



ARCHÆOLOGIA ÆLIANA.

THE CHURCHES OF DURHAM AND HEXHAM.

THE LAWSON MS.

THE beautiful MS. preserved at Brough Hall, near Catterick, which furnished so many characteristic illustrations to Mr. Raine's "Saint Cuthbert" has, with Sir William Lawson's usual liberality, been submitted for examination and notice in the Society's Transactions. We need not enlarge upon the importance of thoroughly ascertaining the contents of a MS. of so much intrinsic value.

Not later than 1210 is its date. Perhaps we should rank it rather earlier in time. Its illuminations are the work of English artists, and their general outline are already familiar to the public by the examples engraved. Brilliant as they are, their treatment is chaste and simple. It is remarkable that no emblem of St. Cuthbert occurs. We neither find his usual accompaniment, St. Oswald's head, nor any thing to throw light upon the form of St. Cuthbert's cross at the date of the book. Nor do we remember the introduction of "St. Cuthbert's Ducks."

The volume commences with a full length figure of St. Cuthbert (Raine, 14), his right foot clasped by a recluse; and a representation of the scribe at work. Then follows "*Liber Sancti Cuthberti*," which is the prose "*Vita Sancti Cuthberti*" of Beda. After the usual prefatory epistle to the Lindisfarne congregation, is the epistle to the presbyter John which usually appears before Beda's metrical Life of the Saint.

In the illumination to Cap. xviii., the spades used by Cuthbert and one of the brethren in digging a well in the Saint's dwelling are wholly of wood, save a binding on the edge. The handle too is fixed to one side of the implement. Exactly the same spade is seen in the Bayeux

Tapestry employed by the persons who are digging a *castellum* at Hastings.¹

The figures represented as lying in bed in this MS. are in all cases clothed with a white garment.

The Vita St. Cuthberti is followed by the additional miracles narrated in Beda's Ecclesiastical History, Book iv., cap. xxxi., xxxii.

The remainder of the book is filled with miracles by other hands. We have the story of King Alfred and the beggar, the voyage of the monks with the holy body in the Irish Sea, their wanderings, the sacrilege and punishment of Onlafbal,² all of which first occur in the old Historia Cuthberti in Twysden's Decem Scriptores. The swallowing up, in Guthred's days, of an invading Scotch host "in loco qui Anglorum linguâ Mundingedene usque ad præsens nuncupatur," succeeds.³ In these narratives there is much of the language of Symeon's shorter notices transferred from his History of the Church of Durham, and we really believe that they are also his composition.

It will be remembered that in mentioning the overthrow of the Scotch host, Symeon says, "Qualiter autem gestum sit alibi constat esse scriptum:" and in page 174 he says, "Quo tempore et illud quod alibi plenius legitur super Barwid miraculum contigit." This latter miracle comes next in the Lawson MS., and is printed in Bollandus, March 20, p. 134. The flight to Lindisfarne in 1069 follows, with an attestation "nobis," and corresponds with the account in Symeon, and is in many of his words.

The story of Mundingdene (which in an authority quoted by Leland is stated to be one mile south of Norham),⁴ though more imposingly told, gives no further information than what Symeon affords.⁵ The story of Barwith, a soldier of Earl Tosti, is more interesting. The Earl had laid a notorious thief, murderer, and incendiary, called Aldan Hamal,⁶ in heavy irons in the town of Durham, and refused all ransom for him. The thief endeavours to rid himself of the fetters, and flee to the monastery, and the Earl doubles his vigilance to prevent him. He

¹ Bruce's edition, pl. xi., p. 116.

² A pagan king called Reginwaldus (Reingwald, *Symeon*) invaded Yorkshire, and afterwards occupied the whole land of Saint Cuthbert, and divided his towns equally between two powerful soldiers in his ranks. "Quorum unus Scula [*vulgariter*] vocabatur, alter vero [*secundum suæ gentis proprietatem*] Onlafbal appellabatur." The words in Italics are not in Symeon or Bollandus.

³ *Vide* Symeon, 122; Reginald, 149.

⁴ De Episcopis Lindisfarn. et Dunelm., vol. ii., 329. See also the miracle mentioned in vol. ii., 372, from an anonymous work, "Episcopis Lindisfarnensibus."

⁵ Hist. Dun. 122.

⁶ Haldanhamal. Bollandus.

appeals to St. Cuthbert, promises amendment, and his fetters loosen. Shaking them off, he eludes his unsuspecting custodiers, enters the monastery, and fastens all the gates from within. Barewith⁷ “qui omnes in curiâ potestate precessit,” proceeded to the gates, asked why they should delay to break them open, and declared that it was intolerable that “the peace of this dead man” should protect robbers and homicides. He was instantly struck as by an arrow, and crying out in torment was borne *ad hospitium*, where he died the third day, at the same hour. His grave for a year gave out a stench that caused all passengers to avoid its proximity. All the parties to the violence, fearing the like revenge, collected gold and silver and gems not a few, and laid them on the Saint’s sepulchre; and from them were made a cross of marvellous work, and the cover of gold and gems for a copy of the Evangelists, which things remained in the days of the writer.

In the next chapter the murderers of Walcher are represented as flying to the woods and unknown places.⁸ The people at large, confiding in their innocency, and the protection of the Saint, take their goods to his monastery. Some are in the castle. A theft is committed by a traitor watchman, and the thief returns in torments.

The next chapter relates to the reign of William Rufus. A concourse of people are assembled at the annual festivities on the anniversary of the Saint’s translation. A man brings a horse to sell at Durham on the occasion, and sets it to feed on the laid up grain of the church, and persists in his offence. The horse suddenly dies.

The same King and Malcolm King of Scots are at war. Malcolm puts to flight the Northumbrians. Some retire to the woods, &c.; others, “et præcipuè qui propriè Sancti Cuthberti populus dicuntur,” betake themselves as usual, on account of the protection of the Saint, to Durham, which scarcely holds the concourse of men and cattle. The cemetery is full of the latter. Malcolm arrives. A multitude of women, boys, and children surround the walls of the church, and disturb the choristers within. The Scots, moved by some sudden fear, move off. The Bishop is restored from exile the same time, and his officials enter as the emancipated people depart.

The Præpositus of the monastery, earnest for the good of the church and people, goes into the parts of the South English with people not a few, and two of the brethren. One is dead at the time of the writer, the other with the Præpositus survives and tells the tale. One winter’s night the company are received in a town, and a narrow cottage re-

⁷ Barwic. *Bollandus*.

⁸ *Bollandus*.

mains for the monks, with no accommodation for their horses. They put them up at a neighbouring house, by leave of a lady, whose husband is from home. He returns, and furiously commands them to be turned out. A brother, sent by the Præpositus, endeavours to calm him, and asks his hospitality for St. Cuthbert's sake. He refuses, is almost insane with anger, and falls as if dead, to arise a humbled admirer of St. Cuthbert.

The Saint renews a miracle in the writer's own days. A famine occurs at Easter, when, after Lent, food is most necessary to the weak. The sea heaves on the shore a number of great fishes at Lindisfarne island, but on a spot belonging to another and not to the brethren. The tithe of old time, by the custom of the province belonging to the church, is refused in so much abundance. The brethren are relieved by a similar gift of dolphins left on their own shore.

Robert de Mowbray (*Mubreio*) vexes the church. He takes away the church of Tinemouthe and gives it to Paul, an abbot, at a distance. Paul is seized with sudden disease at first seeing his new church, and is borne dead to the home he had left in health. The earl falls from his high estate, Tinemuthe shares in the history of his ruin, and he lives in chains at the date of the history.

A south-country clerk, vexed with fever, undertakes a long and painful journey to Durham, and is cured by passing the night before the tomb of St. Cuthbert.

A thief steals a girdle from the ass-herd of the church, and is struck almost blind.

The Northumbrians afflict one another with thefts. Lindisfarne is exempt by its sanctity. A Northumbrian has a fine and valuable horse, and takes it thither for safety. A thief rides it away at the time that the passage between the land and the island is dry. The sea suddenly rises, and he is almost drowned. He prays to the Saint, regains the island, looks back at the passage, finds it dry, and crosses it dryshod.

Durham Cathedral is rebuilt in a comely fashion. Wood is brought to it from a distance, and of such bulk that eight oxen can barely draw it. At the gate of the city a rest is given to the oxen, that they may be refreshed for climbing the hill. The boys of the place play upon the apparatus (*machinam*) on which the wood was borne. An ox becomes excited, the beams move, and a boy has his leg crushed by the fall of wood which scarce sixteen men can lift. The boy is unhurt.

A ship in the service of the church, laden with goods, is seized by pirates. A storm arises and casts it on Lindisfarne island.

The narrative of the tradition of the saint's body in 1104, printed in Bolland's *Acta Sanctorum*, and Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, p. 75, follows. The day appointed for the translation is stated to be "iiij kal. Septembris" (Aug. 29). A subsequent hand has altered this to "iiij nonas Septembris" (2 Sep.) The feast of the translation was kept on 4 Sep. "Facta est hæc incorrupta corporis manifestatio sive translatio post annos depositionis ejus quadringentos xvij. et v. menses et duodecim dies. Hic est anno ab Incarnatione Domini M^o C^o iiij^o qui est quintus annus regni Henrici, episcopatus vero Rannulfi sextus."

A miracle succeeds, which stands in Bollandus as Chapter III. of the *Historia Translationis*.

The copy of St. John read by Cuthbert with the dying Boisil (Beda's *Life of the former*, cap. viii.), was preserved at Durham in a bag of red leather, which, by means of a strap of silk, dissolved by age into threads; hung, as was said, around the necks of Boisil and his pious disciple. The Bishop, in his sermon at the translation, displayed this book to the people. A bearer holds the pouch and carelessly allows one of the Bishop's officials to steal one of the threads of the *suspendiculum*. The thief hides it between his stockings and shoes. At night his leg against which the thread had been is seized with a tremor. He restores the thread and is cured.

The same prior orders a bell of great weight to be made at London for Durham Cathedral. It is placed on a wooden conveyance of much strength and cleverness in construction, and is drawn by 22 oxen. A careless youth is drawn under the wheel by his tunic, and is passed over without hurt. He accompanies the bell to Durham in order to return thanks to the Saint.

Hegge in his *Legend of St. Cuthbert* says of Bishop Pudsey that he built "the Galilie or our Ladie's Chappell, now called the Consistorie, into which he translated St. Beed's bones, which there lyes interred under a tombe of black marble without an inscription. From this place I conjecture the great bell in the Abby hath its name, and perchance is the same which in an old manuscript I finde to be drawne from London to Durham by two and twentie oxen."

We then have a series of more well-known narrations—The miracle at the *ecclesiola virgea*, in the words of Symeon, p. 146 of Rudd's edition—The history of "Gille michael," by Symeon, p. 186—Symeon's Vision of Boso, p. 238—Symeon's Preface, p. 1, with a portion of p. 225—Symeon's cap. lx., p. 217, with a portion of p. 226, commencing "Denique," &c.—His cap. lxiv., lxv., p. 229—The greater part of his cap. lxvii., p. 234—Part of his cap. liii., p. 192, and of cap. lvi., p. 200

—Part of cap. lviii., commencing with the 1st line of p. 209, and ending with *occubuit* on the same page—Cap. lix., p. 213.

This is a strange jumble of Symeon's chapters, and from some of the omissions I am inclined to think that the scribe was copying from an early MS. of Symeon anterior to his finished work.

"Explicit"—after which word the book ends with the following chapter, the conclusion of which, in relation to the church of Hexham and English personal names, is very interesting:—

Quo anno sanctus Cuthbertus ordinatus est, et quantum amabatur et venerabatur ab antiquis Regibus.

Anno dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo lxxxv°. ordinatus est beatus pater Cuthbertus in ipsa sollempnitate paschali, id est vij°. kal. Aprilis, ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, Egfrido rege presente, et semper ad ejus consecrationem venientibus episcopis. In quibus Theodorus primum tenuit sub papâ Agatone. In die ordinationis Sancti Cuthberti commutaverunt ipse [*sic*] Eata sedes episcopales, communi consilio Egfridi regis et Theodori archiepiscopi et aliorum, scilicet Ceadde et Cedde et aliorum quinque episcoporum et omnium majorum. Sicque Eata apud Hestelham sedit. Sanctus vero Cuthbertus Lindisfarnensem cathedram optinuit.

Cujus Lindisfarniæ terminus est a fluvio Tveda usque ad Warnemutham; et inde superius usque ad locum ubi aqua Warned oritur juxta montem Hiberdune: et inde usque ad fluvium Bromwich: et inde usque ad fluvium Tyl. Et terram illam ultra Tvedam a flumine Edre ab aquilone usque ad locum quo cadit in Tvedam: et totam terram quæ jacet inter istum fluvium Edre et alterum qui vocatur Ledre: et totam terram quæ pertinet ad monasterium sancti Baldredi quod est in Tyngham, a Lambremore usque ad Esmude.

Et dederunt rex Egfridus et archiepiscopus Theodorus terram in Eboraco sancto Cuthberto, a muro sancti Petri usque ad magnam portam occidentalem, et usque ad murum civitatis versus austrum. Et dederunt eis villam quæ dicitur Creich, et tria miliaria in circuitu ut ibi posset manere in eundo et redeundo de Eboraco. Ibi sanctus Cuthbertus congregationem monachorum et abbatem nomine Gevem, ut quidam dicunt, statuit. Huic adjecerunt civitatem Luel, id est Carleol, et in circuitu quindecim miliaria, et ibi sanctus Cuthbertus congregationem sanctimonialium et abbatissam ordinavit et scholas ibi constituit.

Postquam vero sanctus Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis in villa quæ dicitur Exanforda, dedit ei rex Egfridus terram quæ vocatur Ceartmel, et omnes Britanni cum eo et villam quæ dicitur Sudgedlin et quicquid ad eam pertinet. Hæc omnia bonus abbas Cyneuerth sub sancto Cuthberto ordinavit sapienter ut voluit.

Ea tempestate pugnavit rex Egfridus contra regem Merciorum Wlfere filium Pendici, et cæso exercitu ejus fugavit eum. Postea dedit Egfri-

dux rex sancto Cuthberto Meylros et Carrum et quicquid ad eam pertinet.

Non multum post hunc Egfridum successit in regnum Ceolfus filius Cuthwining seque sancto Cuthberto subdidit, et dimisso regno cum uxore pro amore Dei se cum magno tesoro ad Lindisfarnense monasterium contulit, barbam deposuit, coronam accepit, et sancto Cuthberto villam dedit, nomine Werkewrthe cum suis appendiciis. Sed post hoc quidam rex nomine Osbertus Werkewrthe abstulit sancto, sed post annum vitam cum regno perdidit. Post eum regnavit Elle qui bene promisit, sed male egit. Abstulit enim sancto duas villas Bylingham et Yleclif, sed cito per Vbban ducem Fresonum fugatus et cæsus vitam dedecorose finivit.

Statim post Ceolwfm factum monachum obiit sanctus Cuthbertus, et successit Eddred episcopus qui reedificavit ecclesiam in Norham, et transportavit illuc corpus Ceolfi regis, ipsamque villam dedit sancto Cuthberto, et Gedewrthe, et alteram Gedewrth, et edificavit villam Geinsford, deditque eam sancto Cuthberto, Et postea edificavit Bilingham et Yleclif, et Wicheclif, deditque sancto.

Quando sanctus Cuthbertus factus est monachus, regnabat Oswigius, et alii dicunt quod iste fuit Oswiu frater Oswaldi regis, et interfecit Oswinum regem *Berniciorum* filium Osrici regis Edwini filii. Mortuo Oswigio regnavit filius ejus; post eum Ceolfridus; et post hunc Gundredus qui per sanctum Cuthbertum apparentem per visionem abbati Eddredo in Luercestre, factus fuit rex, Eardulfo episcopante anno ab incarnatione Domini octingentesimo nonagesimo. Post hunc Elfredus qui dedit sancto totam terram inter Tesam et Tynam.

Isti Gudredus et Eluredus reges adjecerunt Dunelmensi episcopatu omnia quæ ad episcopatum Haugustaldensem pertinuerunt. Per quinquaginta enim et quatuor annos ante devastationem Northymbriæ sedes episcopalis ibi cessaverat. Æluredo defuncto, regnavit filius ejus Ædwardus, et post hunc Edelstan filius ejus, et post Edmundus frater Edelstan. Quo mortuo anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongentesimo quadragésimo octavo, Eluredum⁹ fratrem heredem regni reliquit. Hii omnes cultores Sancti Cuthberti leges ejus et privilegia confirmaverunt et servaverunt, et terras cum multis aliis donariis sancto contulerunt. Sed Edred moriens reliquit heredem filium fratris sui Edmundi, nomine Edwi, malignæ mentis hominem, omnibus odiosum. Hic a finibus tocius Angliæ expulit Sanctum Dunstanum de incestu eum corripientem. Unde omnes ab Vmbre usque ad Tamisiam contra Edwinum offensi ultra Tamisiam eum fugaverunt, et juniorem fratrem suum regem fecerunt, nomine Edgarum. Qui, cum multos annos feliciter regnasset, filio suo Edwardo, qui jacet in Scateberi, regnum moriens reliquit. Qui, in brevi novercali fraude occisus, Edelredum fratrem heredem habuit. Deinde Knud regno Anglorum potitus, et ad Dunelmum veniens per quinque miliaria a loco qui Garmundi Via dicitur nudis pedibus incedens ad sepulcrum Sancti Cuthberti venit, et ibi optulit ei et dedit liberam et quietam Steindrop cum omnibus appendiciis suis.

⁹ An error for Edredum.

Post hunc regnavit Edwardus filius Edelredi et Emmæ. Qui, primò anno regni sui monachum quendam nomine Egelricum de Bure episcopum prefecit ecclesiæ Dunelmensi, sed, eam regere non valens, ad proprium monasterium rediit, sicque sine episcopatu vitam finivit.

Postea anno Dominicæ incarnationis M^o lxxii^o, sui regni anno octavo, Willielmus rex post Haraldum occisum potentissimus versus Scotiam regnum suum visurus, et siqui ei rebelles essent subditurus ad sanctum Cuthbertum oraturus venit. Cui sciscitanti de vitâ et miraculis sancti, et de antiquitate et origine episcopatus, prudentiores ecclesiæ dixerunt ei Sanctum Oswaldum regem, accito Sancto Aidano de Scotia, sedem episcopalem in Lindisfarnensi insulâ primitus instituisse et eia dedisse. Dixerunt etiam quomodo rex Egfridus et Theodorus archiepiscopus invitum de solitariâ vitâ extractum episcopum fecerunt, et quantâ veneratione ab eodem rege dum vixit semper habebatur, et a subsequentibus Christianis regibus post mortem quantum diligebatur et quomodo omnia ad eum pertinentia semper augmentabant et suâ auctoritate confirmabant, ut in perpetua libertate et quietudine permanerent, et cum omnibus consuetudinibus ut ipsi in suâ manu habuerant. Hæc cum rex et alia multa audisset, propriâ manu, cum auro et pallio in perpetuum servanda tribuit, libere et quiete Deo et Sancto Cuthberto et Walchero episcopo Waltham cum omnibus appendiciis suis dedit et quinquaginta mansiones in Lyndesia, et adjecit postea Willielmo episcopo Welletonam et Houedene cum omnibus suis appendiciis, cum sacâ et socnâ, et omnibus legibus sicut ipse in propriâ manu habuit.

Isto eodem rege Willielmo laudante et concedente, Edgarus rex Scotiæ donavit et reddidit Sancto Cuthberto et Willielmo episcopo, in Lodoneio Berewich cum omnibus suis appendiciis, et monachis in ecclesiâ Dunelmi Deo et Sancto Cuthberto servientibus Coldingham cum suis omnibus appendiciis sicut in cartâ continetur quam ipse et fratres sui propriâ manu signaverunt et firmaverunt.

Edwardus qui regnavit ante Willielmum fuit filius Ethelredi regis. *Æthelredus* fuit filius Eadgari regis. *Eadgarus* fuit filius Eadmundi regis. *Edmundus* fuit filius Edwardi regis senioris. *Edwardus senior* fuit filius Ealuredi regis. Iste *Eluredus* rex Australium Anglorum, et *Guthred* rex Norhanhynbrorum primi statuere Sancto Cuthberto omnes leges suas et consuetudines; eique ad incrementum sui episcopatus adauxit Episcopatum Hagustaldensem qui antiquitus erat *Wlfridi*: et hoc statuerunt et firmaverunt cum consensu totius Angliæ sicut inveniri potest in antiquissima scriptura chronica. Et in fine decretorum suorum excommunicationis sententiam protulerunt in eum qui sua stabilita presumeret convellere. Legat antiquam scripturam qui voluerit.

Post illud tempus episcopi apud Sanctum Cuthbertum illum locum tenuerunt, et ibidem, scilicet, in Hagustald' suos presbiteros statuerunt, et prepositos. Edmundus episcopus ibi constituit prepositum *ULKILLUM Arkilles sune, Wincunes sune*.¹⁰ Et post eum Egelricus episcopus posuit ibi prepositum *COLLANUM*; et post Collanum, *VLKILLUM Ilwinges sune*; et post Egelricum Ealgelwinus episcopus constituit ibi prepositum *VTHREDUM Vlkilles sune*.¹⁰ Iste *Uthredus* est pater *Cospatrici* qui nunc

¹⁰ One of these names must surely be our Wilkinson.

est viccomes in *Tevietedale*. ELUREDUS *Westou sune* secretarius Dunelmensis ecclesiæ dono domini sui Edmundi Episcopi tenuit ecclesiam de Hagustaldaham; et postea posuit in eâ presbiterum GAMEL *elde*, qui dictus est GAMEL HAMEL; et postea posuit ibi presbiterum GAMEL *iunge*. Iste Eluredus partem de reliquiis Episcoporum, qui apud Hagustal'h' antiquitus fuerant ibidemque sepulti, transtulit Dunelmo, et cum Sancto Cuthberto incorrupto collocavit. Post Eluredum filius ejus EYLF LAWRET, thesaurarius Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, ab Egelrico et Egelwino Episcopis Dunelmensibus tenuit ecclesiam de Hagustal'h', ponens ibi presbiterum SPROH. Habuit illam quamdiu terra erat inhabitata. Postquam enim Franci venerant in Angliam, et Robertus comes cum septingentis militibus occisus esset in Dunelmo, quinque diebus ante purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, atque post eodem anno castella Eboraci à Danis atque Anglis destructa; magnaue multitudo Francorum fuerat occisa: ad vindictam horum omnium, Willielmo rege cum magno superveniente exercitu et per mensem Decembrem, Januarium, Februarium, omnia vastante, fugientibus omnibus ubi latere poterant, et etiam extra patriam peregrinantibus, tota terra ab Umbra usque Tvedam per multum tempus in solitudinem redacta est, præter Eboracum et Dunelmu et Benbanburc. Tunc Egelwino episcopo, propter timorem regis Willielmi, episcopatum fugiente per duos pene annos, pastore vacabat ecclesia. Interim VCTRED *Vlkillles sune*, quem ut supradictum est episcopus Egelwinus constituerat in Hagustal'h' prepositum, ad Thomam archiepiscopum seniore profectus, indicavit locum talem facile illum posse sub dominium suum redigere, cum tota ubique terra vacaret cultore. Cujus hortatu archiepiscopus intravit Hagustalham, nullo tunc existente episcopo in Dunelmo, terra ubique vastata; nec aliquo prohibente ubi quisque vellet habitare. Post hæc EYLF LAWRET cum offerente Willielmo episcopo monachatum recusaret, ad Thomam archiepiscopum abiit, et tunc ab eo Hagustaldensem ecclesiam recepit, quam quondam ab Egelwino episcopo acceperat. Quo mortuo *filius ejus* EYLF per predictum archiepiscopum Hagustaldensem ecclesiam ingreditur.

*** The above MS. is not very strict in orthography and construction, but it contains much that is valuable to the annalist of Saxon Durham. The subject is too abstruse for treatment by annotation, but we trust that some of our members may review the whole authorities in a separate paper.