

VI.—THE NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES MENTIONED
IN THE EARLY LIVES OF ST. CUTHBERT.

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THE figure of St. Cuthbert as the shepherd-boy of Lauderdale, as the hermit of Farne, and as the bishop-prophet witnessing the slaughter of Nechtansmere from beside the Roman well at Carlisle, appeals so vividly to the imagination, that we are prone to think these three scenes complete the whole cycle of his life, and it is only upon calmer reflection that we find them inadequate to explain the reason of that pre-eminence accorded to him among the many saints of our Northumberland. It is a most singular fact, that the extraordinary series of wanderings of his shrine, during the devastations of Dane and Norman, has almost obliterated in the popular mind the remembrance of those wanderings of the living saint himself, which originally caused that shrine to be the object of such loyal veneration.

It is now nearly eight years ago since our genial member, the late Rev. J. L. Low of Whittonstall, read in this castle a paper on the 'Authorities for the History of St. Cuthbert,'¹ in which he laid emphatic stress on the necessity for falling back on the earliest lives of the saint, if we would comprehend that absolute abnegation of self, and that perfect love of every other living thing, whether man or woman, beast or bird, that has preserved his hallowed memory in so mysterious a manner. To-night, I wish to restrict my remarks to the background of that impressive picture, and to examine the topographical setting of St. Cuthbert's acts of charity and deeds of mercy in the cold light of historical criticism.

In my turn, I must ask you to at once divest your minds of those apocryphal accretions to St. Cuthbert's life and fame, which grew up during the long slumber of the true spirit of history, and perhaps still more so at the first shock of its re-awakening. In a certain sense, the close of the nineteenth century is much nearer the seventh, much

¹ *Arch. Ael.* N.S. XI. p. 18.

more capable of judging what really took place in it, than were the twelfth, the fifteenth, or the eighteenth centuries. We should then turn directly back to the two fountain-heads of St. Cuthbert's biography, the life by a nameless monk of Lindisfarne,² and that by the Venerable Bede³ (of which there is an earlier version in heroic metre),⁴ both composed in the beginning of the eighth century, both dedicated to Edfrid, the third prelate who sat in St. Cuthbert's chair.

Each of these lives is essentially a hagiography, a string of separate incidents calculated, as it were, to attest the saint's title to canonisation, the heads of evidence for a brief that would put out of court any possible *advocatus diaboli*. With the exception of Bede's touching record of St. Cuthbert's last days, it is only by quite a secondary consideration that each life affords a certain disjointed narrative of the saint's career. Both writers avowedly discarded much material that had been collected by others for their purpose, the nameless monk because he thought he had written enough to ensure St. Cuthbert's celebrity, without fatiguing his own readers;⁵ and Bede, with the complacent pride of a *littérateur* at the artistic perfection of his work.⁶

Bede was fortunately persuaded by the monks of Jarrow to adhere to the same chronological order in his prose life that he had adopted in his poetical one; but the compilation of the monk of Holy Island is peculiarly valuable on account of its giving us the names of persons and places which Bede may have purposely omitted in his more high-finished essay, lest their barbarous sounds should mar the rhythm of his Latinity.

Unfortunately, the Lindisfarne life was very carelessly printed by the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum*, the proper names being

² *Acta Sanctorum*, Mart. III. p. 117; *Patres Ecclesie Anglicanae, Miscellaneous Works of Venerable Bede*, ed. by Dr. Giles, 1843, VI. p. 357. That this life is earlier than that by Bede seems clear by the fact that Ethelwald is mentioned in it, lib. iv. § 4, as prior of Melrose, while Bede, cap. xxx. speaks of him as abbot.

³ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* IV. p. 202. No trust should be placed in the English translation added by Dr. Giles.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. p. 1.

⁵ 'Quamquam etiam ex his, quae nobis comperta erant, plura omisimus, quia sufficere credidimus, si tantum excellentiora notarentur, simul et legentibus consulendum fuit, ne quod pararet copia congesta fastidium.'—Prologus; ed. Giles, VI. p. 358.

⁶ 'Alia multa nec minora his, quae scripsimus, . . . memoriae digna videbantur, si non deliberato ac perfecto operi nova interserere vel superadjicere minus congruum atque indecorum esse constaret.'—ed. Giles, IV. p. 204.





especially distorted, and as the only manuscripts of it were upon the Continent,⁷ all recent writers on the history of St. Cuthbert have contented themselves with making use of the corrupt printed version, and at the most recording their suspicions as to the correctness of its readings.

Now, I am afraid I am not a believer in the comfortable doctrine that there can be any real distinction at the present day between a historian and an archaeologist. A historian, I venture to think, must cease to be a mere grandiloquent populariser of other men's work, 'reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not strawed,' and if his summing up is to carry any permanent weight with it, he must accept nothing by hearsay, if more direct evidence can possibly be attained by the exploration of localities, or the yet more tedious examination of archives and muniments. Noticing, then, the manifest discrepancies in the orthography of the names of places and persons in the Lindisfarne life, I proceeded this summer to Treves and to Arras to examine two of the most important manuscripts of it. The manuscript in the splendid library of the old monastery of St. Vaast at Arras⁸ is the more ancient of the two, being of the tenth century, but as often happens, I am inclined to think that the Treves manuscript,⁹ though written nearly three hundred years later, has in some instances more faithfully preserved the spelling of the original writer.

In order to better explain the results of my researches, I will introduce them as they occur in a short and rigidly unimaginative sketch of St. Cuthbert's life:—

The first spot we can absolutely identify as connected with St. Cuthbert is North Shields,¹⁰ where, as a boy, he rebuked the heartless-

⁷ The Bollandists profess to have printed 'e duobus valde antiquis codicibus,' one in the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer, the other in the monastery of St. Maximin at Treves.

⁸ MS. Bibl. S. Vedasti ap. Atreb. 812. My best thanks are due to M. Wicquot, the librarian, for his extreme kindness and courtesy. This MS. was in the library of the monastery of St. Vaast before its dissolution, but nothing further is known of its origin. It might just possibly have been acquired by exchange from the monastery at St. Omer.

⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. Mar. et Apr. MSS. T. 1151. num. loc. 453. Herr Keuffer, the 'Stadtbibliothekar' rendered me considerable assistance in the examination of this manuscript, for which I am very grateful.

¹⁰ 'Stabat in altera amnis ripa vulgaris turba non modica, in qua stabat et ipse (Cuthbertus).—Bede, § 3, ed. Giles, p. 216. This incident is related by Bede only.

ness of the half-heathen countrymen who were there enjoying the spectacle of five boats manned by the monks, who had just settled on the opposite bank of the Tyne—

'Where saint hilde chapell standes nowe,'¹¹

being swept out to sea in a strong westerly gale.

A little later, as a youth, he was watching the flocks of his master on the distant banks of the Leader,¹² a stream descending from the Lammermoor hills to join the Tweed near Melrose, and it was there on the night of the 31st of August, 651, that he had a vision of the soul of St. Aidan being borne heavenward by a company of angels.

Now, as to his parentage or birth-place we know nothing, beyond the fact that at the age of eight he had been taken into the house of a widow named *Kenswith*,¹³ whom he came to regard as his mother, and who dwelt in the village of '*ruringaham*'¹⁴ or '*Rutlingaham*.'¹⁵ It is clear from the difference existing between the name of this village in the two manuscripts, and from the evident difficulty the scribe who copied the Arras one had to decipher it, that neither form can be relied upon. If the reading of the Treves manuscript be correct, the only place between the Forth and the Tyne that can be supposed to still bear a contracted form of a name like '*Rutlingaham*,' is Roddam, formerly written and pronounced '*Rudham*.' It would have been much more natural, we are told, if St. Cuthbert had entered

¹¹ *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert*, Surtees Soc. Publ. 87, p. 34, l. 1129. The fact that there was still in the fifteenth century no question as to this monastery being at South Shields, is one of the very few pieces of historical information to be gleaned from this purely philological volume. Bede calls it '*monasterium non longe ab ostio Tini fluminis ad meridiem situm, tunc quidem virorum, nunc autem, mutato, ut solet per tempora rerum, statu, virginum Christo servientium, nobili examine pollens*.' The idea that it was at Tynningham, on the north bank of the Scottish Tyne, may be dismissed once for all.

¹² '*remotis in montibus*,' Bede, § 4; '*in montanis juxta fluvium quod dicitur Leder*,' *Vita Lindisf.* lib. ii.

¹³ *Vita Lindisf.* ii. § 7, Arras MS. The Treves MS. fo. 137, d. has '*Coensuid*.' The Bollandists, mistaking the Early English 'w' for 'p,' read '*Kenspith*,' and subsequent writers have followed the error.

¹⁴ Arras MS. ¹⁵ Treves MS. The Bollandists read '*Hruringaham*,' '*Wrangholm*,' in the south of Scotland, is generally said to have been the 'birthplace' of St. Cuthbert, by the crowd of writers who are content to complacently copy any statement they have once seen in print. I can find no place of this name in the Ordnance maps, and if there is, '*Ruringaham*' could by no known law of permutation become contracted into it. If '*Ruringaham*' is nearer the truth than '*Rutlingaham*' it may be a corruption of *Risingham*, the Roman station of *HABITANCUM*, in the valley of the Rede, 's' in early MSS. being frequently mistaken for 'r.'

the monastery of Lindisfarne from the very first instead of that of Melrose,¹⁶ and that it was only the great reputation of the prior, St. Boswell, that drew him to the latter. This surely implies that the home of his youth lay more within the sphere of influence of Lindisfarne than that of Melrose. Roddam, too, lies about half-way between Tyneside and Lauderdale, the first and second known scenes in which he makes an appearance. An additional argument in favour of the hypothetical claims of Roddam may, it will afterwards be seen, be drawn from its propinquity to Ilderton. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the elision of 'ing' in place-names is of rare occurrence. At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that St. Cuthbert was a Scotsman in the nineteenth century application of that term, any more than that he was one in the seventh century application.

His vision of the assumption of St. Aidan's soul determined Cuthbert to embrace the monastic life; but in the meantime he bravely did garrison-duty as a soldier in defence of the Christian faith and the Bernician monarchy.¹⁷ He even had a second similar vision. This time it was the soul of a righteous prefect that was received into everlasting bliss.¹⁸ Returning from the south, possibly from the pursuit of the discomfited host of Penda in 654, he made his way in the depth of winter through the great waste that then stretched from the Tees to the Tyne. After crossing the *Wear* at *Chester-le-Street*,¹⁹ he providentially discovered some food for himself and his horse in the deserted 'shielings' of some shepherds. He proceeded to Melrose, where, leaving his horse and spear, he became the favourite disciple of St. Boswell. Two or three years later he became 'hosteller' at Ripon,²⁰

¹⁶ 'Quidam Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam multos habere sanctos viros, quorum doctrina et exemplis instrui posset, *noverat*, sed *fama* praeventus Boisili sublimium virtutum monachi et sacerdotis, Mailros *petere* *maluit*.'—Bede, § 6.

¹⁷ 'in castris contra hostem cum exercitu sedens.'—*Vita Lindisf.* lib. i; Giles ed. vi. p. 361.

¹⁸ 'animam Praefecti in obitu suo ad caelum elevari vidit.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Vita Lindisf.* i. § 4. The Arras MS. has 'uuir' and 'Kuncacester'; the Treves MS. 'uuir' and 'cunca cestur.' Cf. 'Sedes episcopalis, quam in Lindisfarnensi insula superius diximus, in Cuncacestre restauratur.'—*Hist. Dum. Ecol.* iib. ii. cap. xiii.; "Symeon of Durham, Rolls ed. i. p. 69. The Bollandists call the river 'Wir,' the place 'Leunckcester,' an error that has caused it to be identified with Lanchester.

²⁰ 'praepositus hospitum,' Bede, § 7; *Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert*, bk. ii. l. 1403, p. 42.

a monastery that had been placed under the care of Eata the abbot of Melrose. On the return of Wilfrid from Rome in 659, Eata and Cuthbert were forced to retire again to the banks of the Tweed, as they clung to the ancient Roman practice of fixing Easter (which had been confirmed by Pope Leo the Great in 443,²¹ and followed by the churches in Britain and Ireland), and refused to accept the reforms introduced on this subject by Pope Victor in 525, when Britain was cut off from the rest of the western patriarchate by the piratical fleets of the heathen Saxons.²² In 664, the Northumbrian witenagemot at Whitby definitely condemned the continuance of the Leonine usage,²³ and St. Colman was consequently obliged to withdraw from his see of Lindisfarne. Eata and Cuthbert chose this time to conform, and on St. Colman's parting recommendation, Eata was appointed abbot over the English monks who remained at Lindisfarne. Hardly had these changes been completed when St. Boswell died of the great plague then raging, and Cuthbert succeeded him as prior of Melrose. Boswell had been a great missionary on Tweedside, but Cuthbert surpassed him in this respect, spending often two or three weeks or even an entire month in mission tours among the mountains. It was an ancient custom that had survived in Britain to call churches after the saints who founded them. Probably we have a memorial of St. Boswell's personal labours in the dedication to him of the church of Tweedmouth, and it gives us a very much higher estimate of St. Cuthbert's work in the evangelisation of Central Britain, if we regard many of the churches dedicated to him as having been the actual scenes of his preaching, instead of mere resting places of his shrine. This latter idea, which has taken such root in popular fancy, rests solely on the authority of John Wessington, prior of Durham in the

²¹ *Annales Cambriae*, in anno; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 830. This, the very opening statement of the chronicle, is perhaps the clearest explanation of the intricate point, on which see Haddon and Stubbs, *Ecclesiastical Councils and Documents*, I. p. 152.

²² The charge brought against the Celts that they were Quarto-decimans is of course absolutely without foundation.—*Ibid.*

²³ It should be remembered that the fixing of Easter at Whitby was an act of the civil power. Far from attaching the great importance to the precise date of the Easter festival that Wilfrid and his followers did, the Roman Church, even at the present day, allows it to be kept according to the eastern calendar by Catholics of the Latin rite in the whole of Russia except the kingdom of Poland, and by Catholics of the Greek rite in Austria. It also recognises Colman as a Northumbrian saint.

fifteenth century, and even he restricted it to the Cuthbertine churches on the western sea-board.²⁴ If we accept it on Wessington's authority, we may just as well swallow the extraordinary Irish fairy tales of St. Cuthbert's infancy, which Wessington was equally ready to vouch for.²⁵ Wessington makes no allusion to the Cuthbertine dedications in the south of Scotland. We may be certain that the great period of St. Cuthbert's missionary activity was while he was prior of Melrose, a fact that the monks of Lindisfarne and Durham seem to have considered it to be to their interest to gloss over. The sea and the mountain both had powerful attractions for St. Cuthbert. At *Coldingham*²⁶ he is said to have walked into the waves up to his neck for several nights, singing hymns of praise. With Tydi and another monk he sailed in mid-winter down the Solway in a boat to *the country of the Nithsdale Picts*,²⁷ probably to Kirkcudbright, and remained there storm-bound for nearly a fortnight. On another occasion we hear of his setting out from Melrose and journeying southward along the *Tesgeta*,²⁸ and then of his visiting his adopted mother Kenswith at 'Rutlingaham,' which seemed to have been a village in a street running east and west,²⁹ and therefore, probably, at any rate, not situated upon the Leader which flows in a southerly direction.

How long St. Cuthbert remained as prior at Melrose before he was transferred in the same office to Lindisfarne cannot be determined

²⁴ 'in partibus occidentalibus,' see Raine, *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 43, n.

²⁵ 'natione Hibernicus, regis parentibus ortus,' *ibid.* p. 15, n.

²⁶ *Vita Lindisf.* ii. § 3, 'colodesbyrig,' Arras MS.; 'colodesburg,' Treves MS. The Bollandists misreading 'r' for 's' have 'Coloderbyrig.' The forms 'byrig' and 'burg' deserve notice; as also the fact that in Coldingham we have a settlement of the descendants of this Colod who appears to have founded the burg which Bede calls 'urbs Coludi.' This is a strong argument against Kemble's idea that these patronymics in 'ing' referred to remote ancestors on the Continent.

²⁷ *Vita Lindisf.* ii. § 4; 'ad terram pictorum ubi niudwæra legio,' Arras MS.; 'ubi dicitur niudera regio,' Treves MS. fo. 136, d. The reading 'regio' is no doubt more accurate than 'legio.' The Bollandists gravely print the extraordinary muddle 'ubi Mudpieraegis,' that first led me to suspect the general accuracy of their rendering of the place-names. Bede's life, § ii. has 'ad terram Pictorum, quæ Niduari vocatur.' See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 133, 238; ii. 208, 209.

²⁸ So the *Acta Sanctorum* and the MSS. all read. The river was no doubt the Teviot, as is generally supposed.

²⁹ At any rate Kenswith's house 'in extrema parte vici ad orientem posita videbatur.' Cf. the conflagration at Bywell in 1285, *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 119; *Arch. Ael.* N.S. xiv. 374, n.

with certainty. The Lindisfarne life would lead us almost to suppose that it was not until Eata became bishop of Lindisfarne in 678.³⁰ That he was not so very long prior of Lindisfarne may be gathered from the fact that there is only one detailed miracle ascribed to him during that period. One day, we are told, a prefect of King Egfrid, named *Hildemer*,³¹ arrived at Lindisfarne begging the prior to send a priest to administer the sacrament to his wife who was he said at the point of death, and afterwards to accord her the privilege of sepulture on Holy Island. Cuthbert decided to accompany Hildemer himself, and they set out on horseback together. On the way, he rightly conjectured that the real facts of the case were that the lady had gone out of her mind, and he comforted Hildemer with the assurance that by the time they reached his house she would come forth to greet them, perfectly cured in mind and body, and it was so. It seems not improbable that Hildemer's 'town' may be the present Ilderton, anciently called Hilderton.³² This incident has been admittedly taken out of the chronological order so as to immediately follow that relating to Rutlingaham,³³ and for this there seems to be no other reason than that Roddam and Ilderton being so close together, the writer was led on from an event happening at the one to an event happening at the other by a very natural train of thought.

In the autumn of 685, Cuthbert was with great difficulty induced to quit the hermitage to which he had retired on Farne Island, in order to be elected bishop of Hexham at the synod held at Twyford on the Alne, the river that formed the boundary between the dioceses of Lindisfarne and Hexham. He made it a condition of accepting the dignity that his consecration should be deferred till the following spring, and again retired to Farne. Eata, who was still bishop of Lindisfarne, requested the bishop-elect of Hexham to come and see him at his monastery of Melrose. On the return journey Cuthbert

³⁰ 'a venerabili et sancto episcopo Eata invitatus et coacte ad hanc insulam nostram quæ dicitur Lindisfarne . . . advenit.'—*Vita Lindisf.* lib. iii. ; Giles, ed. p. 368.

³¹ *Ibid.* lib. ii. § 8; 'hildmær,' Arras MS. ; 'Hildimer,' Treves MS. fo. 137, d; 'Hildmer,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland.

³² *Placita*, 10 Ric. I. ; Hodgson, *Northumberland* III. ii. p. 337, etc.

³³ 'illa tempore ecclesie nostrae Praepositus erat.'—*Vita Lindisf.* lib. ii. § 8.

crossed the *Tweed*³⁴ at *Examford*³⁵ a little above the great earthwork of Wark, and *Sibba*,³⁶ the lord of the 'vicus,' that preceded the medieval castle, besought him to bestow his benediction upon it. Accordingly Cuthbert entered the stronghold with solemn chants of psalms and hymns. Hearing that one of Sibba's servants lay at death's door, he blessed some water and sent another of the earl's household, named Baldhelm,³⁷ with it to the sick man, who after the third draught fell asleep and recovered. On this being told to King Egfrid, he and all the Britons with him are said to have given St. Cuthbert the land of Cartmel, and the town called Suth-gedluit. This the saint in his turn entrusted to the good abbot Cyneferth.³⁸

At Easter, 685, Cuthbert was consecrated at York, and it is said that Eata and he exchanged sees the same day. On the 20th of May, the day of Egfrid's defeat and death at Nechtansmere, Cuthbert was at Carlisle, and after consecrating on the following day the church of a

³¹ *Ibid.* iv. § 7, Giles ed. p. 376; 'twide,' Arras MS.; 'tuidue,' Treves MS. 140, d. The Bollandists have 'Opide,' but several writers have seen that the river between Melrose and Farnie must necessarily be the Tweed. The chronology and geography of this incident rests on Bede's Life, § 25; ed. Giles, p. 291:—'Cum . . . electus ad episcopatum Cuthbertus suam remeasset ad insulam . . . evocavit eum venerabilis episcopus ejus Eata, atque ad suum colloquium Mailros venire praecepit. Quo expleto colloquio, dum domum redire coepisset,' etc.

³² We should never have looked for 'Examford' on the Tweed, but the Survey by Bowes and Ellerker in 1541 speaks of 'An other forde called Hexham forde enteringe into the said ryver of Twede in the said felde of Warke upon the southe syde and stretcheth over unto the said felde of Caldstreame upon the northe syde.'—Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 200, n. There can then be no reasonable doubt of this being the same miracle as that recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: 'Postquam vero sanctus Cuthbertus suscitavit puerum a mortuis in villa quae vocatur Examforda, dedit ei rex Egfridus terram quae vocatur Cartmel, et omnes Britanni cum eo, et villam illam quae vocatur Suth-gedluit.'—*Symeon of Durham*, Rolls ed. p. 200.

³³ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 7, Giles ed. p. 376; 'Sibba,' Arras MS.; 'Sibca,' Treves MS.; 'Sibba,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland.

³⁴ 'benedixit aquam et dedit ministro comitis nomine Baldhelmo.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, § 25, Giles ed. p. 292. Baldhelm's is the only proper name that is given by Bede, and not by the Lindisfarne biographer.

³⁵ See above, note 35. When 'Examford' proves to be on the Tweed near Wark, and not, as but for the passage quoted from the Border Survey of 1541, we might have concluded on the Crane, near Egton in Furness, it is impossible any longer with certainty to identify the land and town, given by king Egfrid to St. Cuthbert, with Cartmel and Nether Kellet in North Lancashire. Considering the locality of the miracle and the general sphere of St. Cuthbert's interests, it would be more natural if 'Cartmel' should turn out to be the district of the Carter Fell, and 'Suth-gedluit' to be South Dean on the Jed. To judge from the details of the boundaries of the territories of the two 'Gedwearde's' (Jedburghs) given by bishop Egred 831-847 to the church of St. Cuthbert, *Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, §, Rolls ed. p. 201, this latter district was independent of them, and was already known by the name of 'Duna.'

monastery in the neighbourhood, he promised Queen Irminburg to follow her to Bamburgh. In the course of his visitation of his diocese of Lindisfarne, he came to the 'vicus' of *Hemma*,³⁹ a 'comes' of Alfrid the new king. This probably stood on the mound called Greencastle in *Kenterdale*⁴⁰—the old name, apparently for the valley in the Cheviots at the back of Wooler. Hemma, coming out to meet him, thanked heaven for his arrival, as his wife was so ill that her life was despaired of, and if only he would bless some water, it might shorten her agony or restore her health. The bishop at once blessed the water, and gave it to Bede his chaplain, not to be confounded with the historian, who sprinkled the patient and gave her some to drink. Her recovery was so rapid that she was able to rise and entertain St. Cuthbert, herself handing him the loving cup. Cuthbert proceeded on his episcopal tour across the Tweed as far as '*Bedesfeld*,'⁴¹ where he had shortly before granted a settlement to some nuns who had abandoned their convent further north through fear of an advance of the victorious Picts.⁴² He was probably recalled to Hexham in consequence of the death of bishop Eata, which is supposed to have taken place on the 26th October. From Hexham, probably in February, he journeyed towards *Carlisle*,⁴³ no doubt along the ancient Carel-gate. Half-way between the two cities he spent two days in a mountainous country, preaching and confirming at a place called

³⁹ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 3, Giles ed. p. 374; 'hemma,' Arras MS.; 'hemini,' Treves MS. fo. 139, d.; 'Heunna,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. It is right to mention that Bedesdale and Coquetdale met on the Scottish frontier at a place called 'Henmer's (or Henmyer's) Well' in the Border Survey of 1604 (printed by Mr. R. P. Sanderson, Alnwick, 1891, pp. 41, 84), but apparently 'Hyndemars felde' in the survey of 1541 (Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 208).

⁴⁰ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 3; 'in regione quae dicitur Kintis,' Arras MS.; 'hintis,' Treves MS.; 'Henitis,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. I was disappointed not to find a reading that would identify this 'regio' with the 'Cheviots,' as I had expected.

⁴¹ 'ad vicum, qui Bedesfeld dicitur,' *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 4, Giles ed. p. 375; 'bedesfeld,' Arras MS.; 'Bedesfeld,' Treves MS.; 'Bedesfeld,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. The place is probably either Bedrule in Roxburghshire, or Bedshield at the foot of the Lammemoors, near Polwarth.

⁴² 'in vicum quemdam, in quo erant feminae sanctimoniales non multae, quibus timore barbarici exercitus a monasterio suo profugis, ibidem manendi sedem vir Domini paulo ante donaverat.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxx. Giles ed. iv. p. 306. This donation to the nuns shows that, whether as bishop or not, St. Cuthbert did really possess some property in land.

⁴³ *Vita Lindisf.* iv. § 5, Giles ed. p. 375; 'luel,' Arras MS. and Treves MS. p. 139, d. The Bollandists misread this 'Vel,' and have to answer for a multitude of learned conjectures as to its location. That 'Luel' was Carlisle is well known:—'Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur.'—*Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.*; *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls ed. i. p. 53.

'*Æhse*' or '*Æchse*,'⁴⁴ probably the Roman station of *ÆSICA* or Great Chesters. As this was clearly within the diocese of Hexham, it is probable that he had undertaken the administration of it till a new bishop should be appointed. At Carlisle he received the religious profession of the widowed Queen Irminburg,⁴⁵ and met for the last time on earth his great friend St. Herbert, the hermit of Derwent-water.⁴⁶ He then set out to visit Elfed, the abbess of Whitby, and to dedicate a church for her at *Easington*,⁴⁷ on the Yorkshire coast. On his way he appears to have passed through the village of *Medomsley*, in which the plague was committing frightful ravages at the time.⁴⁸ At Easington Cuthbert, who as a shepherd, had seen a vision of the beatification of bishop Aidan, beheld now as a bishop

⁴⁴ 'Quodam tempore episcopus sanctus profisciscens ab Hagustaldense, tendebat ad civitatem, quae Lucl dicitur. Mansio tamen in media via facta est, in regione ubi dicitur æhse,' *Vita Lindisf.* Arras MS.; 'echse,' Treves MS. The Bollandists have 'Alise,' a mistake that might easily arise in making a hasty transcript of the Arras MS. where the word is somewhat blurred. If their reading had rested on independent authority, it would have been most interesting, since Alislee is the name of a farm just west of *ÆSICA*, and we should have had the English and Roman name of what was practically the same place side by side. The survival of the Roman name so late is, of course, unique in Northumberland; but Lucl likewise seems only a contracted form of *LUGUVALLIUM*. Ash, in Cumberland, on the King's Water, seems both too near Carlisle and too far off the road to the north to enable it to compete with *ÆSICA*, the position of which exactly suits all the requirements of the case. After 'Hagustaldense' in the passage quoted above, 'civitate' is to be understood. This miracle is said in the *Vita Lindisf.* to rest especially on the testimony of a certain 'Penna' (Treves MS.), whom the Bollandists call Henna.

⁴⁵ 'Cuthbertus ad . . . Lugubaliam . . . advenit, quatenus ibidem sacerdotes consecrare, sed et ipsam reginam, dato habitu sancta conversationis, benedicere deberet.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxviii. Dr. Giles (iv. p. 301) actually translated the latter part of this extract, 'but also to bless the queen herself with his holy conversation.' Eddi, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, § xxiv. says of queen Irminburg, 'de lupa, post occisionem regis, agna Domini, et perfecta Abbatissa, materque familias optima commutata est.' Her name appears in *Liber Vitae* of Durham, Surt. Soc. Publ. I can, however, find no authority for Dr. Obser's statement, *Wilfrid der Aeltere*, p. 49, n, that she was afterwards canonised.

⁴⁶ Bede, *Vita*, cap. xxviii.

⁴⁷ 'Osingadun,' Arras MS.; 'Osingadun,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland. The fact that the messenger who left Whitby in the early morning (Bede, *Vita*, cap. xxxiv.) returned to Easington as mass was being sung shows that it could not have been Easington in the county of Durham, as at first might be supposed, this being then in the diocese of Hexham. Bede, however, says Cuthbert wished his final retirement to Farne to be after a visitation, not only of his own diocese, but of certain neighbouring monasteries—'non solum sua circuita parochia, sed et aliis circa fidelium mansionibus visitata.'

⁴⁸ 'medilwong,' Arras MS.; 'medinluong,' Treves MS. Confusing, as usual, the early 'w' with 'p,' the Bollandists have 'medilpong.' I see no reason for identifying this place with 'Mechil Wongtune,' where king Oswulf was killed in 757, Sym. Dun. *Hist. Regum*, in anno, which is more probably Great (muckle) Whittington, to the north-east of Corbridge.

himself the beatification of the shepherd *Hadwald*,⁴⁹ whose death was confirmed to him by Elfed, who came to him herself into the sanctuary as mass was being celebrated.⁵⁰ He turned north to South Shields, where he received a splendid welcome from the abbess Verca;⁵¹ and it is here, in the company of one of the five saintly women, Kenswith, Ebbe, Elfed, Irminburg, and Verca, for whom he always evinced especial affection, that the story of his life on the mainland closes, immediately opposite the spot on the northern bank of the Tyne where he first appeared. Soon afterwards he retired again to the storm-lashed rocks of Farne, and died there on the 20th of March, 687, under the touching circumstances related by Bede.

Enough has, it is hoped, been said to show that when properly studied, the actual wanderings of the historical St. Cuthbert are certainly of equal interest to the semi-mythical migrations of his shrine. The period of his retreat on Farne was probably shorter than has popularly been supposed, but his mission work from the centre of Melrose, and his episcopal administration not only of the diocese of Lindisfarne but of that of Hexham, account for the mighty influence for good that he exerted over so large a tract of country. It is not only the more famous islands that we may regard as associated with his life, but Chester-le-Street, Wark-on-Tweed, and ÆSICA, and with a lesser degree of certainty Roddam, Ilderton, Kenterdale, and Medomsley. The more we read of our Northumbrian history the more should we feel inclined to put our shoes from off our feet, for nearly every spot on which we tread is holy ground.

⁴⁹ 'hadwald,' Arras MS.; 'haduvaldi,' Treves MS.; 'Hadpuald,' *Act. Sanct.* Bolland.

⁵⁰ 'dedicantique eo die ibi ecclesiam, et missam cantantibus in eo loco, ubi dicitur 'Memento, domine, famulorum.'—*Vita Lindisf.* iv. 10. This incident perhaps shows more strongly than any other how diametrically contrary to the truth are those fantastic traditions of the Middle Ages that make out St. Cuthbert to have been a fierce woman-hater. The restrictions on women in church applied to Columban monasteries generally.—Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 207, n.

⁵¹ It was on this occasion that he is said to have chosen water to drink in preference to wine or beer, but to have afterwards changed it into wine:—'Quaerébant quid bibere vellet, rogantes ut vinum, sive cervisiam, afferri liceret. 'Aquam,' inquit, 'date mihi.'—Bede, *Vita*, cap. xxxv. This shows that he regarded the use of neither beer nor wine with disapproval.