

IV

THE MISOGYNY OF SAINT CUTHBERT

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AT SOME point in the late twelfth century, most probably in the 1170s, a small girl was playing with other children near the cathedral church of Durham.¹ Her name was Emeloth and she was the daughter of a local man called Asceloth. She lived on the opposite side of the river Wear from the cathedral, in *Alvertunes strete*, the modern Allergate. We do not know her precise age but she was certainly not old enough to take full responsibility for her actions. In the course of her game—which sounds as though it involved a ball—she strayed into the cathedral, completely unaware of the fact that Saint Cuthbert, whose body rested inside, was supposed to have forbidden all females to enter the building. She went out of her mind nevertheless and remained in this state for some time, bearing a pathetic resemblance to a case of senile dementia.² This story, in which the saint appears as both vindictive and petty-minded, is in sharp contrast to the familiar image of the north's greatest saint, the deeply loved figure devotion to whom was later reputed to be the greatest hindrance to the course of the English Reformation.³

The historical Cuthbert, successively monk, hermit on the island of Inner Farne and bishop of Lindisfarne, had died in 687. His career had revealed an unusual talent for both the eremitic life and pastoral care, while, in addition to his sanctity, the strength of his character and his charm had impressed themselves upon contemporaries. Of the greatest importance in the development of his posthumous cult was the discovery, made eleven years after his death, of the incorruption of his body. The precious relic rapidly came to embody the church of Lindisfarne and gave it a measure of stability in the difficult years when the Vikings overran Northumbria. It was found necessary to move the see, nevertheless; in 883 the saint's community established itself in Chester-le-Street and in 995 in Durham.

In spite of the ascetic strain in Cuthbert's personality there is no hint of misogyny in the near-contemporary biographies.⁴ Indeed he is always described as enjoying most cordial and warm relations with women, of two of whom he seems to have been particularly fond. Kenswith, his former nurse, whom he addressed as "mother", had cared for him since he was eight. He made a point of visiting her frequently and on one occasion prevented a fire from destroying her home.⁵ A friend in religion was Abbess Verca, who entertained him in her monastery where, it was believed, he miraculously turned water into wine.⁶ She also sent him a length of cloth which was obviously of too precious a material for him to wear, but he kept it, out of affection for her we are told, so that his body might be wrapped in it after his death.⁷

As these examples indicate, the historical Cuthbert, far from keeping women at a distance, was probably as closely involved with them as the restrictions of his position allowed.

For over four hundred years after the saint's death no work produced by the circle of his followers or elsewhere contains a reference to anti-feminism in connection with him. We first hear that Cuthbert was prejudiced against women, and prepared to persecute those who offended him, in Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*,⁸ a history of the church founded originally on Lindisfarne, which was composed between 1104 and 1107.⁹ This gives us a date for the first appearance of Cuthbert's misogyny. At one point Symeon describes how the saint's followers left Lindisfarne in 875 and carrying his body with them lived as fugitives for fear of the Vikings.¹⁰ The next chapter begins with the statement that hardly any of the churches where the holy body rested before, during or after the flight¹¹ permitted women to enter even up to the time of writing. Symeon explains this custom by reference to the fire which destroyed the double monastery of Coldingham and which was regarded as a punishment for the laxity of its inmates. The nuns, for example, had woven fine garments to dress like brides or to attract men from outside the monastery. Shortly afterwards Cuthbert, on being made bishop, ruled that his followers, both present and future, should have no contact with women, who were denied admittance to his church on Lindisfarne. The ban, Symeon adds, extended even to the burial grounds of his churches, except in special circumstances.¹² Before examining the practical consequences of the ruling thus attributed to the saint, it may be worth investigating its origins.

In 1083 a community of Benedictine monks had been established in Durham and from then on the cathedral church formed the central part of the home of a group of men committed to celibacy. As such it does not seem unreasonable that women should have been excluded from the building. Saint Benedict in his *Rule*¹³ does not mention the presence of women in the monastery; presumably the subject was far too obvious to be worth discussing. In such an environment the desire to preserve the community from potentially harmful influences could easily develop into misogyny especially as women could be regarded as particularly effective allies of the devil. The monastic church, on the other hand, was also the head church of the diocese of Durham and therefore at certain times could expect to receive visitors from outside the community. Even more important, it housed Cuthbert's relics and such a powerful saint could not expect to be free of pilgrims for long.

Durham of course was not unique in possessing a famous shrine in a monastic church, but elsewhere an accommodation seems to have been reached between the needs of the religious and those of the pilgrims. A recent study investigating visitors to relic-centres and their miracles examined, amongst other shrines, those in the monasteries of Norwich and Canterbury in the twelfth century and Worcester in the thirteenth. The author's general conclusion on the admission of outsiders was that "usually pilgrims of both sexes were welcome at the shrines ..."¹⁴ At Bury Saint Edmunds,¹⁵ Evesham¹⁶ and Malmesbury¹⁷ in the decades after the Conquest women appear, similarly, to have experienced no difficulty in approaching the saint. They

were not admitted to Pontigny in the mid-thirteenth century, but the relics were taken out to them.¹⁸ Thus on the whole the monastic guardians of major relics were prepared to allow all types of visitor to approach the shrine. No doubt they were confident that if outsiders had access to certain parts of the church the choir was for their use alone.¹⁹ Such tolerance did not prevail at Durham.

It would appear that Saint Cuthbert's position in this matter was unique. Why did he come to be regarded as a misogynist? It cannot be enough to say, with Colgrave, that this belief merely reflected the loss suffered by women after 1066 of the high status they had enjoyed in Anglo-Saxon society.²⁰ If this had been the case far more saints would have been noted for their dislike of women and I know of no other English examples.

Some years ago Rosalind Hill put forward an explanation of this curious phenomenon which carries great conviction. Before 1083 Saint Cuthbert had been served for many years by a hereditary community of married clergy, the descendants of those who had left Lindisfarne with the saint's body in 875. Although highly respectable in a region that had felt no breath of reform in the tenth century, in the late eleventh these priests and their families appeared not merely outdated but positively scandalous by the standards of the wider church. After 1083 the monks must have been conscious of the intense resentment felt by the ousted clergy and their relatives and in their insecurity the newcomers turned to the saint himself. By publicizing a new image of Cuthbert as a misogynist and thus discrediting their married predecessors they strengthened their position in an unwelcoming environment.²¹

The precise manner in which the idea was conceived and then spread abroad is probably beyond reconstruction but it is quite possible that the belief in Cuthbert's antifeminism arose, as it were, naturally in the monastic community and that no conscious attempt was ever made to deceive. Some encouragement may have come from the bishop who brought the Benedictine monks to Durham and who had spent part of his career in the monastery of St. Carileph in Maine.²² In fifteenth-century Durham it was known that the saintly patron of this house had not been overfond of women and had denied them access to his church.²³ This may well have been known in eleventh-century Durham also.

How did Cuthbert's alleged ban on women entering his churches work out in practice? Symeon relates three stories which show the ban in operation at Durham and incidentally give some indication of the type of propaganda used by the monks to further their cause. What appears to be the earliest, relating to the years 1056-65, has as its central character Judith, daughter of Baldwin count of Flanders, and wife of Tostig earl of Northumbria. Full of devotion to Saint Cuthbert and a benefactress to his church, she would have been even more generous, says Symeon, if she had been allowed to pray at his tomb. Fearful of possible consequences she sent one of her maidservants to the church before attempting to enter herself, but as the girl was about to step into the cemetery a wind-like force pushed her back. She eventually died in great pain. Terrified, the countess, together with her husband, commissioned an elaborate crucifix ornamented with gold and silver which with other gifts they gave to the cathedral.²⁴ This narrative, belonging to the period before 1083,

would appear to pre-date the monastic campaign to discredit the married clergy. It is the only story to do so, however, and comes from a work composed by one of the monks some time after Judith had left Northumbria. It may well represent an attempt to reconcile memories of a famous benefactress with the saint's antifeminism and to provide an example of Cuthbert punishing a female trespasser from further back in the past.

Symeon's two other stories probably belong to the period after 1083 and emphasize, as does that of Countess Judith, that the saint's decree applied to the burial ground of Durham cathedral as much as to the building itself. One offender was Sungeoua, the wife of a certain Gamel, son of Beuo. When she was returning with her husband from a dinner party the muddy holes in the streets prompted them to take an alternative route through the churchyard. As soon as she set foot outside the fence after crossing the forbidden area she collapsed and she died the same night.²⁵ Even more lurid is the account of the woman whose husband's social position had made proud and impetuous. Eager to view the ornaments of the church she walked through the cemetery but as a result she went mad. She took to wandering away from home and was found under a tree one day having cut her own throat. Her husband, perhaps understandably, became a monk.²⁶

Reginald, a Durham writer of a slightly later period, suggests in one story that Cuthbert's attitude had softened hardly at all by the second decade of the twelfth century. In 1113/14 the future King David of Scotland married Maud, widow of the earl of Huntingdon, and while travelling northwards they stayed in Durham. Maud approached the limits set for women at the edge of the churchyard but hearing of the longstanding custom of Saint Cuthbert's church went no further. One of her ladies, Helisend, who was known for her skill with rich fabrics, wished to test the ban, however. Clothed and hooded in black she entered the cathedral and hid herself in a corner. At once the saint was aware of her presence, which had impinged most unpleasantly on his sense of smell, and he ordered his sacrist to remove the offensive creature. On discovering Helisend the monk addressed her in language even ruder than the saint's—"drain of corruption" is not unrepresentative of the names she was called—and then threw her out. Although for some time in a state of extreme shock, she eventually took the veil at Elstow in Bedfordshire. At least her life had been spared.²⁷

Somewhat later, in the 1170s, it appears that women were allowed to approach the west doors of the cathedral which were then open, though now blocked by the Galilee chapel. Whether this meant that the boundaries of the cemetery had been altered, or whether this had always been the case, we do not know, though the latter situation is more likely. At some point between 1170 and 1174 or thereabouts a noblewoman called Agnes became ill after a blood-letting session. At the threshold of the cathedral her health was fully restored.²⁸ That the location of her cure was the west door is shown by the experiences of a blind woman which belong to the same years. Poor as well as handicapped, her life was a misery—going out of her home meant the risk of being trampled on by horses or hitting her head on obstacles such as the awnings fixed over windows. One night she dreamt that she entered the cathedral

and saw the saint's tomb. Two men, one of whom was Cuthbert, removed her bodily, but as the saint appeared benign she begged him for her sight. Later she visited the west door in reality and the saint granted her request.²⁹ Similarly Osanna of Foxton was cured in the same place of an inflamed eyelid,³⁰ while an epileptic from Brompton, attracted to the cathedral by the sound of its bells, received complete relief at the west door.³¹

Despite Symeon's statement that a number of churches were affected by Saint Cuthbert's ban, apart from Durham only those of Lindisfarne and the Inner Farne appear in this connection in the sources. According to Symeon Lindisfarne first witnessed the imposition of the ban and he says, rather oddly, that it was laid down with the consent of local men and women. A building, called the Green Church from its situation in a green flat area, was then erected for the women's use.³² One wonders if Symeon's words do not contain some echo of the events leading up to the building of an early parish church on the island. By the time that he was writing, in the early twelfth century, a cell of Durham had been established there to replace the original monastery destroyed by the Vikings and it is quite possible that women were excluded from the conventual church. A comment in the *Life of Saint Cuthbert in English verse*, dating from the mid-fifteenth century, could be taken as suggesting that the ban had lapsed by that period.³³

On the Inner Farne, a number of miracles dating mainly from the years 1150–93 when the monk Bartholomew was living as a hermit there³⁴ reveal that in the church or oratory Cuthbert's decree was observed. Even the very aristocratic lady from Embleton in Northumberland, who was severely crippled, was not allowed to enter the church and had to spend the night in the guesthouse.³⁵ Women seem to have been admitted to the churchyard on the island, however. Another lady, probably Emma de Grenville, who had aggravated a serious abdominal condition with medical treatment and then suffered from sensations of extreme heat and cold, believed the outer churchyard open to her.³⁶ The story of the Flemish woman who, with the complaint that on Farne women were put on the same level as dogs, tried to enter the church, lends further support to this suggestion. It was at the church door that she seemed to be repulsed by a strong wind and both men and women hurried up, presumably through the cemetery.³⁷ An arrangement that existed on the island after the death of Bartholomew in 1193 would also seem to confirm this. The hermit had been buried outside the south wall of the oratory and a second wall running from the east end to the west end on this side had been built, presumably to protect the tomb from relic-snatchers. Two squints had been made in the new wall through which women could view the tomb, men presumably being able to look out through the windows of the church. Women would have to cross the churchyard to reach the wall.³⁸

In the late twelfth century Cuthbert may well have become marginally more tolerant towards women and the main reason for this development was probably competition. Despite Reginald of Durham's repeated statement that the saint would withhold the benefits of his mercy from no pious suppliant, irrespective of factors such as rank or sex,³⁹ it is quite obvious that women in need might hesitate to apply

to Cuthbert. Even those who could ignore the saint's aversion to their kind were denied the therapeutic experience of visiting his tomb—and felt extreme frustration as a result, as the blind woman's dream, in which she thought she set eyes on the shrine, makes plain. Before 1170 these difficulties were of no significance but that year witnessed the deaths of two individuals who were to draw female pilgrims away from Durham. It has recently been noticed that the majority of visitors cured at the nearby shrine of Saint Godric of Finchale, who died in that year,⁴⁰ were women.⁴¹ Thomas Becket also died in 1170 and, as he rose at Canterbury to the status of England's premier saint, allowed women unrestricted access to his relics.

Considerations of this kind may have influenced Bishop Hugh du Puiset in his decision to build a lady chapel, to which women would have access, in Durham cathedral. The site chosen was the east end, not far from the saint's tomb. Marble was brought by sea, building masters, probably more than were desirable, were set to work and large sums were spent on workmen. Before the walls had risen very far cracks appeared, however, probably because of inadequate foundations,⁴² though contemporaries took them as a sign that the project was displeasing to God and his saint. A new chapel was begun at the west end, which Cuthbert permitted to reach completion. From the Galilee, as it came to be called, women could even enjoy an unimpeded view of the distant shrine,⁴³ as the west doors seem to have been removed when the new chapel was built.⁴⁴

The Galilee, constructed about 1175,⁴⁵ represented a major concession on the saint's part and indeed after the end of the twelfth century references to his antifeminism become much more sporadic. The idea was far from dead, however, and one work which helped to keep it alive and indeed brought it to a much wider public was the so-called *Irish Life* or *Libellus de Ortu Sancti Cuthberti*.⁴⁶ This bizarre work, which contains elements resembling those found in medieval romances, was written in all probability in the Cistercian house of Melrose in the second half of the twelfth century. It claims, largely on the authority of Irish sources, to describe the saint's early life about which Cuthbert's anonymous biographer and Bede were silent. It states that both through his father Muriadach and his mother Sabina he was descended from Irish kings and that he was born in Ireland. While still a boy he travelled to the mainland of Britain and on the journey a seal swallowed his psalter, only to return it later. Shortly after his arrival he passed into the care of Saint Columba to be educated with an Irish girl called Brigid. Many of the difficulties raised by this curious work are resolved when it is realized that the first twenty-three chapters are taken from the life of a certain Saint Lugaid or Moloc of Lismore. The three that follow come from a life of Saint Adamnan of Iona. One of the latter chapters contains the first reference to misogyny. While living as a hermit in the land of the Picts Cuthbert (or Adamnan) forbade women to enter his home. After his departure it was used as a sanctuary by such people as murderers but no one dared to introduce a woman into the place. One man who brought his wife and daughters there broke his hip, knee and shin-bone and never again did anyone attempt such a rash act.⁴⁷

The three final chapters of the *Irish Life* give reasons for Cuthbert's ban on female

visitors to his churches and these stories appear to be original to the work. The second describes how a Bedfordshire hermit by the name of Ralph de Nuers, who is known to have existed, was prevented by a vision of Saint Cuthbert from celebrating a feast of the Virgin.⁴⁸ More obviously relevant is the third chapter, a rather trite tale of a beautiful woman who distracted the audience of one of the saint's sermons. She disappeared when sprinkled with holy water and Cuthbert forthwith imposed his ban.⁴⁹ The first story is the most colourful and famous. When Cuthbert was a hermit in the land of the Picts the unmarried daughter of the Pictish king became pregnant. When questioned by her father she declared that the solitary was responsible. The king confronted the young man with his alleged crime and the girl repeated her accusation to his face. When the astonished hermit prayed to God to bear witness to his innocence, the earth opened and swallowed the girl up. Cuthbert reassured the frightened king and his followers that he had no quarrel with them, but he decided to shun female company from that time and forbade women to enter his church. This ban was still observed in all Pictish churches dedicated to the saint, according to the author of the *Irish Life*. The location of this miracle was a place called Corruen.⁵⁰

We do not know when this singular piece of hagiography reached Durham but it was almost certainly in the course of the thirteenth century.⁵¹ It seems to have been welcomed because it filled a gap left by the traditional sources and because it gave the saint a royal ancestry. Its importance derives chiefly from the fact that it strengthened belief in Cuthbert's misogyny in Durham and carried it far beyond its previous limits. The main tool in this process was John of Tynemouth, a monk of St. Albans, who used the *Irish Life* when compiling his *Sanctilogium Angliae*. Material from this life, including the Corruen or Corwen story, appears, not without error, in this hagiographical collection of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. After the *Sanctilogium* had undergone various modifications in the intervening period, the core of John of Tynemouth's work was printed in 1516 as the *Nova Legenda Angliae*.⁵² Wherever the collection went and in whatever form it appeared, details of Cuthbert's anti-feminism went with it.

That material derived from the *Irish Life* was known in York in the first half of the fifteenth century is shown by the Saint Cuthbert window still to be seen in the Minster. Incidents from the saint's childhood as described in the life are represented in the glass.⁵³ About 1450, in addition, when the *Life of Saint Cuthbert in English verse* was being produced, presumably in Durham, the *Irish Life* was again used for the description of Cuthbert's childhood. Book I of the verse life is a translation of the first twenty-three chapters of the Irish work,⁵⁴ while further on the writer was inspired to produce some rather inconclusive reflections on the saint's antifeminism.⁵⁵ The pervasive influence of the *Irish Life* in the monastery of Durham just before the Dissolution is clearly brought out by the slightly later description found in the *Rites*.⁵⁶

We have no further information for the thirteenth century, but during the fourteenth, despite the presence of the *Libellus de Ortu* in the house, the monks seem to have rather neglected this characteristic of their patron saint. The extent of the

neglect is revealed by an incident involving Queen Philippa of Hainault. On the Thursday after Easter in 1333 King Edward III arrived in Durham and was entertained in the prior's chamber. The following Wednesday the queen travelled from Knaresborough to join her husband, entered the monastery through the main gate and had supper with the king. It was only when she was in bed that one of the monks indicated to the king that Cuthbert objected to the presence of women. At the king's command the queen, dressed merely in her nightgown with a cloak over her shoulders, braved the cold of a Durham spring night. Walking up what is now Dun Cow Lane she came to the castle, begging the pardon of the offended saint.⁵⁷ But for the intervention of the unknown monk the queen would presumably have remained in bed. His motive may perhaps have been not so much the sparing of Cuthbert's sensibilities as a desire to show the king that the convent had a mind of its own at a time when an election to the see cannot have been far away.

On occasion it appears that the saint's misogyny was forgotten altogether. In 1374 Alice Neville, the wife of Ralph Lord Neville, was buried beside her husband before the Jesus altar at the east end of the nave.⁵⁸ A little later, in 1386, their son John Neville, who had contributed so generously to the lovely screen which now bears his name, was buried on the south side of the nave. His wife Maud was also laid to rest in the same place.⁵⁹ Cuthbert seems to have accepted these inhumations without a murmur. The Nevilles were great noblemen and liberal benefactors of the church of Durham but such considerations had not influenced the implacable saint of an earlier period.

By the fifteenth century the situation had changed yet again. When Matilda Burgh and Margaret Usher, servants in the household of Peter Baxter of Newcastle, attempted to approach the shrine, they found themselves confronted by the full rigour of the law. On 18 September 1417 an order was issued to make the arrangements for their punishment. By now the crime brought with it the threat of major excommunication, but the two women, who had confessed to the deed, were to appear on six holy days alternately at the church of Saint Nicholas and the church of All Saints in Newcastle. There, dressed in the male clothing in which they had come to Durham cathedral, they were to walk round the church in front of the procession. Their transgression was to be explained to the congregation and their punishment was to serve as a warning to others.⁶⁰ It is hard to account for the renewed vigour with which Cuthbert was enforcing his ban. Perhaps the election to the Durham priorate of John Wessington in the year before this incident is of some relevance. Deeply interested in the history of his church and eventually responsible for many works on the subject⁶¹ he may well have regarded the strict observance of an ancient rule as a suitable aim.

The stance adopted by the monastery in the fifteenth century may well have been continuously maintained up to the suppression of the house. The *Rites of Durham*, written in 1593 by an unknown person with an intimate knowledge of the life of the cathedral priory, indicates that Cuthbert's misogyny had become an institutionalized part of the conventual routine. The author describes the line of blue marble with a cross in the centre still to be seen in the floor near the west end of the cathedral

nave and apparently of unknown date. By the time of which he is writing women were allowed to approach this line but if they walked beyond it towards the shrine they were punished at length. Similarly any woman who set foot in any other part of the house could expect to meet with retribution. The author cites the Corwen miracle to explain this Durham custom but according to him it has a happier ending: the earth disgorges the guilty princess.⁶² He also quotes the description of how the Galilee was built and does not hesitate, as did the earlier writer, to suggest that it was Cuthbert's antifeminism which wrecked the first attempt.⁶³ In describing some of the great processions of the church, finally, he relates how a large number of men, women and children would wait at the abbey gates for the prior and monks, dressed in rich vestments, and the precious relics that they carried. The men could join the procession as it entered the abbey courtyard but the women had to remain outside.⁶⁴

As Reginald of Durham pointed out, Saint Cuthbert's aversion to women was based not so much on hatred of the female sex as on a desire to destroy the opportunity for sin.⁶⁵ It co-existed with a willingness on the saint's part to cure and assist women and its real object was the few women who came too close to his relics. For all this it appeared at times to give rise to veritable persecution and only lapsed into toleration in the fourteenth century through, it would seem, the neglect of Cuthbert's servants. A curious phenomenon, it first appeared to serve a particular, limited purpose and when the aim was realized lived on and developed an existence of its own. Ironically, in the sixteenth century it seemed to possess great vitality, only to be swept away once and for all.

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to Meryl Foster of the Public Record Office, Martin Snape of the University of Durham and Professor Rosalind Hill for assistance in the preparation of this paper. In what follows the abbreviations RS and SS stand for Rolls Series and Surtees Society respectively.

² This incident occurs as a posthumous miracle on p. 403 of Reginald of Durham's *Lib[ellus de vita et miraculis S.] God [rici, heremitaie de Finchale]*, ed. J. Stevenson (SS 20 1845). It must have happened between 1170, when Saint Godric died (*Lib God* p. 331), and some point after 1177, when the work in all probability was completed (for this year, see [V.] Tudor, "Reginald of Durham] and [Saint] God[ric of Finchale: a study of a twelfth-century hagiographer and his major subject" (University of Reading PhD thesis 1979)] pp. 83-4.

³ [R. B.] Dobson, [*Durham*] *Priory [1400-1450]* (Cambridge 1973)] p. 30.

⁴ The two main sources are the *Vit[a Sancti Cuthberti Auctore] An[onymo]* by an unknown

monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's *Vit[a Sancti Cuthberti] Pros[aica]*. Both were edited and translated by B. Colgrave in *Two "Lives" [of Saint Cuthbert]* (Cambridge 1940)].

⁵ *Vit An* pp. 88-90; *Vit Pros* pp. 200-2.

⁶ *Vit Pros* pp. 264-6.

⁷ *Vit Pros* p. 272.

⁸ [Symeon of Durham,] *Hist[oria] Dun[elmensis] Ecc[lesi]ae* in *Sym[eonis] Mon[achi] Op[era] Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (RS 75 2 vols. 1882-5)] I pp. 3-135.

⁹ The author was present at the opening of the saint's tomb in 1104 (*Hist Dun Eccl* p. 34) and in one place refers to Turgot as prior of the house (*Hist Dun Eccl* p. 111n.). Turgot was elected to the see of Saint Andrews in 1107.

¹⁰ *Hist Dun Eccl* pp. 56-8.

¹¹ Contrary to the opinion of James Raine the elder the resting places of the body of the saint during its wanderings are largely unknown. See A. H. Thompson, "The manuscript list of churches dedicated to Saint Cuthbert, attributed to Prior Wessington", *Transactions of the Architectural and*

Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland 1 ser, 7 (1934-6) pp. 151-77.

¹² *Hist Dun Eccl* pp. 58-60. Symeon's account of the troubles at Coldingham is largely derived from Bede (see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford 1969) pp. 420-6).

¹³ *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. J. McCann (London 1969).

¹⁴ [R. C.] Finucane, *Mir[acles] and Pil[grims]* (London 1977) p. 87.

¹⁵ Samson, *Opus de miraculis Sancti Edmundi* in *Memorials of Saint Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (*RS* 96 3 vols. 1890-6) I, for example, pp. 164-5, 178-9, 181-3.

¹⁶ *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray (*RS* 29 1863) pp. 62-3.

¹⁷ William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (*RS* 5: 1870) pp. 434-5.

¹⁸ Finucane, *Mir and Pil* p. 87.

¹⁹ Compare C. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* (London 1966) pp. 332-3.

²⁰ Two "Lives" notes p. 319.

²¹ R. M. T. Hill, "Saint Cuthbert, the women and the weasel", an unpublished paper delivered to the International History Conference in Oxford in September 1972. In a revision of his earlier opinion Colgrave arrived at a similar conclusion (see his "Saint Cuthbert and his times" in *[The] Relics [of Saint Cuthbert]*, ed. [C. F.] Battiscombe [(Oxford 1956)] p. 126 n. 2; p. 137 n. 5).

²² *Hist Dun Eccl* p. 119.

²³ *Rites [of Durham]*, ed. J. T. Fowler (*SS* 107 1902) pp. 133-4.

²⁴ *Hist Dun Eccl* pp. 94-5. Symeon tells us that the alleged incident occurred while Egelwin (1056-71) was bishop of Durham; Tostig was earl of Northumbria from 1055 to 1065. Reginald of Durham recounts another story which might be thought earlier than this. At the time of Alfred Westou the relic-collector (see *Hist Dun Eccl* p. 87 for the period when he was associated with Durham) a female weasel climbed into Cuthbert's coffin and there gave birth ([Reginald of Durham,] *Lib[ellus de admirandis beati] Cuth[berti] virtutibus*, ed. J. Raine (*SS* I 1835)) pp. 57-60). This account does not seem to reflect any misogyny on Cuthbert's part, however, as the weasel is never said to have defied a ban and the saint, although vexed, does not allow her to be hurt.

²⁵ *Hist Dun Eccl* p. 60.

²⁶ *Hist Dun Eccl* pp. 60-1.

²⁷ *Lib Cuth* pp. 151-4.

²⁸ *Lib Cuth* pp. 260-1. In this narrative occurs a reference to the martyr Thomas Becket who was murdered in 1170. Reginald's work, in which the story is found, was completed in or after 1174 (Tudor, "Reg and God" pp. 91-2).

²⁹ *Lib Cuth* pp. 266-8. The woman at one stage visited Saint Godric's shrine at Finchale; Godric died in 1170 (see n. 2 above). This account occurs in the same work as the story of Agnes the noblewoman and is thus provided with a posterior date.

³⁰ *Lib Cuth* p. 269. The description of her cure cannot be dated exactly but in all probability belongs to the years 1170 to 1174, like the other narratives in this work with which it is found.

³¹ *Lib Cuth* p. 270. A reference to Finchale and the source in which the account of her cure is found again establish 1170-4 as the approximate date of this story. Compare n. 29 above.

³² *Hist Dun Eccl* pp. 59-60.

³³ *[The] Life [of Saint Cuthbert] in Eng[lish] Verse*, ed. J. T. Fowler (*SS* 87 1889) p. 210 lines 7199-204. For this work, see below.

³⁴ *Sym Mon Op* I introd. p. xli.

³⁵ *Lib Cuth* p. 122. The appearance of her cure in Reginald's book means it must belong to the period before about 1174 (see above, n. 28).

³⁶ *Lib Cuth* pp. 264-5. Her cure also appears (pp. 12-13) in "The Miracles of Saint Cuthbert at Farne" edited by Sir Edmund Craster in *Analecta Bollandiana* 70 (1951) pp. 5-19 (and as "The Miracles of Farne" in *AA*⁴, 29 (1951) pp. 93-107). For her identity, see Craster's introduction, p. 7 of the *Analecta Bollandiana* edition. All the stories in this short miracle collection were recounted by Bartholomew.

³⁷ [Geoffrey of Durham,] *Vit[a] Barth[olomaei] Farnensis* in *Sym Mon Op* I p. 309.

³⁸ *Vit Barth* pp. 323, 324.

³⁹ *Lib Cuth* pp. 164, 266.

⁴⁰ See n. 2 above.

⁴¹ Finucane, *Mir and Pil* pp. 127, 142, 167, 169.

⁴² *Rites* notes p. 229.

⁴³ Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Liber ... de Statu Ecclesiae Dunhelmensis* in *[Historiae Dunelmensis] Script[ores] Tres*, ed. J. Raine (*SS* 9 1839) p. 11.

⁴⁴ Compare *V[ictoria] C[ounty] H[istory]*, *Durham*, ed. W. Page (3 vols. London 1905-28) III p. 116.

⁴⁵ *VCH, Durham* III p. 94.

⁴⁶ *Lib[ellus] de Ort[u] Sancti Cuthberti* in

Miscellanea Biographica, ed. J. Raine (SS 8 1838) pp. 63–87].

⁴⁷ *Lib de Ort* p. 82.

⁴⁸ *Lib de Ort* pp. 84–5.

⁴⁹ *Lib de Ort* pp. 85–6.

⁵⁰ *Lib de Ort* pp. 83–4. On the *Irish Life*, see H. H. E. Craster, "The Red Book of Durham", *English Historical Review* 40 (1925) p. 507; M. H. Dodds, "The little book of the birth of Saint Cuthbert", *AA*⁴, 6 (1929) pp. 52–94; I. P. McKeehan, "The book of the nativity of Saint Cuthbert", *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 48 (1933) pp. 981–99; P. Grosjean, "The alleged Irish origin of Saint Cuthbert" in *Relics* ed. Battiscombe pp. 144–54.

⁵¹ The work was once to be found in MS Arundel 332, a former Durham book, where a seventeenth-century note explains that it has been excised. The remainder of the volume was written in the thirteenth century. It seems very likely that the copy of the *Irish Life* belonged to the same period, especially as Bede's *Vita Prosaica*, still to be found here, followed it so closely that the first few lines were also removed when the *Irish Life* was cut out (see *Two "Lives"* introd. pp. 29–30).

⁵² For a summary of the history of this hagio-

graphical compendium, see John Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstman (2 vols. Oxford 1901) I introd. p. ix. In this edition pp. 216–43 are devoted to Cuthbert, the contents of pp. 216–18 being derived from the *Irish Life*.

⁵³ *Rites* notes pp. 232, 254.

⁵⁴ *Life in Eng Verse* pp. 3–28.

⁵⁵ *Life in Eng Verse* pp. 212–13 lines 7283–322.

⁵⁶ *Rites* pp. 3, 35–7, 63, 76–7, 118. See below.

⁵⁷ Robert de Graystones, *Historia de Statu Ecclesiae Dunelmensis in Script Tres* p. 117.

⁵⁸ [William de Chambre,] *Cont[inuatio] Hist[oriae] Dun[elmensis] in Script Tres* pp. 134–5; *VCH, Durham III* pp. 117–18.

⁵⁹ *Cont Hist Dun* p. 137. Compare *VCH, Durham III* p. 118.

⁶⁰ Documents relating to this case are printed on p. 208 of H. Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle 1736).

⁶¹ For these, see Dobson, *Priory*, especially pp. 378–86.

⁶² *Rites* pp. 34–7.

⁶³ *Rites* p. 43.

⁶⁴ *Rites* p. 105.

⁶⁵ *Lib Cuth* p. 154.

