
 Cologne, 38, 42, 52-5, 313
 Columba, St, of Iona, 5, 31, 311, 316, 322, 329, 333, 351, 354, 356; see also Adamnan
 Columcille Loch, Scotland, 326
 Comitatus, 249, 352
 Compiègne, 42, 53
 Confirmation, 253
 Cook, A. S., 329
 Coptic Monasteries, 326
 Coquet Island, 4, 103, 234-5, 328; see also Henry
 Corbie, 41
 Corbridge, 10
 Cornwall, 2
 Cotton, Robert, 27; see also under MSS
 Coventry, 21
 Cowper's Hill, 27
 Coxe, H. O., 26
 Craster, H. H. E., 23-9, 333
 Crawford, O. G. S., 318
 Crediton, 20-1
 Crescentia, St, 41

- Crosses, 10, 273, 354; see also Acca,
 Bewcastle, Ruthwell
 Crump, C. G., 333
 Cudda, 273, 332, 338, 355
 Cuddy's Cave, 324
 Cuddy's Well, 324, 327
 Curtius, E. R., 3
 Cuthbert:
 Birth, date of, 5, 323
 Child prophecies his bishopric, 65,
 155, 311
 Diseased knee cured, 21, 67, 159,
 312, 344
 Rafts saved by his prayers, 15, 161,
 342
 Death of Aidan revealed to him, 69,
 165, 312, 343
 Food supplied near Chester-le-
 Street, 15, 71, 169, 314, 320,
 343-4
 Enters Melrose, 5-6, 12, 14-15, 173,
 344
 Visited by angel at Ripon, 5, 77,
 175, 312, 314, 345
 Leaves Ripon, 181, 346
 Boisil's death and prophecies con-
 cerning Cuthbert, 5, 15, 181, 346
 Instructs the people, 185, 197, 199,
 209, 253, 255, 257, 261, 346
 Miracle of otters at Coldingham, 79,
 189, 320, 347
 Fed on dolphin flesh, 83, 193, 314,
 347
 Fed by an eagle, 85, 195, 314, 320-2
 Extinguishes illusory fire, 87, 199,
 322
 Visits foster-mother, 6, 89, 201, 322
 Extinguishes fire at *Hruringaham*,
 89, 201, 322, 347
 Casts out devil from Hildmer's wife,
 91, 203, 323, 347
 Becomes prior of Lindisfarne, 7, 95,
 207, 324, 347-8
 Retires to Farne, 7, 97, 215, 325, 349
 Drives out demons, 97, 215, 325
 Builds a dwelling, 97, 217, 312, 326
 Obtains a fountain by his prayers,
 99, 217, 327, 349
 Banishes birds from his crops, 221,
 320, 350
 Drives away ravens, 101, 223, 320,
 327, 350
 Timber miraculously supplied, 99,
 225, 327
 Many flock to him, 229, 351
 Attacked by devils, 97, 229, 325,
 351
 Cures Aelfflaed and her maiden, 12,
 231, 351
 Aelfflaed's questions, 103, 235, 328-9
 Cures gesith's servant, 121, 239,
 333
 Becomes bishop, 8, 111, 241, 330,
 351
 Visits Carlisle, 123, 243, 334, 351
 Ecgrith's death revealed, 123, 243,
 334, 352
 Meets Hereberht, 15, 125, 249, 335,
 352
 Cures gesith's wife, 115, 253, 331
 Cures a nun of head pains, 117, 255,
 332, 352, 353
 Cures Hildmer, 255, 340, 353
 Cures a youth near Carlisle, 117,
 257, 332, 353
 Cures a dying child of plague, 119,
 259, 333, 353
 Reveals Hadwald's death, 15, 127,
 261, 312, 335, 353
 Changes water into wine, 139, 265,
 340, 343, 353
 Resigns bishopric, 129, 267, 337
 Returns to Farne, 129, 267, 312,
 337, 354
 Miracle of goose, 16, 267, 354
 Last illness, 129, 271, 337, 354-6
 Cures Walhstod, 129, 281, 337,
 356
 Last commands to brethren, vii,
 283, 356-7
 Death, 8, 131, 285, 337, 357
 Preparations for burial, 131, 279,
 289, 337, 357
 Burial robes, 131, 133, 273, 293,
 297, 337
 News reaches Lindisfarne, 287,
 357
 Demoniac cured at tomb, 133, 289,
 340, 358
 Body discovered incorrupt, 131,
 291, 338, 358
 Translation, 13, 295, 339, 358-9
 Sick cleric from Frisia cured, 135,
 297, 359
 Boy healed by his shoes, 137, 299,
 340, 359
 Cuthbert's successors on Farne, 16,
 301, 359

- Cuthbert (*cont.*)
 Age, 5, 323
 Asceticism, 75, 113, 165, 167, 169, 175, 189, 193, 195, 211, 215, 221, 247, 277, 315, 337, 348
 Attitude to women, 318-19
 Churches dedicated to, 2, 29
 Coffin, 10, 131, 273, 289, 295, 297, 338-9, 354, 358-9
 Fondness for birds and animals, 71, 81, 87, 101, 103, 191, 197, 221, 223, 225, 320, 328, 350
 Illness, nature of, 354-5
 Military service, 73, 315
 Prophetic powers, 83, 85, 87, 91, 99, 103, 105, 123, 125, 127, 139, 185, 193, 195, 199, 205, 211, 227, 235, 243, 245, 251, 261, 263, 321
 Reputation of, 1, 279, 289, 355-6, 358
 Social position, 173, 312, 344
 Tears, 213, 348
 Virtues of, 3-4, 75, 105, 107, 113, 155, 179, 203, 207, 209, 211, 229, 243, 251, 285, 316, 331
 Wanderings of body, 339
 Wrappings of body, 131, 133, 273, 293, 295, 297, 337, 338
 Other Lives, etc., of:
 Brevis Relatio de Sancto Cuthberto, 22, 25-6, 29-32, 34-5, 37, 49
 Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, 2, 20, 24, 35, 336
 "Irish" Life, 23, 29, 30, 319
 Metrical Life (English), 327, 342-3, 355, 359
 Metrical Life (Bede's), 1-3, 20-4, 26-7, 29, 39, 147, 331; see also Jaager
 Posthumous Miracles, 22, 24-39
 Sources of Lives of, 11-14
 Cuthbert, disciple of Bede, 1
 Cuthfrith, Abbot, 342
 Cyneheard, Aetheling of Wessex, 352
 Cynewulf, King of Wessex, 352
 Cynewulf, poet, 358
 Cyniburh, Mercian princess, 345-6
 Cynimund, monk of Lindisfarne, 12, 271, 289, 354, 358
 Cyprian, St, 17
 Cyricus, St, 41
 Dalton, H., 22
 Danes, 330, 357
 Daniell, J., 27
 Darlington, R. R., 311
 Davis, H. W. C., 333
 Death, foreknowledge of, 103, 105, 123, 129, 183, 245, 251, 261, 263, 267, 271, 335, 346
 Decani, 130, 339
 Decker, A., 42
 Deerness, Brough of, 326
 Delehaye, H., 11, 313, 339
 Delisle, L., 39
 Depositio, 358
 Derbyshire, 2
 Derwent River, 249
 Derwentwater, 15, 125, 249, 335
 Deusdedit, Abp of Canterbury, 331
 Devils' attacks; see under Cuthbert
 Dickins, Bruce, ix, 316
 Didymus of Alexandria, 335
 Digby, K., 22; see also under MSS
 Dijon, 34; see also under MSS
 Dimock, J. F., 322
 Dionysius the Areopagite, 328
 Dionysius Exiguus, 310
 Doddington, 324, 327
 Dodds, M. Hope, 23
 Dol, see Samson
 Dolphin, 83, 85, 195, 314, 321
 Dorchester, 21
 Dormitory, 211
 Dorsetshire, 2
 Double Monasteries, see Monasteries
 Dress, 111, 213, 293, 295, 297, 348-9
 Drihthelm of Melrose, 319, 325
 Druids, 316
 Dubricius, St, 358
 Du Cange, C. du F., 342, 348
 Dumfriesshire, 320
 Dümmler, E. L., 2
 Dunraven, Lord, 325
 Dunstan, St, Abp of Canterbury, 18, 20, 35-6, 39, 325, 330, 348
 Durham, 2, 26, 37, 54, 311, 313, 318, 332, 336, 339-40, 342, 354, 356
 Ancient catalogues of books in Chapter Library, 20-1, 23, 26-7, 30-3, 40-1
 Bp Cosin's Library, 54
 Chapter Library, ix, 10, 32-3, 40, 54, 338, 354, 358

- Durham (*cont.*)
 Lists of Bishops of Lindisfarne and, 21, 26, 31, 34, 37
 Lists of relics at, 21, 28, 34
 MSS written in, 20-8, 30, 32-3, 47-9, 50
 Priory, 20-1, 356
 Red Book of, 28
- Eadberht, Bp of Lindisfarne, 4, 9, 16, 131, 287, 293, 297, 310-11, 335, 339-40, 357, 359
- Eadfrith, Bp of Lindisfarne, 16, 61, 143, 303, 310-11, 340
- Eadhaeth, Bp of Lindsey, 8-9
- Eadmer, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, 35
- Eadswith, wife of Hildmer, 204, 347-8
- Eagle, 85, 197, 322
- Eanfled, Northumbrian Queen, 5, 318, 328, 335, 355
- Earcongota, nun and princess, 335, 338
- Eardulf, Bp of Lindisfarne, 357
- Easter, 219, 317, 349, 359
- Easter, date of, 7, 285, 310, 316, 324, 345, 356
- Eata, Abbot of Melrose and Bp of Lindisfarne, 4, 7-9, 24, 95, 175, 181, 183, 207, 241, 316, 324, 345-6, 348, 351
- Ebba, St, see Aebbe
- Ebchester, 318
- Ebner, A., 342
- Ecclesiastical Robes, 133, 338
- Ecgbert, priest in Ireland, 345
- Ecgrith, King of Northumbria, 4, 7-8, 43, 103, 105, 111, 121, 123, 205, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 249, 311, 318-19, 323, 329, 330, 334, 347, 352-3
- Echternach, 340
- Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Wilfrid*, 10, 26, 60-1, 310-11, 316, 322-3, 330-1, 333-4, 337, 340, 355
- Editions (previous) of *V.A.*, 51
 of *V.P.*, 51-5
- Edmund, St, King of East Anglia, 1, 35, 338
- Edward the Confessor, King of England, 25, 31
- Edward the Elder, King of England, 2
- Edward of Shaftesbury, King of England, 28
- Edwards, E., 41
- Edwin, King of Northumbria, 5, 352
- Egypt, 295, 312, 314-15, 317, 319-21, 325-6, 328, 331, 349, 359
- Ehfridus, 329
- Ehwald, R., 329
- Eiderduck, 320
- Eilean na Naiomh, Scotland, 326
- Ekphonesis, 348
- Ekwall, E., 318
- Elias, priest of Lindisfarne, 65, 311
- Eligius, St, 312
- Ellvyt, W., 22
- Elmham, Bp of, 334
- Ely, 318
- Epiphany, 83, 193, 321
- Escalopier, see under Charles
- Escomb, 10
- Eton, 31
- Eustathius, Egyptian hermit, 315
- Evagrius Life of Antony*, 4, 11-13, 16, 62, 74, 104, 106, 258, 310, 312-13, 315, 321, 325, 336, 350-1, 355-6
- Evagrius Scolasticus, 4, 11, 310
- Exeter, 41
- Eyre, C., 325, 332, 357
- Eyrsdon, J., 29
- Farne Island, 3-4, 7, 16, 29, 97, 215, 293, 310, 313, 320, 325-7, 332, 337, 342, 355, 359
- Fasti*, see Ovidius
- Fasting, 169, 314-15, 343-4; see also under Asceticism
- Fechin, St, 322, 327
- Feet-washing, 77, 177, 219, 275, 317, 349-50
- Felgild, hermit of Farne, 301, 303, 325, 359
- Felix, *Life of St Guthlac*, 18, 325, 351
- Fell, Bp, 26; see also under MSS
- Filibert, St, 18
- Fina, Irish princess, 329
- Finnchua, St, of Bri Gobann, 315
- Finnian, St, of Clonard, 311
- Fintan, St, of Clonenagh, 322, 335
- Flambard, Ranulf, Bp of Durham, 357
- Fleury, see Abbo
- Florence of Worcester, 345
- Florus of Lyons, 2
- Forbes-Leith, W., 31, 55
- Forcer, J., 32, 54-5
- Forcer, W., 54

- Forfarshire, 334
 Förster, Max, 37, 320
 Forth, River, 8
 Fosterage, 91, 201, 322, 344
 Fowler, J. T., 26-7, 31, 327, 355
 Franks, 340
 Franks' Casket, 10
 Frazer, J., 336
 Frece, W. H., 24
 Fridegoda, 30
 Fridumund, monk of Jarrow, 266,
 353
 Frisians, 297, 340
 Fugitives, 279, 355
 Fulda, 2, 39
 Fursey, Irish hermit, 318, 325, 328,
 338
 Gainford, 344
 Games, 65, 67, 155, 157, 311
 Garstell, S., 22
 Gascoigne, T., 28
 Gaul, 7, 318, 324, 349
 Genuflexions, 219, 350
 Geoffrey (Galfridus) of Coldingham,
 24, 34
 George I, King of England, 356
 Germanus, Bp of Auxerre, 36, 42,
 333
 Gesith, 115, 121, 239, 241, 253, 331
 Gheyn, Van den J., 18, Addenda
 Gibson, E., 314
 Giles, J. A., 51, 55
 Gilsland, 314
 Giraldus Cambrensis, 322
 Girdle, 233
 Glastonbury, 2, 21, 42
 Glosses, Anglo-Saxon, 27, 46
 Godric, St, of Finchale, 24, 34
 Goldbacher, A., 349
 Gospel Books, 183, 346
 Gotha, 37; see also under MSS
 Gottlieb, T., 39
 Gougaud, L., 315-16, 319, 323-4, 344,
 350
 Gravisset, J., 36
 Gregory I the Great, Pope, 10, 42,
 209, 325, 339, 343, 348, 352
 Dialogues, 12, 14, 16, 35, 176, 192,
 200, 202, 240, 252, 284, 296, 298,
 315, 321-2, 326-7, 337, 341, 347,
 350, 358
 Gregory of Tours, 29, 313
 Greystanes, Robert de, see Robert
- Grosjean, P., ix, Addenda
 Guesthouse, 79, 135, 137, 177, 217,
 223, 269, 275, 277, 299, 317, 327,
 343, 355
 Guestmaster, 77, 177, 317
 Günter, H., 13
 Guthfrith, sacrist of Lindisfarne, 147,
 342, 359
 Guthlac, St, hermit of Croyland, 18,
 28, 325, 351
 Hacfurth, W., 29
 Hadwald, servant of Aelfflaed, 15,
 127, 265, 312, 336, 353
 Haemgils, priest, 325
 Hagen, H., 36
 Hahn, H., 12, 341
 Hákonar Saga, 316
 Halfdene, Danish King, 357
 Halifax, 336
 Hamilton, N. E. S. A., 334
 Harbour House, 32, 54
 Hartlepool, 318, 328
 Hawkes, C. F. C., 326
 Hearne, T., 42
 Heathen superstitions, 165, 185, 343,
 346
 Heathfield, battle of, 5
 Heavenfield, battle of, 5
 Heinemann, O. von, 37
 Helaugh, H., 25, 40
 Hell-shoon, 337
 Hemma, gesith, 115, 252, 331
 Henna, see Penna
 Henry, St, of Coquet Island, 328
 Herbert, see Hereberht
 Herbert, J. A., 31
 Hereberht, hermit, 15, 125, 249, 251,
 326, 352
 Hereford, 2, 337
 Herefrith, monk and Abbot of Lindis-
 farne, 5, 12, 14, 145, 181, 231,
 273-89, 337, 341, 346, 351
 Hermits, 111, 125, 155, 325-6, 328,
 349, 359
 Hersley, T., 22
 Hertford, Council of, 340
 Hertypulle, W., 30
 Hervagius, J., 37, 51
 Hesiod, 336
 Hexham, 7-10, 32, 117, 324, 326, 332,
 339, 351, 354, 356
 Hieronymian martyrology, 2
 Hilberg, I., 339, 349

- Hilda, St, Abbess of Whitby, 8, 318, 328, 330, 343
 Hildebald, Abp of Cologne, 42
 Hildmer, reeve of King Ecgrith, 3, 91, 93, 205, 211, 257, 323
 Hilpisch, S., 318
 Hinde, Hodgson, 20-2
Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, see under Cuthbert
 Hobson, G. D., 346
 Hoddick, F., 18
 Hodgkin, R. H., 330
 Holburn, Northumberland, 324
 Holt, P., 53
 Holywood, J., 30
 Honeywood, M., Dean of Lincoln, 33
 Howlett, R., 338
Hruringaham, 6, 43, 91, 200, 323
 Hughes, A., 333
 Hugo, St, of Lincoln, 42
 Hugo, see Puisset
 Hwaetberht, Abbot of Wearmouth, 330
 Hygebald, Bp of Lindisfarne, 352
- Iceland, 353
 Ignatius, St, Bp of Antioch, 38
 Immersion, 81, 189, 319
 Incantations, 185, 343, 346
 Incense, 355
 Incurruption, 131, 133, 137, 291, 293, 297, 299, 338
 Ine, King of Wessex, 355
 Ingeld, prince of the Heathbeardan, 352
 Ingwald, monk of Wearmouth, 171, 344
 Inishmurray, Ireland, 325
 Intoxicants, 175, 265, 341, 343, 345, 353
 Iona, 4-5, 7, 23, 105, 313, 329, 340, 356
 Irish, 8, 23, 237, 239, 311-12, 315, 319-20, 322, 325-9, 333, 340, 344, 347-50, 356, 359
 Isidore, Bp. of Seville, 110-12, 331
 Iso Magister, 337
 Iurminburg, wife of Ecgrith, 123, 319, 328-9, 334-5
- Jaeger, W., 1, 14, 29, 53, 331, 357
 Jacobs, F., 37
 James I, King of England, 356
 James the Less, 350
 James, M. R., 20-1, 25
- Jarrow, 1, 8, 10, 173, 305, 329, 342, 344, 353-4, 359
 Jerome, St, 17, 358
Life of St Paul, 310
Epistles, 339, 349
 Jerusalem, 358
 Jews, 344
 John, St, of Beverley, 9, 326, 331, 356
 John, St, of Lycopolis, 326, 328
 John, St, of Reome, 35
 Johnson, C., 333
 Johnston, J. B., 322
 Jones, C. W., 349
 Joscelin, John, 31
 Julian, Bp of Le Mans, 24
 Julian, Emperor, 335
 Julitta, St, 41
 Jumièges, 18
 Junge, Lisclotte, 350
- Kendrick, T. D., 326
 Kenneth MacAlpin, 344
 Kenswith, foster-mother of Cuthbert, 6, 43, 51, 89, 201, 319, 322
 Kent, 5, 334
 Kentenich, G., 19
 Kentigern, St, 323, 358
 Ker, N. P., 28
 Kershaw, N., see Chadwick, N. K.
 Keuffer, M., 19
Kintis, 115, 252, 331
 Kirkcudbright, 321
 Krusch, B., 19
Kuncaester, see Chester-le-Street
 Kurtz, B. P., 325, 351
 Kyloe Hills, Northumberland, 324
- Lagarde, P. de, 358
 Lammermuir Hills, 323
 Lanchester, 314
 Laon, 35; see also under MSS
 Lard, 225
 Lastingham, 358
 Lawson, J., 32
 Leader, River, 4, 69, 165, 313, 323, 343
 Lehmann, P., 39, 42
 Leicestershire, 2
 Leigh, T., 27
 Leigh, W., 27
 Lelonde, M., 27
 Le Mans, 24
 Lent, 293, 321, 358
 Leonard, St, 36, 42
 Lérins, 315

- Lessudden, 345
- Levison, W., ix, 3, 16, 19, 30, 42, 310, 315-16, 324, 331, 333, 341, 348-9, 359
- Liber Vitae, 311, 317, 321, 328, 331, 333, 335-7, 341-2, 344-5, 353-5, 359
- Lichfield, 7
- Liebermann, F., 329
- Life, active and contemplative, 95, 215, 229, 324-5, 349
- Lincoln, ix, 33, 39, 334; see also under Hugo and under MSS
- Lindisfarne, 2, 5, 7-9, 11, 14, 21, 26, 37, 91, 95, 111, 131, 143, 145, 167, 173, 175, 181, 207, 209, 215, 229, 239, 241, 247, 285, 287, 289, 299, 305, 310, 313, 318, 321, 323-5, 332-3, 336, 339, 341-2, 346-9, 351-2, 355-9
- Anonymous Monk of, *passim*
- Gospels, 10, 310, 332
- List of bishops of, see under Durham
- Lindsey, 8
- Lingard, J., 357
- Llantwit, 326, 333, 359
- Loedra, 170, 343
- London, 334
- Lorsch, 40
- Louvain, 53
- Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 359
- Luel, see Carlisle
- Lugaid, St, of Lismore, see Mulucc
- Lugubalia, see Carlisle
- Lull, Bp of Mainz, 1
- Lycopolis, see John
- Lydgate, John, 24
3. Arras 812 (A), 17, 43-5, 314
4. Harl. 2800 (H), 15, 18-20, 43-4, 321
5. Brussels 207-8 (B), 15, 18-20, 43-4, 321
6. Trier 1151 (T), viii, 19, 43-4, 51, 314, 321
7. Paris Bibl. Nat. Fonds Lat., 5289 (P), 19, 43-4, 321
- V.P. 1. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 183 (C₁), 20, 45-6, 50, 54
2. Trinity College Cambridge O.1.64 (C₂), 21, 48, 50
3. Trinity College Cambridge O.3.55 (C₃), 21, 31, 35, 48-50, 343, 353, 358-9
4. Oxford Digby 175 (O₁), 22, 25, 47-50, 54
5. Oxford Bodl. 109 (O₂), 22, 23, 48, 50, 54-5
6. Oxford Fairfax 6 (O₃), 23, 29, 34, 48-50, 55, 339, 343, 353, 358-9
7. Oxford Bodl. 596 (O₄), 22, 24, 48, 50, 55
8. Oxford Digby 20 (O₅), 22, 25, 48, 50
9. Oxford Digby 59 (O₆), 22, 25, 48, 50, 55, 339
10. Oxford Fell 3 (O₇), 26, 45, 46-7, 50
11. Oxford Laud Misc. 491 (O₈), 21, 26, 48, 50, 55
12. Oxford Univ. Coll. 165 (O₉), 22, 26, 48, 50
13. B.M. Cott. Vit. A. xix (V), 27, 45-7, 50, 55, 57
14. B.M. Harl. 1117 (H), 28, 45-6, 50, 54-5, 57
15. B.M. Harl. 1924 (H₁), 28, 48, 50, 339
16. B.M. Harl. 4843 (H₂), 24, 28-9, 34, 48-50, 339, 343, 353, 358-9
17. B.M. Arun. 222 (Ar₁), 29, 45-7, 50, 55
18. B.M. Arun. 332 (Ar₂), 29, 48, 50, 339, 343
19. B.M. Cott. Otho D. viii (Oth), 30, 48, 50
20. B.M. Cott. Claud. A. i (Cl), 21, 30, 48, 50
1. St Omer 267 (O₁), viii, 17, 43-5, 51
2. St Omer 715 (O₂), 17, 43-5

Manuscripts (*cont.*)

- V.P. 21. B.M. Add. 35110 (Ad₁), 31, 48, 50, 339
22. B.M. Add. 39943 (Ad₂), viii, 27, 31, 48, 50, 54-5, 339
23. Durham Chap. Lib. A. iv. 35 (Du), viii, 32-3, 48, 50, 339
24. Lincoln Chap. Lib. B. i. 9 (Li), 33, 48, 50, 316
25. Cambrai 816 (Cm), 33, 48-50
26. Dijon 574 (Dj₁), 34, 48-50, 339
27. Dijon 657 (Dj₂), 21, 34-5, 48, 50, 339
28. Laon 163 bis (La), 35, 48-50
29. Paris Bibl. Nat. Fonds Lat. 5362 (P₁), 35, 45-7, 50
30. Paris Bibl. Nat. Fonds Lat. 2475 (P₂), 35, 48, 50
31. Paris Bibl. Nat. Fonds Lat. 5348 (P₃), 36, 45-7, 50
32. Montpellier 1 (M), 36, 48-50
33. Berne-Stadtbibliothek 392 (Bn), viii, 36, 42, 48, 50, 52
34. Gotha Herzog. Bib. 1. 81 (Go), viii, 37, 48, 50
35. Wolfenbüttel Herzog. Bib. 2738 (W), 37, 45, 48, 50
36. Bollandist Library, Brussels 353 (Bo), 38, 48-50
37. Vienna Nationalbibliothek 9394 (Vn), 38, 45, 48, 50
38. Vatican Library Reg. Succ. 483 (Va), 38, 42, 48-50, 339
- Lost, 39-42
- Other, Oxford Bodl. Tanner 165, 41
- Cambridge Peterhouse 163, 41
- B.M. Cott. Domit. vii, 342
- B.M. Cott. Nero A. ii, 22
- B.M. Cott. Vit. C. vi, 42
- B.M. Harl. 50, 41
- Durham Chap. Lib. A. iii. 16, 40
- Durham Repertorium Magnum, 41
- York Chap. Lib. XVI. i. 12, 22
- Relations of, V.A., 43-5
- V.P., 45-50
- Marcellinus of Ancona, 203, 323, 347
- Margaret, St, Virgin and Martyr, 35
- Martialis, St, 33
- Martin, St, 17, 42, 312-13, 315, 317, 321, 323, 330, 332; see also under Sulpicius Severus
- Martinelli, 313
- Martyrologies, 2
- Martyrs, 133, 135, 137, 139, 289, 291, 315-16, 340, 358
- Mary, St, of Egypt, 35
- Maserfield, battle of, 6
- Mass, 127, 135, 147, 213, 263, 265, 297, 336, 348, 359
- Masson, I., 36, 52
- Maundy Thursday, 219, 349-50
- Mawer, A., ix, 314, 333, 344
- Maximin, St, 19
- Meaux, 42, 335
- Medilwong*, 43, 51, 119, 260, 321, 333
- Meigle, 351
- Meletians, 356
- Mellitus, St, Abp of Canterbury, 339, 343
- Melrose, 4, 6-7, 12, 14, 23, 81, 83, 95, 117, 173, 177, 207, 231, 241, 255, 313, 316-17, 319, 321-5, 332, 341, 344, 348, 352
- Mercati, G., 40
- Merthyr Cynog, 316
- Merthyr Tydfil, 316
- Metrical Life, see under Cuthbert
- Metz, 38
- Middleton in Ilderton, 333
- Millar, E. G., 20, 27, 31
- Minster, Thanet, 318
- Minstrelsy, 352
- Mochuda, St, of Rahen, 312
- Modestus, St, 41
- Mommsen, T., 16
- Monasteries, double, 81, 127, 189, 245, 263, 318
- Monastic Rules, 95-7, 175, 177, 207, 209, 211, 316-17, 324, 328, 339, 343, 345, 347-9
- Monkwearmouth, see Wearmouth
- Montfaucon, B. de, 41-2
- Montpellier, 36; see also under MSS
- Mulucc, 23
- Mynors, R. A. B., ix, 24, 28, 41
- Myres, J. N. L., 330, 334
- Napkins, 355
- Naples, 331

- Nassau, 18
 Nechtansmerc, battle of, 8, 123, 230-311, 329, 334, 353
 Neville's Cross, battle of, 29
 Newburgh, see William
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 31
 Niduari, 51, 83, 193, 320
 Nile River, 314
 Nith River, 320
 Norfolk, 2
 Normans, 319
 Norse, 315
 Notker, of St Gall, 2
 Nottinghamshire, 2
 Nunnewick, William de, 40
- Obley, 131
 Odo, St, Abp of Canterbury, 35, 38
 Odo, St, Bp of Cambrai, 38
 Offices, daily, 79, 81, 177, 191, 287, 301, 347, 357, 359
 Oil, consecrated, 117, 255
 Omont, H., 41
 Onions, 277, 355
 Orkney Islands, 326
Osingadun, see Ovington
 Oswald, St, King of Northumbria, 5-6, 22, 24, 26, 31-5, 39-40, 311, 313-14, 318, 338, 343, 345
 Oswini, St, King of Deira, 6, 313, 329, 356
 Oswiu, King of Northumbria, vii, 5-7, 189, 313, 315, 318, 328-9, 345
 Oswulf, King of Northumbria, 333
 Othona, 318
 Otmar, St, Abbot of St Gall, 337
 Otters, 81, 191, 319
 Ovenden, 336
 Ovidius Naso, 336
 Ovingham, 336
 Ovington, 127, 262, 322, 335-6
 Owini, monk at Lichfield, 319
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ix; see also under MSS
 Durham College, 41
 University College, 26-7
- Pace, E., ix
 Painswick, Gloucestershire, 27
 Palermo, 338
 Paley, F. A., 336
 Palladius, *Lausiac History*, 315, 335, 345
- Paris, 39, 53
 Abbey of St Victor, 36, 42, 52
 Bibliothèque Nationale, ix, 19, 35-6, 42; see also under MSS
 Patrick, St, 312, 319, 332, 354
 Paulinus, St, Bp of York, 5, 313, 334
 Paulinus of Milan, 310
 Pausanias, 338
 Pearl, 358
 Penda, King of Mercia, 5-6, 313, 315, 328, 345
 Penitentials, 347
 Penna, witness of a miracle, 117, 332
 Pepper, 355
 Perthshire, 351
 Petau, Alexander, 41
 Petau, Paul, 39
 Petrus, "Plenus amoris", 23
 Philip, Bp of Durham, 34
 Phillipps, T., 31
 Physicians, 69, 137, 161, 231, 259, 279, 299, 312, 340
 Picts, 83, 123, 193, 239, 243, 311, 320-1, 329, 334, 353, 357
 Pippin, Duke of the Franks, 340
 Plague, 119, 181, 183, 185, 245, 247, 249, 259, 333, 341, 352, 354
 Plawsworth, 54
 Plecgils, 12, 43-4, 79, 317
 Plummer, Charles, 15-16, 20, 23, 56, 311, 327, 333, 337, 342, 345-6, 348, 352-3, 358
 Plummer, Selby, 354-5
 Possidius, *Life of St Augustine*, 14, 16, 282, 349, 356
 Poultrices, 69, 161
 Psalm Singing, 121, 171, 211, 261, 285, 287, 301, 357
 Puiset, Hugo, Bp of Durham, 21, 26, 31
 Pylkington, Leonard, prebendary of Durham, 26
- Quintus Curtius, 338
- Radcliff, H., 22
 Rafts, 163, 342
 Raine, James the elder, 27-8, 31-2, 325, 338-9, 342, 349, 359
 Ramsey, 343
 Ramsey Chronicle, 30
 Raphael, archangel, 161
 Ravens, 101, 103, 223, 327
 Reculver, 318

- Redin, Nils, 311, 321, 330-1, 334, 355
 Redwald, King of East Anglia, 343
 Reeves, W., 31, 311, 319, 329, 333, 340, 354, 356
 Reginald of Durham, 1, 22, 24, 28-9, 332, 338, 358
 Relics, 119, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 233, 257, 289, 291, 299, 301, 311, 313, 329, 338-9, 353, 355-6, 358
 elevation of, 4, 131, 293, 339
 lists of, see under Durham
 Reome (Moutier-Saint-Jean), 35
 Repton, 318
 Rest, midday, 4, 213, 265, 348
 Rhabanus Maurus, Abp of Mentz, 2
 Rheuma, 215, 349
 Richard de Bury, 24
 Richard II, King of England, 30
 Riding on horseback, 71, 93, 161, 171, 173, 185, 207, 323, 344, 351
 Rievaulx, 41; see also Ailred
 Ripon, 7, 9-10, 12, 77, 175, 314, 316-17, 324, 339-41, 344-5, 356, 359
 Robert de Greystanes, 24
 Robinson, J. A., 20
 Rodez, 20
 Rogers, W., 27
 Roman Christianity, 6-7, 316, 345, 348, 356
 Roman remains, 123, 245, 314, 318, 334
 Rombaut, St, of Malines, 38
 Rome, 6, 8, 331, 345
 Rouge-Cloître, near Brussels, 38
 Roxburgh, 322, 345
 Rudd, Thomas, Chapter Librarian at Durham, 54
 Rufinus, Tyrannius, 312
Ruin, The, 334
 Rule of St Benedict, 97, 316-17, 324, 328, 339, 347, 357; see also Monastic Rules
 Rule of St Columban, 324-5; see also Monastic Rules
 Ruthwell Cross, 10, 354
 Ryan, J., 315, 317, 319, 323, 344, 348-9, 351, 359
 Sabatier, P., 56
 Sabbath keeping, 245, 351
 Sacraments, 131, 205, 357
 Sagas, see Story-telling
 St Abb's Head, 318
 St Bertin, 17
 St Boswell's, 345
 St Cuthbert's Gut, 327
 St Cuthbert's Isle, 349
 St Gall, 2, 39
 St Herbert's Isle, 326, 335
 St Michel's Church, Bordeaux, 338
 St Omer, 17; see also under MSS
 Saintyves, P., 338
 Salisbury, 26
 Samson, St, of Dol, 312, 326, 333, 345, 358-9
 Sarcophagus, 273; see also under Cuthbert's coffin
 Savage, H. C., 343
 Savile, Henry, 23, 31
 Sawyer, E. H., 326
 Saxons, 111, 330
 Schenkl, C., 333
 Schenkl, H., 21, 23, 31
 Scot, Michael, 338
 Scotland, 2, 20, 316, 319, 321, 326
 Scott, Walter, 320
 Scrope, R. le, Abp of York, 32
 Searle, W. G., 345
 Sebastian, St, 41
 Sebbi, King of Essex, 335
 Sedulius, Coelius, 3
 Serapion Scholasticus, 355
 Sergius, Pope, 340
 Severinus, Bp of Cologne, 313
 Severn River, 6
 Shaw, H., 18
 Shepherds, 165, 312, 344
 huts of, 71, 127, 171, 314
 Sherborne, 21
 Shere Thursday, see Maundy Thursday
 Shoes, 131, 133, 137, 139, 181, 219, 225, 299, 337
 Shropshire, 2
 Sibba, gesith, 43, 121, 240, 334
 Sibford, Oxfordshire, 334
 Sibton, Suffolk, 334
 Sigberht, King of Essex, 329, 334
 Sigfrith, monk of Melrose and Jarrow, 173, 317, 345
Silvestri Actus, 11-12, 42, 64, 76, 316
 Simeon Stylites, 312, 357
 Skellig Michael, Ireland, 325-6
 Smith, George, 54
 Smith, John, Canon of Durham, 54-5, 342
 Somersct, 2
 South Shields, 343, 353
 Spies, 189, 191, 319-20

- Stamford, 40
 Stephanus, see Eddius
 Stevenson, J., 51, 55, 314, 333, 342
 Stokes, Margaret, 325
 Stonyhurst Gospel, 346
 Storehouse, 79, 177, 346
 Story-telling, 352
 Strathclyde, 8
 Stubbs, W., 17, 29, 329, 333, 338-9, 348
 Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St Martin*, 11-12, 62, 68, 110, 198, 310, 313-14, 321, 323, 325, 332-3
 Dialogues, 312, 314, 328
 Sunyol, H., 28
 Surius, L., 52-4
 Sursum Corda, 348
 Surtees, R., 54
 Swithin, St, 35
 Symeon of Durham, 2, 20, 22, 24, 28, 32, 310, 317-19, 332-4, 336-40, 354
 Tacitus, 352
 Tanner, T., 41
 Tarsus, see Theodore
 Tears, see under Cuthbert
 Tees River, 314
 Telfer, W., ix
 Temple of Jerusalem, 350
 Tennyson, A., 357
 Tents, 119, 259, 332
 Tertullian, 344
Tesgeta, see Teviot
 Teviot, River, 4, 85, 196, 322, 335
 Thames, River, 6
 Theobald, St, 41
 Theodore, St, of Tarsus, Abp of Canterbury, 7-8, 111, 239, 329-31, 340
 Theodore, priest of Bobbio, 40
 Theocritus, 336
 Theyer, J., 27
 Thomas, prior of Durham, 40, 325
 Thompson, A. Hamilton, 2
 Thompson, H. Yates, 32
 Thorpe, Benjamin, 338
 Timber, 225, 227, 327
 Tode, William, prebendary of Durham, 29, 49
 Tonsure, 77, 175, 316
 Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, 329
 Tours, see Gregory
 Translations, previous, of *V.A.*, 55 of *V.P.*, 55
 Tree Fodder, 127, 336
 Trier, viii, 18, 43; see also under MSS
 Trivet, Nicholas, 30
 Troyes, 36
 Trumwine (Tumma), Bp of the Picts, 4, 65, 111, 157, 239, 311, 330, 353
 Tunberht, Bp of Hexham, 8, 324
 Turin, 53
 Tweed River, 4, 43, 51, 121, 313, 322, 335
 Tweedmouth, 345
 Tydi, priest of Melrose, 12, 85, 119, 133, 192, 260, 289, 321, 333, 347
 Tymms, W. R., 18
 Tyne River, Northumberland, 5, 161, 265, 314, 336, 342
 Haddington, 342
 Tynemouth, 342, 356
 Tynningham, 342
 Ukert, F. A., 37
 Ussher, James, Abp of Armagh, 26
 Usuard, monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 2
 Utrecht, 42, 53, 340
 Vaast, St, Bp of Arras, 17, 20
 Vatican Library, 42; see also under MSS, and Addenda
 Vauclair, 35
 Vegetius, 214, 349
 Venice, 53
 Verca, Abbess, 265, 273, 319, 338, 343, 353
 Vergil, 198, 336
 Vestments, ecclesiastical, 27, 131, 293, 338
 Viaticum, 131, 205, 285, 357
 Victorius of Aquitaine's *Epistle to Hilarus*, 12, 60-1, 310
 Vienna, 38; see also under MSS
 Vigfusson, G., 316
 Vitalian, Pope, 331
 Vitus, St, 41
 Vulgate, 56-7
 Waddell, Helen, 320
 Waga, reeve of Carlisle, 123
 Walaricus, St, 312
 Walhstod, monk of Lindisfarne, 13, 43, 129, 277, 281, 337
 Walhstod, Bp of Hereford, 337
 Wallwyn, F., 27

- Wandalbert, monk of Prüm, 2
 Warwickshire, 2
 Watson, W. J., 313, 320, 321
 Wayland Smith, 320
 Wear River, 71, 267
 Wearmouth, 1, 10, 24, 171, 329-30,
 342, 344-5, 354
 anon. monk of, 10
 Wells, 20-1
 Welsh, 319, 322, 333
 Wenlock, 318
 Westminster, St Peter's, 356
 Westminster Abbey, 24
 Weyman, C., 331
 Whitby, 4, 8, 10, 40, 311, 313, 318,
 328, 336, 353
 Synod of, vii, 7, 9, 313, 324, 328,
 333, 345, 346, 358
 Whittingham, 351
 Wighard, Abp of Canterbury, 331
 Wihthberht, 325
 Wilfrid, St, Bp of York, vii, 6-10, 26,
 30, 318-19, 322-4, 330-5, 337,
 339-40, 345, 355-8
 Wilkins, D., 41
 William de St Barbara, Bp of Dur-
 ham, 21
 William de St Carilef, Bp of Durham,
 29, 357
 William of Malmesbury, 29, 329, 334,
 338
 William of Newburgh, 338
 Willibrord, St, Abp of Utrecht, 135,
 297, 340
 Wilmart, A., ix, 39, 315
 Wimborne, 318
 Winfrith, Bp, 139, 340
 Winwaed, River, 6
 Withburga, St, East Anglian princess,
 338
 Witnesses of miracles, 5, 12-14, 65, 77,
 79, 81, 85, 99, 103, 117, 119, 121,
 123, 127, 129, 145, 171, 173, 181,
 191, 193, 231, 241, 255, 267, 271,
 273, 305, 311, 341-3
 Wolfenbüttel, 37; see also under MSS
 Woolley, R. M., 33
 Worcester, see Florence
 Wordsworth, J., 56
 Wright, C. E., ix
 Wulfhere, King of Mercia, 6, 8
 Wulfstan, St, Bp of Worcester, 311
 Wyatt, A. J., 319, 327
 Wyatt, M. D., 18
 York, 5, 7, 9-10, 32, 313, 330, 336,
 357
 Young, G., 40

Concordance of the three Lives of St Cuthbert

V.A.	V.P.	V.M.	V.A.	V.P.	V.M.
I. 1	ProL.	ProL.	III. —	23	—
2	ProL.	ProL.	6	24	21
3	1	1	7	—	—
4	2	2	IV. 1	24	21
—	3	3	2	26	22
5	4	4	3	29	23
—	—	5	4	30	24
6	5	6	—	31	25
7	—	—	5	32	26
II. 1	—	—	6	33	27
—	6	—	7	25	—
2	7	7	8	27	29
—	8	—	9	28	30
—	9	—	10	34	31
3	10	8	—	35	—
4	11	9	11	36	32
5	12	10	—	37	33, 34
6	13	11	12	38	35
7	14	12	13	39, 40	36, 37
8	15	13	14	42	38
III. 1	16, 17	14, 15	—	43	39
2	17	15	15	41	40
3	18	16	16	44	41
—	19	17	—	—	42
4	21	19	17	45	43
5	20	18	—	46	44, 45, 46
—	22	20	18	—	28

Addendum

Page 42. P. Paul Grosjean informs me that there is a transcript of the lost Utrecht MS of the V.P. used by the Bollandists in the Royal Library, Brussels. It is in MS 3196-3203, ff. 94-100 (J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, v, Brussels, 1905, p. 407). I have not been able to see it or get a copy of it owing to the war.

