

**Article Title:** *Durham* and the Cult of Cuthbert

**Author Name:** Helen Appleton

**Affiliation:** St Hilda's College, Oxford

**Address:** St Hilda's College, Cowley Place, Oxford, OX4 1DY, UK

**Email:** [helen.appleton@ell.ox.ac.uk](mailto:helen.appleton@ell.ox.ac.uk)

- p. 346, ln. 16: change 'in new Norman' to 'in the new Norman'
- p. 347, ln. 2: change 'Ff.I.27' to 'Ff.1.27'
- p. 347, ln. 5: change 'by Reverend' to 'by the Reverend'
- p. 348, ln. 20: change 'Drythelm' to 'Drythelm'
- p. 348, n. 9, ln. 3: change 'Library B.II.35' to 'Library MS B.II.35'
- p. 350, ln. 13: change 'linguist' to 'linguistic'
- p. 350, ln. 15: change 'that that line' to 'that the line'
- p. 350, ln. 30: restore spacing at the half-line break between 'gewurðað,' and 'ðes'
- p. 351, n. 22, ln. 3: double inverted commas around "protector"
- p. 351, ln. 27: change 'pertinent' to 'pertinet'
- p. 355, n. 34, ln. 4: delete 'of' in 'on reading of *Guthlac*'
- p. 355, n. 38, ln. 4: change 'gewaxen' to 'geweaxen'
- p. 355, n. 38, ln. 5: change 'pp. 464-65' to 's.v. "geweaxen"'
- p. 356, n. 38, ln. 6: change 'goweaxen' to 'geweaxen'; double inverted commas around "grow" and "matured"
- p. 356, n. 38, ln. 7: double inverted commas around "adult"
- p. 359, ln. 4: change 'Founded' to 'founded'
- p. 359, ln. 23: change 'errant' to 'erant'
- p. 359, n. 49, ln. 4: change 'says "Ceastra' to 'says: "Ceastra' (insert colon)
- p. 360, n. 52, ln. 5: change 'ealord' to 'ealond'
- p. 361, n. 57, ln. 2: change 'Cubitt' to 'Cubitt'
- p. 366, ln. 25: change '*minster*' back to '*minstre*' (OE spelling, quoted from poem) or leave as 'minster' and deitalicise
- p. 369, ln. 15: change 'manuscripts' to 'manuscript'

### ***Durham and the Cult of Cuthbert***

The Old English *Durham* is a short poem in praise of the final resting place of Cuthbert, the great seventh-century Anglo-Saxon hermit saint, whose remains, after a long period of peregrination, had finally found a permanent home in Durham cathedral. The present essay argues that the poem asserts the primacy of Durham as cult center by depicting the city as a space exceptionally suited to Cuthbert and blessed by his presence. The *Durham* poet presents a selective and idealized description of the city of Durham that uses a hybrid of natural and built space to echo the representation of Cuthbert's homes on Farne and Lindisfarne in the hagiographic tradition. The result is a fusion of the eremitic space of the hermitage and the coenobitic space of the monastery, both types of the City of God, which creates a sense of continuity from Cuthbert's life and demonstrates the fitness of Durham Cathedral as a resting place for the saint.

The poem *Durham* was possibly written in the early twelfth century to commemorate the translation of Cuthbert to his shrine in new Norman cathedral, which took place on 29 August 1104, although it could have been composed at any time after about 1050, when all of the relics it names were in Durham.<sup>1</sup> *Durham* is known to have been preserved in two manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D.xx (Ker no. 223) and Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I.27 (Ker no. 14).<sup>2</sup> The Cotton manuscript was almost completely destroyed in the 1731 Ashburnham House fire, and its text of the poem is preserved only in George Hickes's 1705 edition, based on a transcript made by Reverend G. Nicolson.<sup>3</sup> Prior to the fire the manuscript was described by Thomas Smith (1696) and by Humfrey Wanley (1705); Neil Ker, working from their accounts and the surviving fragments, suggests that Cotton Vitellius D.xx originated in Durham, and dates it to the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> Christopher Norton dates the Cambridge manuscript to the 1180s and suggests that it was produced at Durham.<sup>5</sup>

The position and treatment of *Durham* in these two manuscripts, probably produced by the very same community it describes, can reveal something about how the poem was perceived. Although *Durham* is the sole vernacular text in both manuscripts, it is not treated as marginal, nor is it a later addition. Both manuscripts have a Latin title for the work, "De situ Dunelmi et de sanctorum reliquiis quae ibidem continentur carmen compositum" (A song about the site of Durham, and about the relics of saints that are contained in the same place), creating a smooth linguistic transition between their Latin works and the Old English poem. The mixed letterforms of the text in the Cambridge manuscript and the macaronic character of some of *Durham*'s lines further this integration.<sup>6</sup> Ker states that it is likely that the Old English poem was of the same date as the rest of the Cotton Manuscript, but as

the page containing *Durham* (f. 20) is not one of the remaining sixteen charred fragments, information on the situation and presentation of the poem in that manuscript is limited to what Smith and Wanley record. In the Cambridge manuscript *Durham* is written in the main hand and preceded by a Latin heading. An erasure of the last two and a half lines of the page leaves the Old English poem as the final text in its section of the manuscript, where, as Norton has observed, “uniquely, extra space was deliberately provided for [the texts]”: *Durham* and its companion texts are not merely quire-filling miscellanea.<sup>7</sup> The Old English poem is the concluding item of a group of texts which are presented as being of particular significance.

In both manuscripts the poem *Durham* is a key component. From descriptions of the Cotton manuscript, the Old English poem was associated with texts that assert Cuthbert’s importance. According to Smith’s catalogue of the Cotton library, *Durham* followed hymns and offices for Cuthbert, and a list of Durham’s relics. The poem preceded lists of bishops, a Latin life of Cuthbert, partly by Bede, partly by Prior Turgot of Durham, and material about Drythelm, Oswald, and Aidan.<sup>8</sup> The Cambridge manuscript contains a collection of texts focused on history, with an emphasis on northern England, and Durham in particular.<sup>9</sup> The poem *Durham* concludes a section that is specifically focused on Durham City, which followed a section containing Æthelwulf’s poem *De Abbatibus*, misidentified by the scribe as a work about Lindisfarne.<sup>10</sup> The Durham section begins with Symeon of Durham’s *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est dunhelmensis, ecclesie*. Symeon’s work is an early twelfth-century Latin account of Cuthbert’s life and miracles, and of the history of the Durham community. Symeon’s *Libellus de exordio* is followed by a list Durham’s relics, then by the anonymous *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, produced sometime before 1100, which catalogues Durham’s property through stories about

how land was acquired and the vengeance Cuthbert enacts upon anyone who tries to deprive his community of their assets.<sup>11</sup> The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is followed by a list of King Athelstan's gifts to Cuthbert, and then finally by the poem *Durham*. The following section contains texts about Hexham. As Norton observes, the scribe is very careful to begin a new page for this section, and *Durham* is presented as the conclusion to the most important section of the manuscript: material on Lindisfarne and Hexham is subordinated to that on Durham.<sup>12</sup> In the Cambridge manuscript the poem *Durham* is a part of a group of texts that assert the status of Durham and its community because of the presence of Cuthbert.<sup>13</sup> They record Cuthbert's life and miracles, the peregrinations of his body, his relationship with royalty, and his community's claims to property, all of which are tied to his status as a saint. Positioned as the concluding item, the poem should be read in light of its companion pieces, which present *Durham* as part of a tradition of texts associated with Cuthbert.

The position of *Durham* in these manuscripts suggests the poem's importance within Cuthbert's community. In his *Libellus de exordio* (iii.7), Symeon refers to the poem as an authority for the tradition that Alfred Westou placed Bede's bones in Cuthbert's coffin in the eleventh century, and that Bede is now in Durham: "Cuius de Beda sententie concordat etiam illud Anglico sermone compositum Carmen, ubi cum de statu huius loci et de sanctorum reliquiis que in eo continentur agitur, etiam reliquarium Beda una cum ceteris ibidem mentio habetur." (His [Alfred's] account of Bede agrees also with that poem in the English language which, when it speaks of the condition of this church and the relics of saints which are contained within it, mentions the relics of Bede there together with those of other saints [pp. 166-67]).<sup>14</sup> The status of the poem within the community is indicated by the use of its catalogue

of saints, rather than the list of relics found in Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*, as the authoritative record in twelfth-century texts.<sup>15</sup>

The poem has not, however, been accorded such prominence or status by scholars of Old English. Perhaps owing to its brevity, lateness, and the difficulty of placing it comfortably into a perceived canon, *Durham* has received comparatively little in the way of scholarly attention. What commentary there has been has overwhelmingly concentrated on the poem's language, form, and political aims, rather than on its literary qualities. *Durham* tends to be used to illuminate a historical moment, rather than being of interest in itself; for example, Christopher Cannon and Thomas Bredehoft have both examined the text as a moment of linguistic and metrical shift between Old and Early Middle English verse.<sup>16</sup> Cannon writes that *Durham* "sits so conveniently on the customary divide between Old and Middle English that that line can be drawn right down the middle of the poem."<sup>17</sup> *Durham* becomes a tool for shedding light on problems inherent in scholarly distinctions; any illumination of the poem's qualities is incidental.

As *Durham* is one of the few Old English poems that can be dated with a degree of certainty, it has received attention as a reflection of contemporary politics: Joseph Grossi has argued that *Durham* is an "archival forgery" and "should be read as an adjunct to twelfth-century histories, charters, lists of saints' relics, and accounts of donations to churches that all sought to bolster long-held monastic privileges in the face of heightened post-Conquest episcopal greed."<sup>18</sup> Heather Blurton likewise views *Durham* as the product of contemporary power struggles.<sup>19</sup> As a consequence of this focus, the content of *Durham* and its imagery has been rather neglected, although Nicholas Howe did read the poem as possessing a "sense of place as embodying historical predicament," expressing the history of England through its landscape.<sup>20</sup>

For Howe the setting reflected Durham's past as a British space and the saints its English history, leading on to a home in heaven, representing in microcosm of the history of England in the first-decades of Norman rule.<sup>21</sup> While Howe's argument that poem looks forward to heaven is persuasive, his general approach overemphasizes political history at the expense of spiritual tradition: *Durham's* landscape is far more shaped by Cuthbert's community's history of devotion than national concerns, as revealed by the poem's sustained engagement with Cuthbert's hagiographic tradition.

*Durham* is a text about the resting place of Cuthbert, which, owing to a history of peregrination, is the primary way in which his community defined their space. *Durham* praises Cuthbert's burial place through a series of striking images of the situation of Durham City and a catalogue of its relics: it bears quoting in full:

- Is ðeos burch breome    geond Breotenrice,  
 steppa gestaðolad,    stanas ymbutan  
 wundrum gewæxen.    Weor ymbeornad,  
 ea yðum stronge,    and ðer inne wunað
5.    feola fisca kyn    on floda gemonge.
- And ðær gewexen is    wudafæstern micel;  
 wuniad in ðem wycum    wilda deor monige,  
 in deope dalum    deora ungerim.
- Is in ðere byri eac    bearnum gecyðed
10.    ðe arfesta    eadig Cudberch  
 and ðes clene    cyninges heafud,  
 Osualdes, Engle leo,    and Aidan biscop,  
 Eadberch and Eadfrið,    æðele geferes.
- Is ðer inne midd heom    Æðelwold biscop

15. and breoma bocera Beda, and Boisil abbot,  
 ðe clene Cudberte on gecheðe  
 larde lustum, and he his lara wel genom.  
 Eardiað æt ðem eadige in in ðem minstre  
 unarimeda reliquia,
20. ðær monia wundrum gewurðað, ðes ðe writ seggeð,  
 midd ðene drihnes wer domes bideð.<sup>22</sup>

(This fortification is celebrated throughout Britain, founded on high, stones around it, wondrously grown. The Wear encompasses it, a river strong with waves, and therein dwell many of the kin of fish in the mixture of the waters. And a great wood-fastness is grown there; many wild animals live in that place, innumerable animals in deep dales. There is also in that fortification, well known to men, the honorable, blessed Cuthbert, and the head of the pure king, Oswald, Lion of the English, and Bishop Aidan, Eadberch and Eadfrith, noble companions. Inside with them are Bishop Athelwold, and the illustrious scholar Bede, and Abbot Boisil, who delightedly taught the pure Cuthbert in his youth – and he took his teaching well. Within the minster countless relics dwell by the blessed one, where many things happen by miracles, as writing says, with the man of God, they await judgment.)

On reading the poem it becomes clear that in the opening section on the situation of Durham the poet has not simply represented the city as it was, but has deliberately engineered the depiction of the landscape. The poem's landscape architecture reveals a great deal about its interaction with the literary tradition associated with St Cuthbert, and I will argue that the idiosyncrasies in the poem's description of the city are in fact crucial to its interpretation.

The poem's opening line, "Is ðeos burch breome geond Breotenrice" (this fortification is celebrated throughout Britain l. 1) establishes the poem as a piece of praise. In her influential 1941 article, Margaret Schlauch described *Durham* as "an Old English *encomium urbis*," a label which still dominates discussions of the poem's content, and one which most critics are content to accept as an adequate explanation of *Durham*'s structure and focus.<sup>23</sup> The *encomium urbis* has Classical origins; the third-century Greek rhetorician Menander produced a tract on its conventions, and, transmitted through Latin tradition, it remained popular as a rhetorical exercise throughout the medieval period.<sup>24</sup> The Classical model conventionally begins with a description of the founder of a city, then continues with praise of the constructed space, and of the natural environment, and finally of the customs and notability of the city's inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> In the medieval period the substitution of a description of the resident saints for the famous people became conventional.<sup>26</sup> A rhetorical tract from an eighth-century continental manuscript describing the requirements and structural sequence of the *encomium urbis* is commonly cited in discussions of *Durham*:

Urbium laudem primum conditoris dignitas ornat idque aut ad homines inlustres pertinent aut etiam ad deus, ut Athenas a Minerva dicitur constitutas: et ne fabulosa potiusquam vera videantur. Secundus est de specium moenium locus et situs, qui aut terrenus est aut maritimus et in monte vel in plano: tertius de fecunditate agrorum, largite fontium, moribus incolarum: tum de his ornamentis, quae postea accesserint, aut felicitate, si res sponte orate sint, et prolatae aut virtute et armis et bello propagate. Laudamus etiam illus, si ea civitas habuerit plurimum nobiles viros, quorum Gloria lucem praebeat universis.

(The merit of the founder furnishes the first praise of cities, either as it relates to illustrious men or to gods, as it is said that Athens was established by Minerva. The second praise is concerning the appearance of the walls, their location, and the situation, whether landlocked or on the sea, in the mountains or the plains. The third concerns the fertility of the fields, the size of the natural springs, the customs of the inhabitants; then about those ornaments which they later acquired, either by good fortune, or by strength of arms and war. We praise this furthermore, if a city had many noble men, whose glory offered light to all. [p. 445])<sup>27</sup>

Comparison with *Durham* reveals many correspondences, and Schlauch gives examples of parallels from other medieval *encomia urbium*. Schlauch goes so far as to describe *Durham* as “little more than a class-room assignment,” a somewhat reductive assessment.<sup>28</sup> A similar response comes from Paolo Zanna, who criticizes the poem’s style and concludes that “the whole contrivance is artificial” and “fails to convince.”<sup>29</sup> While assertions that *Durham* belongs to the *encomium urbis* tradition are justified, dismissing it as a conventional and uninspired piece fails to apprehend the significance of the poet’s construction: *Durham* does far more than slavishly adhere to one particular model and warrants closer examination.

The structure of *Durham* corresponds closely to the conventions of the medieval *encomium urbis*, but it is anomalous in several respects, notably in omitting description of the built space: *Durham* appears to be an *encomium urbis* that praises everything except the city. When compared to other examples of the *encomium urbis* from Anglo-Saxon England these differences become apparent. Alcuin’s late eighth-century *Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Eboricensis*, for example, has clear commonalities with *Durham*; both poems substitute saints for famous residents, as is

conventional in a medieval *encomium urbis*. But there are also key differences: the landscape of Alcuin's work is much more idealized; its pastoral beauty belongs to the *locus amoenus* tradition:<sup>30</sup>

Hanc piscosa suis undis interluit Usa  
 florigeros ripis praetendens undique campos;  
 collibus et silvis tellus hinc inde decora:  
 nobilibusque locis habitation pulchra, salubris  
 fertilitate sui multos habitura colonos. (ll. 30-34)<sup>31</sup>

(Through York flows the Ouse, its waters teeming with fish, along its banks stretch fields laden with flowers, all about the countryside is lovely with hills and woods, and this beautiful, healthy place of noble setting was destined to attract many settlers by its richness [p. 7])

The landscape of *Durham* is wilder: it has no flowers, fields, or banks, rather its woods are a great *wudafæstern* (wood-fastness l. 6b), inhabited by “wilda deor monige” (many wild animals l. 7b).

Another key difference is that Alcuin's poem is very clearly about York as a built space. Alcuin's first description of the city, after the opening address, is concerned with its founders and construction, in keeping with the conventions of the *encomium urbis* outlined in the tract:

Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam  
 fundavit primo, comites sociosque laborum  
 indigenas tantum gentes adhibendo Britannas (ll. 18-23).

(York, with its high walls and lofty towers, was first built by Roman hands, that summoned only the native Britons as comrades and partners in the labour [p. 5])

*Durham* does not discuss the construction of the buildings or the foundation story of the city, although there would have been plenty to inspire a description more akin to Alcuin's work in Durham's impressive architecture and the miraculous foundation narrative recorded by Symeon in his *Libellus de exordio* iii.1.<sup>32</sup> Alcuin revels in describing the ornamentation and construction of York's ecclesiastical buildings, and the relics they house, as exemplified by the section evoking the splendors of Sancta Sophia, built and lavishly endowed by Archbishop Ælberht. Alcuin commences his description by referring generally to the "vario ornamenta decore" (ornaments of varied beauty l. 1488 [p. 119]) that fill the churches, before unfolding a panoply of riches to the reader. Alcuin not only discusses the kinds of ornament, such as the "grandem aram" (great altar l. 1491 [p. 119]) bearing the "crucis vexillum" (standard of the cross l. 1497 [p. 119]), but also their resplendent decoration, the altar covered with "argento, gemmis ... et auro" (silver, gems, and gold l. 1492 [p. 119]) and the cross with "pretiosis valde metallis" (most precious metals l. 1498 [p. 119]). Alcuin's words emphasize both the scale and the sophistication of the basilica's architecture, conveying the visual opulence of the space to the reader. The architecture mirrors the shining decorations it contains, the building "intus | Emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris" (gleams inside with fine inlaid ceilings and windows ll. 1510-11 [p. 119]). Alcuin gives a strong impression of the saints' resting places as built and decorated spaces that the reader can visualize; this urban ornamentation, a typical feature of the *encomium urbis*, is conspicuously absent from *Durham*.

Although Old English verse typically lacks precise architectural terminology, the total absence of reference to the features of built structures is unusual. As Earl Anderson notes:

the language was limited in technical architectural terminology. However, alternative linguistic resources were available as sources of artistic power: buildings could be homologized to natural structures, and although their exterior shapes could not be described in terms of angularity, their interior construction could be described in terms of twists and curves, allowing for emphasis on their durability.<sup>33</sup>

The brevity of *Durham* is not sufficient explanation for the absence of this kind of description; the rhetorical tract listing the requirements of an *encomium urbis* is itself concise. The other Old English text that has been described by critics as an *encomium urbis*, *The Ruin*, is a comparatively short and fragmentary text, but contains far more of the conventional generic elements. Chris Abram, David Howlett, Anne Thompson Lee, and Paolo Zanna have all argued that *The Ruin* engages with the genre of the *encomium urbis*, and Catherine Clarke calls it a “self-conscious inversion” of the model.<sup>34</sup> Like Alcuin’s work, *The Ruin* emphasizes the manufactured nature of the city and its history: *The Ruin* talks of *wealstan*, *hrofas*, and *torras* (wall-stones, roofs, and towers ll. 1a, 3a, 3b), and the “waldend wyrhtan” (mighty builders l. 7a) who made the city.<sup>35</sup> In contrast, *Durham* describes the church only in terms of the saints it contains and the architecture is ignored. Schlauch argued that the stones of *Durham* parallel the buildings of the Latin tradition, but this is an oversimplification.<sup>36</sup> The stones of *Durham* stand in place of the buildings: they, like the woods in line 6, are “gewæxen” (grown l. 3a) not built, placed by God rather than human endeavor.<sup>37</sup>

The passage of time between the composition of the two earlier Anglo-Saxon *encomia urbium* and *Durham* cannot account for the shift in style. Other near-contemporary texts about Durham such as Symeon’s *Libellus de exordio* discuss the buildings and their founders in detail. To understand why *Durham*, although clearly in

dialogue with the *encomium urbis* tradition, omits key aspects and casts others in an unexpected way, we must look beyond rhetorical models from Latin verse. It is clear from the structure of the poem that Cuthbert is at the center; he is the core of the poem, and so must be at the core of its interpretation.

Hagiography also has a tradition of lauding the space occupied by a saint, especially when that saint. Like Cuthbert, is a hermit whose sanctity is, to a large extent, defined by the space he occupies. To understand the influences that shape the landscape of *Durham*, we must therefore consider the influence of hagiography, a genre that overlaps with the *encomium urbis* in Anglo-Saxon literature, as shown by the focus on saints in Alcuin's work. The poem's manuscript context supports this approach. In the Cotton manuscript, a life of Cuthbert followed the poem. Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* and the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, which accompany *Durham* in the Cambridge manuscript, both include Cuthbert's *vita* as a way of emphasizing the status of the community they record. Seth Lerer suggests that *Durham* itself ends with a reference to hagiographical writing: "monia wundrum gewurðað, ðes ðe writ seggeð" (many things happen by miracles, as writing says l. 20). In the context of the history of the Durham community Lerer argues that "the *writ* to which the poem *Durham* chooses to appeal is quite specifically the written text of Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* and other Bedean texts read at the Durham monastery."<sup>38</sup> Comparing *Durham* to Cuthbert's *vitae* reveals that the influence of the hagiographic tradition on *Durham* extends beyond its penultimate line; the depiction of Lindisfarne and Farne in Cuthbert's *vitae* shapes the way in which the poem represents Durham.

An extensive hagiographic tradition surrounded Cuthbert in the Anglo-Saxon period. The earliest *vita* of Cuthbert is a Latin prose life composed around 699-705 by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne on the instructions of his Bishop, Eadfrith.<sup>39</sup> The

text may have been intended for use within Lindisfarne, as the same bishop later commissioned Bede to write a new *vita*, and Bede's work had the greatest role in shaping the Cuthbert tradition. Bede produced three Latin versions of Cuthbert's life: a verse life, an expanded prose *vita*, and an account of Cuthbert in Book IV of his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Bede's metrical version of Cuthbert's life was composed shortly after the Anonymous *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, around the year 705, but revised by Bede at a later date.<sup>40</sup> The metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* is a text designed for personal contemplation rather than general instruction: it is figurative rather than factual, focusing on evocative images and spiritual meaning rather than historical details. Bede's prose *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* was composed next (720x722) and is something of a contrast.<sup>41</sup> Bede's preface explains that the work was commissioned by Bishop Eadfrith; it became one of the most widely circulated Anglo-Saxon saints' *vitae* of the Middle Ages.<sup>42</sup> Bede again returned to Cuthbert in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, which was completed in 731. Bede's Latin lives underlie the depiction of Cuthbert's saintly career in Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*, and they are reproduced in Durham manuscripts.<sup>43</sup> Bede's depiction shaped how Cuthbert's community chose to imagine their saint and the world in which he lived, as can be seen in *Durham*.

In all of Cuthbert's *vitae* powerful evidence of his sanctity is provided by the time he spends as a hermit on the island of Farne and the miracles that happen there, such as the successful cultivation of the previously barren land. Hagiography devoted to hermit saints frequently depicts the isolated wilderness being metamorphosed by the saint into a productive place. Their ability to survive in the waste reveals their sanctity. The image goes back to the desert fathers: this pattern of transformation appears in the life of Antony of Egypt, the Latin translation of which, by Evagrius,

was a popular model for the hagiographies of Anglo-Saxon hermit saints.<sup>44</sup> Antony retreats into the Egyptian desert, where he is able to survive because God offers just enough resources for his sustenance (cap. 24):

Tribus autem diebus et noctibus itinere confecto, inuenit montem ualde excelsum, ad cuius radices fons aquae dulcis labebatur, et campus haud magnus totum ambiens montem, qui palmlis perpaucis, et his neglectis, consitus erat.<sup>45</sup>

(After a journey lasting three days and nights he came to a very high mountain at the foot of which there flowed a spring of sweet water; on a small strip of flat land encircling the mountain there grew a few untended palm trees. [p. 39])<sup>46</sup>

Antony is able to cultivate the landscape; he grows grain and thrives in a previously inhospitable environment. Anglo-Saxon hermits such as Cuthbert and Guthlac occupied islands within waste spaces in imitation of Antony, with the waste becoming an English type of the Antonian desert. Farne's land is barren and unwatered, like Antony's desert, but a spring miraculously appears and Cuthbert is able to grow barley, despite planting too late in the year. The ability to flourish in a wild space, protected by God, is a key sign of sanctity in the eremitic tradition to which Cuthbert wished to belong. That the waste of Farne becomes a habitable, blessed island through Cuthbert's piety asserts his power and status.

Farne is not the only key setting for Cuthbert's saintly career. His time as reluctant, but exemplary bishop of Lindisfarne is equally important, especially in texts that favor a more Benedictine model of sanctity, with a progression from the eremitic to the coenobitic life. Bede used the account of Benedict of Nursia in Book II of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* as a basis for his prose *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, which

has a clear emphasis on a mixed life of contemplation and teaching; there is a greater focus on Cuthbert as ideal community leader, reforming and strengthening his congregation. In the hands of Bede, Cuthbert's time on Farne is still very important, but it is a part of his progress: Cuthbert becomes an English type of Benedict, an exemplum of the mixed life. It is this mixed life and hybrid landscape of hermitage and cloister that we can see reflected in the poem *Durham*.

The focus in the opening section of the poem is on an idealized presentation of the situation of Durham, which is engineered to be reminiscent of the eremitic space of Farne as depicted in the hagiographic tradition. In the terms of the prospect-refuge theory of landscape aesthetics, formulated by Jay Appleton, the poet employs a powerful combination of prospect and refuge symbols to depict a landscape that aesthetically pleases the reader through the construction of a space in which it is possible to see without being seen.<sup>47</sup> Durham's prominent site would offer a commanding prospect, but the encircling stones, woods, and waves create a refuge from the outside world; in this way the *burh* of Durham is idealized in a way that recalls Cuthbert's oratory on Farne: secluded, yet affording its occupant an uninterrupted view of heaven.

The poet begins by describing the stones and the elevation of Durham's site, "steppa gestaðolad, stanas ymbutan | wundrum gewæxen" (Founded on high, stones around it, wondrously grown) (ll. 2-3a). The emphasis on height in the poem is topographically accurate – Durham cathedral occupies an elevated position on the Bailey – but also reflects two traditions: that of important buildings being elevated in Old English verse, and that of saints occupying high points, harking back to Antony of Egypt's mountain and Benedict of Nursia's monastery at Monte Cassino.<sup>48</sup> Cuthbert's homes on Farne and Lindisfarne in his *vitae*, high points amidst the waves,

place him as an English inheritor of this saintly tradition; the elevated island is an English type of the mountain in the desert. As Durham is “steppa gestaðolad” (founded on high l. 2a): Cuthbert’s relics occupy the same type of space that he inhabited in life.

The parallel with Farne is maintained by *Durham’s* stones. As *wundor* can mean “miracle” as well as “wonder,” these stones appear to be grown by God, not placed by human builders.<sup>49</sup> *Durham’s* miraculously grown stones echo the construction of Cuthbert’s oratory on Farne, assembled using large boulders moved with divine aid, as in Bede’s prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* (ch. 17):

Quem uidelicet murum non de secto lapide uel latere et cemento, sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus et cespite quem de medio loci fodiendo tulerat composuit. E quibus quidam tantae errant granditatis, ut uix a quattuor uiris uiderentur potuisse leuari, quos tamen ipse angelico adiutus auxilio illuc attulisse aliunde et muro imposuisse repertus est.<sup>50</sup>

(He made this same wall, not of cut stone or of bricks and mortar, but just of unworked stone and of turf which he had removed from the excavation in the middle of his dwelling. Some of these stones were so great that it would seem to have been scarcely possible for four men to have lifted them, but nevertheless he was found to have brought them thither from elsewhere with angelic aid, and to have placed them in the wall. [p. 217])

These rock miracles, which are a feature of all Cuthbert’s hagiographies, are reflected in the miraculously grown encircling stones of *Durham*, which appear in place of the man-made city walls one would expect at this point in an *encomium urbis*. The audience of the poem would be encouraged to view the material walls of Durham as represented by these stones, forming a direct connection to Farne: the enclosing walls

of Durham are imagined as a simultaneously spiritual and physical refuge symbol, like the walls of Cuthbert's oratory.

The focus in *Durham* then turns to the waves of the river Wear, which almost completely encircles the Durham peninsula, making it an island-like space: the geography of Durham recalls that of Farne and Lindisfarne.<sup>51</sup> The poem emphasizes the course and power of the river; the focus on the encircling waters and the waves, “Weor ymbeornad, | ea yðum stronge” (The Wear surrounds it, a river strong with waves) (ll. 3b-4a), echoes the waves of the sea surrounding Farne and Lindisfarne emphasized in all the early Latin lives, imaginatively connecting the three spaces. Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* VIII describes Cuthbert's desire for a place “ubi circumferentes me undique fluctus oceani tumescentis” (where the waves of the swelling ocean surround me on all sides [p. 185]).<sup>52</sup> In his metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* (XIV, ll. 379-80) Bede writes of how Cuthbert “Fit monachis socius, Lindisfarnea glauci | insula clara maris refluis circumluit undis” (is become a companion to monks whom the renowned island of Lindisfarne washes around with flowing waves of the greyish sea).<sup>53</sup> These encompassing waves are a key feature of Cuthbert's homes in life, and they are central to the depiction of his final resting place in *Durham*. The poem's depiction of Durham as an insular space not only places the city in a Cuthbertine landscape tradition, but also grants it more general spiritual significance: Jennifer O'Reilly has highlighted the prominence of the island in Anglo-Saxon Christianity, drawing on the equation of the Biblical *insula* with the Apostolic mission in Patristic texts. O'Reilly discusses Bede's use of islands to represent the Anglo-Saxon church, with insular space seen as close to heaven and separated from the preoccupations of the world.<sup>54</sup> By depicting Durham as an insular refuge, the poet

connects the city to this idealized image of the island-church, as well as to the insular spaces of Cuthbert's life.

The wild spaces of *Durham* are represented in a manner that recalls events depicted in Cuthbert's hagiographic tradition: the environment appears to be made productive by Cuthbert's presence in the same way as the places he visited in life. *Durham's* plentiful fish, while naturalistic, also reflect the piscine miracles associated with Cuthbert, such as the fish brought by an eagle, and the traditional image of natural bounty being provided by God for the hermit-saint.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, the significance of *Durham's* woods and animals becomes apparent when examined in dialogue with the hagiographic tradition (ll. 6-8):

And ðær gewexen is wudafæstern micel;  
 wuniad in ðem wycum wilda deor monige,  
 in deope dalum deora ungerim.<sup>56</sup>

(And a great wood-fastness is grown there; many wild animals live in that place, innumerable animals in deep dales).

The focus is on the wild aspects of the situation of Durham, which Della Hook suggests is "perhaps in contrast to the 'noble city'," yet the reader is given no detail of the city with which it might contrast.<sup>57</sup> Thomas O'Donnell argues that these features should be read in a strictly literal way, reflecting the practical value of the topography of Durham, but the apparent literalness of the description does not preclude an additional, symbolic and spiritual understanding of the landscape.<sup>58</sup> Again, an examination of the hagiographic tradition offers a plausible explanation for the poem's depiction of the space.

The appearance of landscape features often portrayed as hostile in Old English poetry, such as vast woods and wild beasts, in a poem praising a place might appear

incongruous, but the association of the space with Cuthbert explains the peculiarities of setting and the contrast with the obvious use of the *locus amoenus* tradition in Alcuin's description of York.<sup>59</sup> Durham's woods appear positive as the element *fæsten* suggests "security"; like the stones they create a perfect refuge for the hermit saint.<sup>60</sup> The beasts also contribute to the idealization of the site. Grossi sees the animals as invoking an image of the ark, with Durham's saints as animals engaged in "'rumination' over sacred texts," but the hagiographic tradition makes the connection between the poem's saints and animals clearer.<sup>61</sup> The twice-mentioned animals recall the multiple nature-miracles associated with Cuthbert, for example the otters that warm his feet and the ravens that bring him lard, linking back to the helpful beasts of the desert in the eremitic tradition, such as the raven and the lions in Jerome's *Vita Pauli primi eremitaë*.<sup>62</sup> The animals also contribute to the impression that Durham is bountiful, reflecting the positive landscape transformation associated with the presence of saints; the resultant fertility benefits men and animals alike, presenting an image of prelapsarian harmony.<sup>63</sup> This metamorphosis is another key feature of the eremitic model of sanctity, as found in the lives of hermits such as Antony of Egypt and Paul, where the desert space becomes a paradoxical paradise created by the sanctity of its occupant. In *Durham*, as in his *vitaë*, Cuthbert's power and centrality is attested by the transformed space where nature supports him.

The first half of the poem praises the natural environment of Durham by constructing it as an eremitic space, recasting the cathedral as Cuthbert's island oratory by emphasizing Durham's similarities to Cuthbert's favored home, the wild island of Farne. The poem's initial focus on the wild space rather than communal buildings shows the fitness of Durham as a resting place. Cuthbert, who preferred his isolated oratory on Farne to the splendid monastery of Lindisfarne, is once again

amidst nature. The only indications of human habitation in the early lines of the poem are the mention in the first line that it is a *burh* (fortified dwelling-place): “Is ðeos burch breome” (this fortification is celebrated l. 1a).<sup>64</sup> The security and bounty of the site marks Durham as a fitting home for Cuthbert: his translation to Durham has been sanctioned as the space has been sanctified.

The second half of *Durham*, with its catalogue of saints in the minster, may invite contemplation of the cathedral space through “byri” (fortification l. 9a) and “minstre” (minster l. 18b), but it only describes it in terms of its spiritual contents – the saints and relics within. Although Durham is again described as a *burh*, a constructed space, there is no description of the splendor of the building or the shrines, as found in Alcuin’s work. Clarke sees that the positive landscape of *Durham* invokes the built space without describing it: “the *locus amoenus* of Durham recalls the delightful space of the hall of heroic tradition, as well as the Christian monastic delightful space set amidst hostile wilderness.”<sup>65</sup> But Cuthbert, surrounded by the company of saints, presents an image neither precisely of an earthly monastery nor of an Anglo-Saxon hall. The ambiguous preposition *æt* (l. 18a) locates the saints in proximity to Cuthbert, but does not specify their arrangement, while the repeated present-tense verb “is” (is ll. 9a and 14a) places them in the now.<sup>66</sup> The image is more akin to the City of God; the saints appear as if they are alive and gathered together as they will be in their seats in heaven.

The poem encourages its readers to view the minster as both a physical and spiritual refuge, like the stones and woods. *Burh* here evokes both Durham and the New Jerusalem by reflecting Bede’s depiction of Cuthbert founding a type of the City of God on Farne.<sup>67</sup> In his metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* Bede describes Cuthbert’s oratory as an ethereal city:

Ille serena tenens, pereunte tyrannide, regna

Terrestri aetheriam sacer aggere condidit urbem

Atque humiles celsis statuit sub moenibus aedes (XV, ll. 396-400).

(With tyranny perished, that sacred one held this serene kingdom, built an ethereal city with a terrestrial rampart, and set up a lowly house under celestial fortifications).

The same depiction returns in Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*:

Qui uidelicet miles Christi ut deuicta tyrannorum acie monarcha terrae quam adierat factus est, condidit ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aequae ciuitati congruas erexit (XVII).<sup>68</sup>

(This soldier of Christ, as soon as he had become monarch of the land he had approached and had overcome the army of the usurpers, built a city fitted for his rule, and in it houses equally suited to the city [p. 215]).

Cuthbert's refuge is a spiritual space built with faith rather than grand architecture; the edenic environment he creates is a city as it is a type of heaven, the City of God.<sup>69</sup> The *burh* of *Durham* is also defined by its sanctified space rather than by its material fabric. Durham is Cuthbert's city: it is the same spiritual city that he founded on Farne.

In *Durham*, poem and city, Cuthbert is a part of the place rather than the building, in keeping with his representation in his hagiographies and the eremitic tradition in general. Yet by depicting Cuthbert as part of an ideal community and emphasizing scholars and teachers, the "bocera Beda" (scholar Bede l. 15a) and Boisil, the poet also draws in coenobitic space, echoing Cuthbert's life on Lindisfarne and creating a mixed life within the poem, as Bede does in his prose *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. Cuthbert is described first of all the saints; the others are gathered around

him like the heavenly community. He is the “arfasta eadig Cudberch” (the honorable, blessed Cuthbert l. 10) and later “ðam clene Cudberte” (the pure Cuthbert l. 16) and “ðem eadige” (the blessed one l. 18); these appellations convey Cuthbert’s importance and ensure he is the center of the undescribed minster and of the physical poem, at the end of line 10. Cuthbert dominates the other saints who are, where possible, defined by their relation to him: Boisil is described as Cuthbert’s teacher, a role emphasized in Symeon’s *Libellus de exordio* (i.3, iii.7); Eadbert and Eadfrith are referred to as “æðele geferes” (l. 13b), which may relate them to Cuthbert as well as to each other, and to bishop Æthelwold.<sup>70</sup> The holy company that surrounds Cuthbert is reminiscent of the monastic community he governed on Lindisfarne, but it is refined, being made up of those worthiest of seats in the New Jerusalem.

In the narrative of Cuthbert’s community, the founding of Durham was the first time that Cuthbert asserted his choice of burial place, having previously acquiesced to the community’s desire to bury him on Lindisfarne. The communal landscape of *Durham* is imagined to reflect Cuthbert’s own desires, as expressed in his hagiographies, constructing it as the perfect resting place for the saint and endorsing the city’s miraculous foundation narrative. Within the poem, and the community’s own narrative, Durham supersedes Lindisfarne and is elevated above it.

The structure of *Durham*, moving from edenic wild space to idealized communal space, reflects Cuthbert’s progression from hermit to Bishop, but without the conflict so evident in his hagiography. Bede’s *vitae* all describe Cuthbert’s reluctance to abandon his hermitage to assume the bishopric; he prefers island simplicity to ecclesiastical grandeur and fears the corrupting influence of wealth. Cuthbert weeps as he is led from Farne, which is described as a “dulcibus latebris” (sweet hiding place) in all three of Bede’s texts. Bede’s metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*

places particular focus on the tension between solitude and communal leadership by pairing Cuthbert's grief with an echo of Christ's admonition against hiding one's light under a bushel:

Ecclesiae iussis, precibus lacrimisque coactus

Vatis et ipse genas luctu perfusus amaro

Dulcibus extrahitur latebris populisque regendis

Praeficitur, modio lateat ne tecta lucerna,

Sed iubar alticomum domini diffundat in aedem. (XXI, ll. 537-41)

(Having been compelled by the synod, impelled with prayers and tears – the saint himself bathed his cheeks with bitter sorrow – he is drawn forth from the sweet hiding places and set over the people who are to be governed, so that the light does not stay concealed under a bushel, but the far reaching radiance may pour forth in the house of the Lord).<sup>71</sup>

However, within *Durham* Cuthbert does not have to be led, weeping, to the synod as he can govern and illuminate his community while still remaining within his “dulces latebrae” (sweet hiding places) because the poet merges the physical structure of the cathedral with the natural environment surrounding it. The material wealth that Cuthbert so feared is absent from the poem. Symeon describes lavish gifts and decorations adorning Cuthbert's shrine, but whereas Alcuin encourages the reader to visualize the aureate space of York, the poet of *Durham* deliberately elides the material riches associated with Cuthbert's cult, presenting only the spiritual treasures of the site.<sup>72</sup> A seamless fusion of Cuthbert's homes in life is found in *Durham*: Cuthbert is simultaneously within an island refuge and at the heart of the community. Hermitage and cloister, twin images of heavenly space, are united in the perfect,

spiritual landscape of *Durham*, creating continuity between Durham and the spaces Cuthbert occupied in life.

Continuity was very important to the Durham community, especially during the period of the poem's probable composition. If *Durham* is taken as a product of the somewhat controversial episcopacy of Ranulph Flambard (1099-1128), following that of William of St Calais (1081-1096), or of the tenure of William himself, then the focus on continuity from Farne and Lindisfarne can be seen to accord with the contemporary preoccupations of the Durham community, whose history in that period was fraught. As well as conflicts over where to house Cuthbert's remains, in 1083 Bishop William had the community of secular clerics that had accompanied the saint's body for generations replaced by Benedictine monks from elsewhere.<sup>73</sup> The result was an outpouring of works, such as Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*, which emphasize the rightness of this change and create a sense of spiritual continuity for a community whose history was, as David Rollason states, "one of extraordinary discontinuity."<sup>74</sup> The poem's omission of detailed reference to the cathedral, construction of which began in 1093 under Bishop William and continued through the tenure of his successor, Ranulph, allows for an imagined continuity by avoiding any recollection of controversies associated with the large-scale construction project and the growing episcopal power it symbolized.<sup>75</sup> *Durham's minstre*, defined solely by the presence of its saints, could be the new Anglo-Norman edifice or its Anglo-Saxon predecessor, as it is simply presented as a type of the New Jerusalem.

The presence of Cuthbert was essential to this narrative of continuity: his community's one constant was his body, wherever it happened to be located. Christopher Norton has remarked, in relation to the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, that "St Cuthbert is not a figure from history, he *is* the church of Durham;" a statement

equally applicable to other products of Cuthbert's community, including *Durham*.<sup>76</sup> As Catherine Karkov observes, late eleventh and early twelfth-century artistic products from Durham focus on presenting a hybrid Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Norman identity centered on Cuthbert.<sup>77</sup> Lori Ann Garner and Jean Bony have explored the manifestation of this hybrid identity in the use of Anglo-Saxon designs in the Anglo-Norman cathedral.<sup>78</sup> In *Libellus de exordio* i.12 Symeon writes that the large stone cross that Bishop Æthelwold (d. 740) had carved in honor of Cuthbert was carried on the community's wanderings and erected in Durham, where, in another example of the focus on continuity, it influences the local carving style. Rosemary Cramp has noted the recurrence of earlier Insular patterns, perhaps derived from Bishop Æthelwold's cross, alongside newer designs on stonework associated with Cuthbert's community and writes: "it is almost as though the maintenance of Insular patterns became a necessary banner for St Cuthbert's people."<sup>79</sup> Manuscripts from the Durham scriptorium also contain patterns that link to the past. An illustrated manuscript of Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* originating in Durham (University College Oxford MS 165), dates from about the same time as *Durham* and employs a style of ornament that combines Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman features.<sup>80</sup> These echoes of earlier Insular patterns are similar to the structure, language, and imagery of the poem *Durham*, which Heather Blurton has described as "a reliquary for the past."<sup>81</sup> The poem's structure ensures that it is Cuthbert who is *in medio* of both the text and the space it describes, amplifying the impression of continuity created through its form and style.

The strains between the eremitic and coenobitic models inherent in Cuthbert's hagiography ought to have been exacerbated in the world of Durham where the ideal was a coenobitic life rather than the physical isolation Cuthbert craved, but by echoing both Farne and Lindisfarne, the poem blurs the distinctions between

hermitage and cloister, creating a harmonious space around its saint which maintains tradition while asserting the rightness of his new resting place. In a typical *encomium urbis* the description of the natural setting of the city is linked to the illustrious inhabitants through the built space they inhabit. Without this description, *Durham's* two distinct sections might appear disjointed, but the poem asserts their interrelation. The poem's Latin title, found in both manuscripts, stresses the text's unity: "De situ Dunelmi et de sanctorum reliquiis quae ibidem continentur carmen compositum" (A song composed about the situation of Durham, and about the relics of saints that are contained in the same place), and the structure of the poem reinforces its cohesion. David Howlett has pointed out the skillful use of parallels and chiasmus tying the poem together.<sup>82</sup> Paying closer attention to the artistry of the poem, as Howlett advocates, reveals how word and sound patterns throughout the poem cleverly unite its disparate elements. The poet of *Durham* employs anaphora, most obviously the repeated *Is* (ll. 1, 9, 14), and shows an especial fondness for parechesis, perhaps influenced by Latin verse. Lerer agrees with Howlett's assessment, noting that: "the words *wundrum* (3a) and *wundrum* (20a) set off the entire text, much as the river or the wall encircle the foundation."<sup>83</sup> For Clarke, "the rhetorical envelope pattern conveys the sense of an enclosed and protected space: the *locus amoenus* of the cloister," but it is not a simply a monastic community that the enclosure represents.<sup>84</sup> The envelope of the text encloses Cuthbert as the sea and the walls of his oratory did on Farne, rebuilding the refuge he created for himself within the text of the poem, and reflecting the enclosing community around him. The two sections of *Durham* represent the two key aspects of Cuthbert's career – hermit and bishop – and by tying them so closely together, with a smooth progression between verbal parallels linking the two halves, such as the repeated *breoma* (ll. 1a, 15a), *monige* (ll. 7b, 20a) and

*wundrum* (ll. 3a, 20a), the poet brings together the eremitic and coenobitic elements of Cuthbert's life that he himself struggled to reconcile. In the poem hermitage and cloister are understood and united as spiritually equivalent spaces: both are types of paradise, and both are echoed in the landscape of Durham.

*Durham's* careful structure and emphasis on the fitness of the site and holiness of the relics shape a space that recalls Cuthbert's earlier hagiographies, as well as the community of Durham, reconciling the conflicts in Cuthbert's tradition and the history of his community. The use of the *encomium urbis* tradition in the poem highlights the creation of a City of God in Durham, while the echoes of the hagiographic tradition mark the space as suitable for and blessed by Cuthbert, making the city worthy of praise. By evoking the future spiritual city in heaven, of which the hermitage and the cloister are both types, and by presenting twelfth-century Durham as heir to seventh-century Farne and Lindisfarne through shared landscape features, the poem cultivates continuity through an imagined unity of coenobitic and eremitic space around the central figure of Cuthbert. Within the poem, the City of Durham is the ideal cult center. The poem skillfully manipulates the conventions in which it operates to praise Durham's foundation as a space perfect for Cuthbert. Durham is a blessed island and an idealized minster, an appropriate resting place for Cuthbert, both superlative hermit and constant center of the community. The poem *Durham* is more than a simple rhetorical exercise or a snapshot of cultural and linguistic change; as its contents and manuscripts contexts reveal, it is one of a group of important texts about St Cuthbert, shaped by his cult.

---

<sup>1</sup> Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 6 (London: Routledge, 1942), p. xliii. H. S. Offler argues for an eleventh-century dating in "The Date of *Durham* '(Carmen De Situ Dunelmi)',"

---

*JEGP*, 61 (1962), 591-94. Jane Roberts agrees: “Aldred Signs Off from Glossing the Lindisfarne Gospels,” in *Writing and Texts in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Alexander Rumble (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), p. 41. Thomas O’Donnell has returned to Offler’s ideas and also argues for an earlier dating, reading the poem as a product of the community of secular clerics and reflecting their interests: “The Old English *Durham*, the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto*, and the Unreformed in Late Anglo-Saxon Literature,” *JEGP*, 113 (2014), 131-55. But as Calvin B. Kendall notes, Symeon (on whose account of the appropriation of Bede’s remains Offler’s dating rests) is not the most reliable of sources: “Let Us Now Praise a Famous City: Wordplay in the OE *Durham* and the Cult of St. Cuthbert,” *JEGP*, 87 (1988), 507-12. Joseph Grossi agrees: “Preserving the Future in the Old English *Durham*,” *JEGP*, 111 (2012), 42-73. Peter Evans argues for a post-1104 date based on the depiction of Cuthbert and Oswald: “Word-Play as Evidence for the Date of *Durham*,” *Medium Ævum*, 82 (2013), 314-17. The theory that the translation of Cuthbert prompted the composition of the poem is attractive, but unprovable. In any case, an earlier dating for the poem would not undermine the arguments in the essay.

<sup>2</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), pp. 298, 12. In 1992 Donald K. Fry suggested that a third, previously unknown manuscript of *Durham* had been copied by Francis Junius and was preserved in his transcript (Stanford University Libraries, Department of Special Collections, Misc. 010 [J1]). However, Daniel Paul O’Donnell persuasively argued that this transcript is in fact a record of Junius’s efforts to produce an edited text of the poem. See Fry, “A Newly Discovered Version of the Old English Poem *Durham*,” in *Old English and New: Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy*, ed. Joan H. Hall, A. N. Doane, and Richard N. Ringler (New York: Garland, 1992), pp. 83-96;

---

O'Donnell, "Junius's Knowledge of the Old English Poem *Durham*," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 30 (2001), 231-45.

<sup>3</sup> George Hickes, ed. *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1705), I, 178–79. See also O'Donnell, "Junius's Knowledge," p. 231; Dobbie, *Minor Poems*, p. xliii.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1696), pp. 94-5; Humfrey Wanley, *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Liber Alter ... Catalogus Historico-Criticus*, vol. 2 of Hickes, *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium*, p. 240; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 298.

<sup>5</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 12; Christopher Norton, "History, Wisdom and Illumination," in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. David Rollason (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998), pp. 99-100. CUL Ff.1.27 is a composite volume consisting of half of a twelfth-century book that belonged to the Cistercian Abbey at Sawley in Yorkshire, and half of a fourteenth-century book from Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. The other half of the Sawley book survives as Cambridge, Corpus Christ College MS 66 (the remainder of the Bury St Edmunds manuscript is now CCC 66A). See David N. Dumville, "The Sixteenth-Century History of Two Cambridge Books from Sawley," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1980), 433.

<sup>6</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Norton, "History, Wisdom and Illumination," p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *Catalogus*, pp. 94-95. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 298.

<sup>9</sup> For this reason Norton suggests that the manuscript was produced as an attempt to influence the behaviour of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham. Hugh was not a popular man; in Durham, Cathedral Library B.II.35 his name is scored from the list of

---

bishops with such vehemence that a hole has been made through the vellum. See Norton, "History, Wisdom and Illumination," pp. 99-100; Ker *Catalogue*, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, ed. and trans., A. Campbell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), pp. x-xi. Æthelwulf's poem and its associated miscellanea originally preceded the Durham-focused material, but are now positioned after it. See Norton, "History, Wisdom and Illumination," pp. 64-65.

<sup>11</sup> Dating the *Historia Sancto Cuthberto* is problematic; its most recent editor Ted Johnson South concludes that it was "produced within the community of St Cuthbert in the late Anglo-Saxon or very early Norman period." Although regarding the precise date of composition, "all that can be said is that it had reached its final form before O [MS Oxford, Bodley 596] was produced around the year 1100." South, ed. and trans., *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of His Partimony* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 1, 26. Luisella Simpson believes that the earlier sections (§§1-28) were composed in the mid-tenth century, with the text being revised and expanded in the eleventh century: "The King Alfred/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: Its Significance for Mid-Tenth-Century English History," in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 409-10. Calvin B. Kendall also believes that the text is earlier, stating that no part is later than 1035: "Dry Bones in a Cathedral: The Story of the Theft of Bede's Relics and the Translation of Cuthbert into the Cathedral of Durham in 1104," *Mediaevalia*, 10 (1988), 1-26.

<sup>12</sup> See Norton, "History, Wisdom and Illumination," p. 97.

<sup>13</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 298.

- 
- <sup>14</sup> Symeon of Durham, *Libellus De Exordio Atque Procursu Istius, Hoc Est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie: Tract of the Origins and Progress of This the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), pp. 166-67.
- <sup>15</sup> Kendall, "Dry Bones in a Cathedral," pp. 7-8.
- <sup>16</sup> Christopher Cannon, "Between the Old and the Middle of English," *New Medieval Literatures*, 7 (2005), 203-21; Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Early English Metre* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2005).
- <sup>17</sup> Cannon, "Between the Old and the Middle," p. 214.
- <sup>18</sup> Grossi, "Preserving the Future," pp. 46, 71.
- <sup>19</sup> Heather Blurton, "Reliquia: Writing Relics in Anglo-Norman Durham," in *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 39-56.
- <sup>20</sup> Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2008), p. 225.
- <sup>21</sup> Howe, *Writing the Map*, pp. 228, 231.
- <sup>22</sup> Dobbie, *Minor Poems*, p. 27. For a discussion of how to construe the final lines see Dobbie, pp. 152-53. On *leo* as "lion" rather than a form of *hleo* "protector" see Fred C. Robinson, "The Royal Epithet *Engle Leo* in the Old English *Durham* Poem," *Medium Ævum*, 37 (1968), 249-52.
- <sup>23</sup> Margaret Schlauch, "An Old English 'Encomium Urbis'," *JEGP*, 40 (1941), 14-28. See for example: Michael J. B. Allen and Daniel G. Calder, ed., *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1976); Christopher Abram, "In Search of Lost Time: Aldhelm and *The Ruin*," *Quaestio*, 1 (2000), 1-22.
- <sup>24</sup> On Menander see Schlauch, "Encomium Urbis," pp. 24-28.
- <sup>25</sup> Abram, "In Search of Lost Time," p. 26.

- 
- <sup>26</sup> Schlauch, “Encomium Urbis,” p. 17-23.
- <sup>27</sup> Anne Thompson Lee, “‘The Ruin’: Bath or Babylon? A Non-Archaeological Investigation,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1973), 445, citing and translating “De laudibus urbium,” in *Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. C. Halm (Leipzig: Halle, 1863), p. 587. The same tract is cited by Paolo Zanna, “‘Descriptiones Urbium’ and Elegy in Latin and Vernaculars, in the Early Middle Ages: At the Crossroads between Civic Engagement, Artistic Enthusiasm and Religious Meditation,” *Studi Medievali*, 32 (1991), 523-96.
- <sup>28</sup> Schlauch, “Encomium Urbis,” p. 17.
- <sup>29</sup> Zanna, “Descriptiones Urbium,” pp. 556, 57.
- <sup>30</sup> Catherine A. M. Clarke has made an extensive study of the *locus amoenus* in Anglo-Saxon texts: *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700-1400* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006).
- <sup>31</sup> Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. and trans. P. Godman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).
- <sup>32</sup> Symeon, *Libellus de exordio*, ed. and trans. Rollason, pp. 144-49.
- <sup>33</sup> Earl R. Anderson, “The Uncarpened World of Old English Poetry,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 80. Anderson’s idea that buildings can be homologized to natural features could be applied to *Durham*, but his argument is problematized by its dependence on reading of *Guthlac A*’s *beorg* as a translation of the architecture depicted in Felix’s *Vita S. Guthlaci*. As James Cross observes, *Guthlac A*’s dependence on Felix cannot be proved: ‘English Vernacular Saints’ Lives Before 1000 A.D.’, in *Hagiographies: International History of the Latin and Vernacular Literature in the West from Its Origins to 1550*, ed. by Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 420. Hugh Magennis has persuasively argued that the *beorg* in

---

*Guthlac A* is a symbolic echo of Antony of Egypt's mountain in the desert: *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 182-3.

<sup>34</sup> Lee, "The Ruin"; D. R. Howlett, "Two Old English Encomia," *English Studies*, 57 (1976), 289-93; Zanna, "Descriptiones Urbium"; Abram, "In Search of Lost Time"; Clarke, "Literary Landscapes," p. 92.

<sup>35</sup> Bernard J. Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies, 2 vols. (Exeter: Univ. of Exeter Press, 1994), I, 360-61.

<sup>36</sup> Schlauch, "Encomium Urbis," p. 23.

<sup>37</sup> Although Richard Hamer translates *gewæxen* as "built" in l. 3a of *Durham* (he uses "grown up" for l. 5a), evidence from the corpus does not support his interpretation: *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p. 33. Joseph Bosworth and Thomas Northcote Toller list *gewaxen* as "to grow, grow up": *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), pp. 464-65. The *Dictionary of the Old English Web Corpus* records *geweaxen* as a gloss for the Latin words *crescere* "grow," *exoletum* "matured," and *adultus* "adult," all related to the idea of growth rather than construction: Antonette diPaolo Healey, ed., *Dictionary of the Old English Web Corpus* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2007). Robert E. Bjork translates *gewæxen* as "grown" in both lines: *Old English Shorter Poems, Volume II: Wisdom and Lyric*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, 32 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2014), p. 125.

<sup>38</sup> Seth Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 204.

---

<sup>39</sup> Bertram Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1940), p. 13.

<sup>40</sup> See Michael Lapidge, "Bede's Metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*," in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 77-94. In his *De temporum ratione* c. 66, §570, ll. 1963-65 (written 725) Bede writes that he had composed the metrical life recently. Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), p. 30

<sup>41</sup> Eadfrith died in 722. See Clare Stancliffe, "Disputed Episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the Relationship between Stephen's Life of St Wilfrid and the Early Prose Lives of St Cuthbert," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41 (2012), 19.

<sup>42</sup> Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 142-43; Michael Lapidge, and R. Love, "The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600-1550)," in *Hagiographies*, ed. Guy Philippart, p. 214.

<sup>43</sup> Such as University College Oxford MS 165 and British Library, Yates Thompson MS 26. See the discussion of the manuscripts in Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 20-39.

<sup>44</sup> Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Evagrius, "Vita beati Antonii abbatis auctore sancto Athanasio, episcopo Alexandrino interprete Evagrio presbytero antiocheno," in *Vitae patrum sive historiae Eremiticae libri decem*, Patrologia Latinae (PL), 73, col. 148.

<sup>46</sup> Caroline White, *Early Christian Lives* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 39.

<sup>47</sup> On prospect-refuge theory see Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape*, rev. edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1996).

---

<sup>48</sup> An example of a high, prominent building is Heorot in *Beowulf*, for instance: “Sele hlifade | heah ond horngeap” (the hall towered, high and horn-gabled ll. 81b-82a). R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles, eds, *Klaeber’s Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 6. *Maxims II* says “Ceastra beoð | feorran gesyne” (cities shall be seen from afar ll. 1b-2a), suggesting that they occupy an elevated position. Dobbie, *Minor Poems*, p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> “wundor,” Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, pp. 1281-1282.

<sup>50</sup> Colgrave, ed. and trans. *Two Lives*, pp. 216-17. See also the representation of this incident in the Anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* III.i-ii (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 94-97), and Bede’s metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* XV (Werner Jaeger, ed., *Bedas Metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1935), pp. 87-88).

<sup>51</sup> Charles D. Wright has argued that the semantic range of the Old English words *ealond* and *iglond*, both of which gloss Latin *insula*, would include not only “island” but also “land by the water” and “land partially surrounded by water,” creating a direct equation between the landscapes of Farne, Lindisfarne, and Durham: “‘Insulae Gentium’: Biblical Influence on Old English Poetic Vocabulary,” in *Magister Regis: Studies in Honor of Robert Earl Kaske*, ed. Arthur Groos (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1986), pp. 9-22.

<sup>52</sup> Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 184-85. Also compare the Anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* III.i. Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>53</sup> Jaeger, ed., *Bedas Metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, p. 86.

<sup>54</sup> Jennifer O’Reilly, “Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth: Exegesis and Conversion in Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*,” in *Bède Le Vénérable: entre tradition et postérité*, ed. Stéphane Lebecq, Michel Perrin, and Olivier Szerwiniak (Lille:

---

Centre de Gestion de l'Édition Scientifique, Univ. Charles-de-Gaule, Lille 3, 2005), pp. 119-45; Wright, "Insulae Gentium."

<sup>55</sup> Anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* II.v (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 84-87), Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthbert* X (Jaager, ed., *Bedas Metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, pp. 80-81), and Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* XII (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 194-97). The fish may recall the depiction of the Ouse in Alcuin's poem about York, quoted above, or both descriptions may derive from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* I.i, which describes British rivers abounding in fish. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, ed. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 14-15.

<sup>56</sup> Dobbie, *Minor Poems*, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup> Della Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England: Literature, Lore and Landscape*, ed. John Hines and Catherine Cubitt (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), p. 69.

<sup>58</sup> O'Donnell, "The Old English *Durham*," pp. 151-53.

<sup>59</sup> The role of the wood in the Anglo-Saxon imagination is beyond the scope of this article, but has been explored by Della Hooke in *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England*; by Mary Ward in "The Wooded Landscape of Old English Poetry," *Landscape History*, 34 (2013), 23-32; and in Michael Bintley and Michael G. Shapland, eds, *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013).

<sup>60</sup> "Fæstnes," Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey, et al, eds, *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online* (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2007); "wudufæsten," Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 1278.

<sup>61</sup> Grossi, "Preserving the Future," p. 59.

---

<sup>62</sup> The sea creatures appear in the Anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* II.iii (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 78-83), Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* VIII (Jaeger, ed., *Bedas Metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, pp. 74-76), and Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* X (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 188-191). The ravens bring lard in the Anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* III.v (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 100-103), Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti* XVIII (Jaeger, ed., *Bedas Metrische Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, pp. 90-92), and Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* XX (Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 222-25). Jerome, *Vita Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, PL, 23.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the conclusion of *Guthlac A* (ll. 733b-51) where the saint feeds the rejoicing birds. Jane Roberts, ed., *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), p. 105.

<sup>64</sup> "Burh," *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*. The semantic range of *burh* has been discussed in greater detail by Lori Ann Garner in *Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2011), pp. 6-8.

<sup>65</sup> Catherine A. M. Clarke, "Envelope Pattern and the *Locus Amoenus* in Old English Verse," *Notes and Queries* 50 (2003), 264.

<sup>66</sup> O'Donnell ("The Old English *Durham*," p. 141) argues that *æt* suggests that the relics are in the coffin with Cuthbert, reflecting their arrangement in the Anglo-Saxon minster. In contrast, Evans ("Word-Play as Evidence for the Date of *Durham*," pp. 315-16) argues that the use of *clene* for only Oswald and Cuthbert indicates that the other relics had been removed from the coffin by the time of *Durham*'s composition.

<sup>67</sup> *Burh* is often used to refer to the heavenly Jerusalem, especially in poetry. See sense B.4.b in *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*.

<sup>68</sup> Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 214-15.

---

<sup>69</sup>As Ananya Jahanara Kabir has discussed, the Augustinian equation of Eden with the heavenly Jerusalem was current in Anglo-Saxon thought: *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 32 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 24-30.

<sup>70</sup> Symeon, *Libellus de exordio*, ed. and trans. Rollason, pp. 24-29, 160-67.

<sup>71</sup> See also Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* XXIV. Colgrave, ed. and trans., *Two Lives*, pp. 238-39. The same passage, with minor additions, occurs in *Historia ecclesiastica* IV.xxvi (ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 436) and is used by Symeon in *Libellus de exordio* i.9 (ed. and trans. Rollason, p. 44).

<sup>72</sup> Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* records lavish gifts given to Cuthbert's shrine by various influential patrons; for example King Athelstan (ii.17, ii.18, Rollason, ed. and trans., pp. 132-141); Earl Tostig and his wife Judith (iii.11, Rollason, ed. and trans., pp. 174-77); and King William (iii.20, Rollason, ed. and trans., pp. 196-201).

<sup>73</sup> As described in Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* iv.3 (Rollason, ed. and trans., pp. 228-35).

<sup>74</sup> David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 197.

<sup>75</sup> The cathedral's construction and associated political disputes are discussed by Henry Mayr-Harting: *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 1066-1272* (Harlow: Longman, 2011), pp. 35-36. See also William A. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998). I am grateful to Professor Mayr-Harting for sharing his insights on the history of the Durham community with me.

<sup>76</sup> Norton, "History, Wisdom and Illumination," p. 98. Emphasis Norton's.

<sup>77</sup> Karkov, *Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 281.

---

<sup>78</sup> Garner, *Structuring Spaces*, pp. 192-94; Jean Bony, “Durham et la tradition saxonne,” *Etudes d'art medieval offertes a Louis Grodecki*, ed. Sumner McK. Crosby, André Chastel, Anne Prache and Albert Chatelet (Paris: Ophrys, 1981), pp. 79-92. Other hybrid Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Norman architectural features are discussed by Eric C. Fernie and Malcolm Thurlby. See Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Batsford, 1983), pp. 168, 172; Thurlby, “The Roles of Patron and Master Mason in the First Design of the Romanesque Cathedral of Durham,” in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093-1193*, ed. David Rollason (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 161-84; Thurlby, “Anglo-Saxon Architecture Beyond the Millennium: Its Continuity in Norman Building,” in *The White Mantle of Churches*, ed. Nigel Hiscock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 128.

<sup>79</sup> Rosemary Cramp, “The Artistic Influence of Lindisfarne within Northumbria,” in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner et al., p. 227.

<sup>80</sup> Catherine E. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 278-281. Bertram Colgrave (*Two Lives*, pp. 47-50) lists University College Oxford MS 165 among his Bx group of manuscripts, of which he says “most of which were probably written in Durham and have the Durham tradition behind them.” For a detailed analysis of the manuscript’s origins and date see Malcolm Baker, “Medieval Illustrations of Bede’s Life of St. Cuthbert,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 41 (1978), 18-21.

<sup>81</sup> Blurton, “*Reliquia*,” p. 42.

<sup>82</sup> D. R. Howlett, “The Shape and Meaning of the Old English Poem ‘Durham’,” in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. David Rollason (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), p. 495.

---

<sup>83</sup> Lerer, *Literacy and Power*, p. 202. Repeated in Seth Lerer, “Old English and Its Afterlife,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), p. 21.

<sup>84</sup> Clarke, “Envelope Pattern,” p. 264.