ST CUTHBERT: DURHAM'S TUTELARIE DEITIE

by DIANA NEWTON

The cult of St Cuthbert was central to the regional identity of north-eastern England with its inhabitants termed the *haliwerfolc*, or 'people of the saint' (Cuthbert). The saint became crucial to the liturgical practices and celebrations of Durham's clerical and secular communities as well as being a guarantor of martial victories; usually against the Scots. However, with the cult of saints an early victim of the Reformation launched by Henry VIII in the 1530s, the outlook for St Cuthbert's legacy became increasingly uncertain. Attachment to the saint's memory became inextricably entwined with Durham's pre-Reformation history as commemoration of the cult, rather than the saint, took on more significance. This article looks at how St Cuthbert's historians and other antiquaries regularly manipulated his legend to satisfy different purposes and circumstances; so that completely different perspectives on Cuthbert and his cult have emerged over the centuries since the Reformation. But, throughout the changing interpretations of St Cuthbert's story his significance in Durham remains unchallenged.

On 19 May 1827 an article appeared in *The Durham Advertiser* which described an event that had 'occasioned a great sensation in the town'. The sensational event was the opening of St Cuthbert's tomb, located in the feretory of Durham cathedral, two days before.[1] It was supervised by the cathedral librarian and rector of Meldon, Dr James Raine, who himself provided an account of the incident published the following year.[2] What Dr Raine could reveal was that there were bones in the coffin, thereby discrediting Roman Catholic beliefs that either the body had been spirited away by the monks at the time of the reformation, or that the body was miraculously uncorrupted. Ostensibly the exhumation was part of a programme of building work that was being carried out in the church; but it caused great offence to the Catholics of Durham. It can have been no coincidence, however, that a new Roman Catholic church was to be dedicated—to St Cuthbert—in the Old Elvet area of Durham on 31 May 1827 and that George Canning, who was deeply committed to Catholic emancipation, had become prime minister on 10 April 1827. No doubt the Anglican establishment felt it was timely to expose the Catholics for what it perceived them to be: superstitious deceivers who could not be trusted and who needed to be carefully monitored.

The church authorities went straight for the heart (and minds) of the Durham Catholics through Cuthbert and the powerful cult that had built up around him over more than a millennium; a cult that was one

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of the most powerful defining features of north-east England's identity. Hence, Raine concluded his account of the opening of Cuthbert's tomb by declaring that 'the positive fact, that the eye-balls of the saint were, during our late investigation, ascertained to have consisted of a mere preparation, is of itself a sufficient proof of fraud. This discovery, exclusive of all the rest ... completely disproves that tale of centuries, invested for interested purposes in a superstitious age—the incorruptibility of St. Cuthbert.'[3] For, the cult of St Cuthbert, like the cults of saints throughout western Europe, 'was based on the bodily remains of past heroes of the church'.[4] As a result, Cuthbert's bodily remains were the chief object of his detractors.

The cult of St Cuthbert was central to the regional identity of north-eastern England; especially the palatinate of Durham which, at its fullest extent, ran from the Tees to 'North Durham' between Norham and Lindisfarne in the north of Northumberland.[5] It could almost be described as tribal with its inhabitants termed the *haliwerfolc*, meaning in Old English 'people of the saint' (Cuthbert); that is, the tenants of the pre-Conquest church of Durham between the rivers Tees and Tweed, or 'people of the saint'; that is, Cuthbert.[6] Thus, any challenge to the saint, most particularly by the Reformation, was regarded as a threat to the social identity of the region. But, the cult cast an extraordinarily long shadow so that the significance of the saint lived on; not just for Catholics and their sympathisers but for Protestant antiquarians who reinterpreted it for their own purposes, notwithstanding their ambiguous relationship with the Anglo-Saxon past. St Cuthbert, in fact, continues to be a historical reference point as well as a defining feature of Durham to the present day.

I

Cuthbert was born around 635. He was prior and then bishop of the monastic community at Lindisfarne. The cult began almost immediately after his death in 687, when it was decided to move his remains to a more elevated place to facilitate veneration of them. On opening the grave, eleven years after his original burial, his body was found to be un-decayed and the clothing still fresh; a clear sign of sanctity. A series of miracles believed to have been worked at the site of Cuthbert's new burial place confirmed this, and the cult was actively promoted by his successor bishops of Lindisfarne. Thereafter, Cuthbert was to become especially attached to Durham and in particular to the site of the later city of Durham, which, according to some accounts, was deemed to be where the saint wished his final resting place to be, as he made clear two hundred years after his death.[7] The cult survived into the Norman period.[8] In 1104, the saint's remains had been inspected again, and once more confirmed to be uncorrupted, before they were moved to their final

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resting place in a magnificent shrine in the new Norman cathedral. A visit to the shrine became an essential part of any progress through the north of England. For instance, the future Pope Pius II visited in 1436, Henry VI in 1448, Richard III in 1483 and Margaret Tudor in 1503. The number of churches dedicated to the saint and place names embodying his name in northern England and southern Scotland further attested to the potency of the cult of St Cuthbert.

Cuthbert also became crucial to the liturgical practices and celebrations of the Benedictine priory that was founded at the new cathedral as well as those of the town's secular inhabitants.[9] At the four large-scale processions around the cathedral Cuthbert's banner played the starring role. This was truly splendid relic which was believed to have dated to 1346 when it ensured victory against the king of Scotland.[10] The banner continued to guarantee success against the Scots well into the sixteenth century. In 1513 it was carried at the battle of Flodden where Scotland's king and the cream of its nobility was cut down and after which a considerable sum was spent on repairing it, for future use, which came less than ten years later when it was again carried in battle against the Scots in 1522. According to a letter from the earl of Surrey, a leader of the English army, written the following year, king Henry VIII had sent him word that ' that in nowise should I goo no further than *St. Cuthbert's Banner* might go with me'.[11] At this stage Henry VIII was still fully convinced of the efficacy of the saint's support.

Cuthbert was more than just a guarantor of martial victories. He also represented the essence of Durham, which he often accomplished together with a supporting cast. Of the regular ceremonies that took place around the cathedral, the Corpus Christi festivities were the climax which began with a procession where St Cuthert's banner was joined by the banners of all the guilds and culminated in pageants and plays, sponsored by the guilds and designed to display their members' relative positions in the urban community and their sense of worth.[12] The celebrations reinforced notions of civic pride and identity in Durham and were a clear manifestation of the symbiosis between the civic and ecclesiastical authorities, which were extended in Durham to incorporate the potent symbolism of Cuthbert. Together with the tradition of the *haliwerfolc,* the cult of St Cuthbert meant that the inhabitants of the late-medieval bishopric possessed their own distinctive culture of community and identity. Above all, Cuthbert defined the palatinate of Durham.

The cult of saints was an early victim of the reformation launched by Henry VIII in the 1530s. In many respects, the impact of the reformation on the cathedral community of Durham was minimal and the changeover from monastic cathedral to secular cathedral was remarkably smooth. For the purposes of propaganda, their alleged corrupt monastic past was to be jettisoned. In practice, they retained much of the same personnel as before the breach. When it was eventually re-founded in 1541, the

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corporation of Durham, that is the dean and chapter, were often the same people as the prior and monks they 'replaced'. And, though some were purged after 1569, the last of the pre-reformation chapter survived until 1595. Saints, however, were another matter. In 1536 and 1538 injunctions were issued that have been described as effectively declaring war on the cult of saints, which was the 'heartbeat of medieval popular religion'.[13] The injunctions of 1536 took a moderate stand against images in churches and against pilgrimages, while banning some holy days and saints' days. Those of 1538 considerably extended the earlier ones of 1536, by prohibiting veneration of images and relics; which dovetailed with the attacks on shrines and monasteries. The evidence from churchwarden's accounts demonstrates that, from 1536, offerings and images were indeed disappearing from parish churches. However, it has also been noted that local cult identities proved remarkably tenacious across the kingdom.[14] It would be reasonable to conclude that regional cult identities, such as that connected with Cuthbert, were similarly persistent, notwithstanding the lack of churchwarden's accounts for Durham.

A rare glimpse of the atmosphere in Durham in the 1530s came from the episcopal registrar, Christopher Chaytor, almost certainly a recusant, who observed that 'brother dare not speak to brother' of what was going on for fear of reaping 'sore punishment'.[15] Otherwise, in the absence of surviving churchwarden's accounts, the fact that thousands of people were prepared to risk their lives in the Pilgrimage of Grace, in 1536, motivated in part by opposition to the religious changes taking place, indicates that their effects were making themselves felt sufficiently to cause deep concern and prompt radical action. Some of the documents relating to the Pilgrimage specifically refer to the cult of saints and, significantly, the Durham contingent marched behind the banner of Cuthbert throughout their involvement in the venture.[16] Following the Pilgrimage's failure, a deposition of its leader, Robert Aske, recounted that the county assembled daily with Lords Neville, Latimer and Lumley and 10,000 men together with 'the Banner and armies of Cuthbert'; thereby firmly associating the Durham contingent with its saint.[17] It also suggests that the threat to the region's identity was a further consideration in recruiting to the Pilgrimage.

Otherwise, even after the subsequent breaking open of Cuthbert's tomb by Henry VIII's commissioners in 1537, there seems to be little evidence that the Henrician injunctions had the immediate and drastic effect in Durham that they had elsewhere in England. In July 1541 a proclamation was issued entitled 'Altering feast days and fast days' in which king Henry willed and commanded that 'all such supersticious observations be left and extinguished throughout all this his realm and dominions…'.[18] It was probably no coincidence that this followed another attempt at regime change in northern England in March 1541, after which the king went on progress to the north where he expressed his dismay at the number of

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shrines remaining .[19] Those of Cuthbert and St Bede were certainly gone by 30 November 1541, however, for the accounts of the abbey record that workmen were being paid to carry them away.[20]

But, the battle against the saints was still to be won. The accession of Edward VI in 1547, which was seen by some as an opportunity for more radical reform, was heralded by a proclamation which ordered that the clergy must not 'allure the people by any enticement to the pilgrimage of any saint'.[21] There was also a rapid growth of iconoclasm precipitated by a royal injunction issued the same year, which included an order to 'deface all popishe ornaments in parishe churches' throughout the kingdom. Robert Horne (later, dean of Durham) enthusiastically assisted the commissioners in mutilating the Corpus Christi shrine in Durham's St Nicholas church; taking it upon himself to smash the relic to pieces with his own feet, the better to thoroughly obliterate this emblem of civic religious ceremony whereby was enacted the whole of salvation history.[22] 1548 saw the outlawing of religious guilds with the Chantries Act; thereby technically putting a stop to the religious plays they performed. In just two years Durham and its saint had been severely damaged by the Edwardian regime. Following his death, Edward's half-sister Mary issued a proclamation in 1554 which commanded 'that all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented and continued after the old order of the church'. This was followed by yet another proclamation issued by Elizabeth in 1559 forbidding 'any procession about the church or church yard'.[23]

The dizzying about turns from central government seemed to make little impression in Durham, though. And, although the terms of the letters patent issued in 1541 for the new foundation of the cathedral church at Durham decreed that the dedication was changed from 'St Mary and Cuthbert' to 'Christ and the Blessed Virgin', some of the 'ancient monuments' connected with the shrine of Cuthbert certainly were still in the cathedral in the 1560s according to an account of George Dobson, one of the choristers there.[24] Even under the radical reformer James Pilkington, who became bishop in 1561, there appears to be just one charge of iconoclasm leveled against him which concerned the secularization of the redundant collegiate church of Auckland where 'he allowed both shooting and bowling'.[25] It had had nothing to do with Cuthbert. On the other hand, the Elizabethan Prayer Book and Injunctions of 1559 had provided that the nave and the pulpit should be the focus for the Reformed liturgy setting the scene for the sermon to become the dominant mode of worship. Accordingly, in his exposition upon Haggai Pilkington declared that 'where the gospel is preached ... knowing that God is not pleased but only with a pure heart' should have 'only a pulpit, a preacher to the people, a deacon for the poor, a table for the communion, with bare walls, or else written with scriptures' and he crowed that 'our papists weep to see our churches so bare ... with nothing in them to make curtsey to.'[26]

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In 1569 the north of England rose in rebellion. This was part of a wider scheme to replace the English queen, Elizabeth, with her cousin, Mary, queen of Scotland. In its northern context, it was 'basically the result of a *regional* crisis rather than a national one'.[27] Yet, while countering the notion that the rebellion was not attributable to 'wild men of the north', historians attached little significance to the events of 1569 as an expression of religious fervor, until very recently. This was despite the earls' proclamation making it plain that 'the settinge forthe of his trewe and Catholicke religion', should be the principal motive for joining them in rebellion.[28] The lord president of the Council of the North, the earl of Sussex, was in little doubt that support for the rising was because they 'like so well their cause of religion'. Sir Ralph Sadler, Elizabeth's trusted agent, asserted that 'there be not in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allowe of her majesties proceedings in the cause of religion' and dismissed 'the comen people' as 'altogether blynded with tholde popishe doctrine'. He went on to say that, even those recruited to fight for the queen, 'though their persons be here with us, I assure you their hearts for the most part be with the rebels'.[29]

Although the banner of St Cuthbert was not available for the 1569 rebels—it having been destroyed by Katherine Whittingham, wife of William Whittingham, the dean of Durham from 1563—the men in arms declared their common aims by marching under banners that depicted the 'five wounds of Christ' and wearing red crosses; thereby clearly defining the religious nature of their enterprise. Accordingly, the earls and their followers' opening action was to destroy all evidence of Protestantism in Durham cathedral and to celebrate a Catholic mass there. The many depositions taken after the rebellion attest to the fact that masses and anthems were sung in Durham cathedral, as well as processions 'after the crosse', in the traditional manner.[30] These attracted widespread participation, as more than one deponent alluded to the 'multitudes' of people who flocked to observe revived services and ceremonies in the cathedral, which, they complained, made it difficult to see or hear the proceedings. The churches of St Nicholas, St Giles, St Oswald and St Margaret, in Durham, also witnessed the revival of popish practices, as did those in Brancepeth, St Helen Aukland, Long Newton, Chester le Street, Monkwearmouth, Heighington, Whitworth and Lanchester. At Brancepeth a baby was christened according to the old rites, and at St Helen Aukland a woman was 'churched'. Altar stones were recovered from their hiding places, such as the two for the cathedral, which were hidden 'one on Mr Swyfft [prebendary of the first stall] backsyd and the other … in the centry [cemetry] garth under moch mettal [earth or rubble]'; while the 'hallywater fatts' reappeared from an unknown whereabouts. Altars and holy water stones were also restored to churches at Pittington, Aukland St Andrew, Sedgefield, Long Newton and Stockton. At the same time, communion tables were enthusiastically destroyed and

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Protestant books publicly burned.[31] There was, however, no mention of Cuthbert in the consistory court records.

Despite the clear religious ramifications of the rising, the queen's first proclamation regarding the rebellion assiduously ignored its religious dimension.[32] This omission was indicative of the regime's insecurity in the face of a Catholic menace. However, once that threat was successfully countered, the charge of 'popery' was added to that of 'treachery', as 'papist' and traitor' became interchangeable in the rhetoric of the polemicists. Thereafter was forged 'a virulent anti-Catholic Protestant identity for the English that was to endure and shape responses to future events'.[33] Even after their defeat, those northern rebels who escaped punishment, and absconded across the border into Scotland, took on an international significance.[34] They became briefly involved in the civil wars between the forces of the 'exiled' Catholic Queen Mary and the Protestant supporters of her son, which ultimately justified Elizabeth's intervention in Scotland's affairs. The surprising complicity of so many Scots in this interference was made possible, in part, by the emergence of a newer 'British' identity; an identity premised on a shared Protestantism in the face of a Catholic foe.[35] This was considerably earlier than Elizabeth's deliberate efforts to whip up anti-Catholic sentiments in the face of the Spanish threat in the 1580s.

Very soon after the rebellion, in 1571, the Catholic religious controversialist, Nicholas Sander, had published *De visibili monarchia*, which was the first to attribute martyrdom to those who had supported the rebellion, and in 1582, work began on a series of frescos at the English College in Rome depicting martyrs since the early church. They also included those who died in the 1569 rebellion.[36] And, despite its absence during the rebellion, St Cuthbert's banner also took on an unexpected significance. For, it was later reported that, 'being a Freanche woman … [Katherine Whittingham] … did most injurously burne and consume the same in hir fire, in the notable contempt and disgrace of all anncyent and goodly reliques'.[37] Clearly, the iniquity of the deed was compounded by her foreignness. At a stroke, this French Calvinist had deprived the people of Durham of their saint and their past. Yet, paradoxically, it could be argued that her incendiary action was a more effective tool in revitalizing Catholicism in the north-eastern reaches of the kingdom than the armies of Jesuit and seminary priests dispatched from the Continent in the 1570s and 80s. A recent attempt to rehabilitate William Whittingham has to concede that 'his supposed hostility to the cult of St Cuthbert which had been fundamental to the whole ethos of the old Prior and Convent', manifest in the destruction of the banner as well as a statue of the saint, was 'enough to raise the hackles of any red-blooded Dunelmian'.[38] Attachment to the saint's memory became inextricably entwined with Durham's pre-Reformation history. Moreover, while new saints were created to promote the Counter-Reformation on the continent, the people

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of north-eastern England already had a saint upon which it could call who was unequivocally identified with the *haliwerfolc*.[39] They did not need to create one.

II

Thereafter the impact of reformation on St Cuthbert became more indirect so that the commemoration of the cult, rather than the saint, seemed to be of more significance. It has been argued that the cult of saints had become part and parcel of Europe's material recovery and political consolidation following the Viking invasions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[40] In the same way, the dislocation of the Reformation in the sixteenth century led to similar developments; not least in reinforcing notions of identity under threat, especially in the northern parts of the kingdom. In particular, the difficult years of the 1590s, marked by economic distress and foreign wars, which impacted particularly heavily on the north-eastern counties, appear to have triggered a concerted effort to recover the 'glories' of Durham's past. Of particular significance were the so-called 'Rites of Durham' published by the Surtees Society in 1842 and again in 1903. They were never a comprehensive or complete record of the ancient and traditional practices peculiar to Durham, however. They were a collection of rituals and ceremonies associated with the bishopric drawn from at least seven manuscripts. The Surtees Society volume's expanded title, 'Rites of Durham, being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customs belonging within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression written 1593', referred to just one part of one of those manuscripts. This was Bishop John Cosin's manuscript, which was compiled sometime in the 1620s; when he had newly arrived as a prebend in the cathedral.[41] The 1593 'Rites', copied by Cosin, were themselves a copy of a manuscript roll (since unstitched), known as the Hogg Roll, which was the main authority for the Surtees Society edition.

The 'Rites of Durham' dwelt, at considerable length, on the magnificence of the cathedral church of Durham, the domestic buildings of the monastery and the lives of the monastic community who lived and worshiped there. Stressing the region's sense of corporate identity, the whole was rounded off by a description of the processions on certain holy days, when the citizens of Durham joined in tribute to the city, and diocese, of Durham and provide the first detailed description of the Corpus Christi celebrations. The 'Corpus Christi shrine all fynlye gilted' was carried by four priests, at the head of the procession of all the churches of the town, to the palace green. There, by 'Wyndeshole yett' (or Windy Gap; an alley off the south-west side of the palace green), it halted and was joined by 'Sancte Cuthbert Banner browghte fourth with two goodly faire crosses', where the prior, convent and choir met it on

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their knees. The host was returned to the abbey church, by the prior and his attendants, while, 'all the Banners of the occupacions dyd followe … goying Rounde about Saincte Cuthbert fereture [shrine]', thus, reinforcing the symbiosis between the civic and ecclesiastical authorities, that were extended in Durham to incorporate the potent symbolism of Cuthbert.[42] For it was the life, and legacy, of Cuthbert which occupied by far the greatest part of the work; making the saint the single most important rallying point for the catholic community in Durham at the end of the sixteenth century and beyond. Moreover, in Scotland St Cuthbert continued to be as significant after the Scottish Reformation as before.[43]

Cosin's manuscript also included Robert Hegge's *Legend of Cuthbert*, written most probably in 1626. Hegge was born in the city of Durham in 1597 or 9. He was a scholar at Corpus Christi college, Oxford, where he proceeded MA in March 1621 and was accounted 'the best in the university for mathematical faculty, history and antiquities'.[44] He put these last two to use in writing a *Legend of Cuthbert* which, he acknowledged in its preface, was to discharge 'this duty I owe to that Countreye, where I had my cradle, to renew the decayed Epitaphs upon the Tombstones of her Antiquaries'. Hegge was just one of Durham's antiquaries committed to preserving their very particular, ancient customs. William Claxton, of Wynyard, had also been collecting material for a history of Durham, since the 1570s. He was a Catholic, who had been a follower of the earl of Westmorland, and his interest reflected the concerns of many of those of a similar disposition in the diocese of Durham, which had at their heart the cult of St Cuthbert. This, more than anything else, underpinned their conscious memory, from 1569, through the 1590s, into the 1620s, and beyond. Claxton had access to an impressive range of material, including volumes about the bishops of Durham and the saints of Northumberland. But, as well as his involvement in synthesizing the 'Rites' associated with St Cuthbert, Claxton was also active in collecting and copying Durham chronicles 'to an extent and of an importance which has not been appreciated'.[45] He appears to have been part of a network of antiquarians, who exchanged books and manuscripts with one another, both locally and further afield. He also corresponded with William Camden and John Stow, and supplied them with matter.[46] He was clearly working on an historical compilation relating to the bishopric of Durham, for, while he was furnishing Stow with material for his wider projects, he was anxious to have a work returned to him which pertained particularly to Durham.[47] Claxton's interest in the history of Durham was shared by his neighbours. John Calverley, made one of the earliest copies of Hegg's work on St Cuthbert sometime between 1625 and 1628.[48] Given that Calverley's grandfather, Sir William, had originally settled in Durham after his Yorkshire property had been destroyed during the 1569 rebellion, it was unlikely that John Calverley was driven by religious considerations to take an interest in Durham's saint. However, both John Calverley and

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his father distinguished themselves by their active public service in their adopted county, thereafter; so, it is not surprising that this commitment extended to a curiosity and concern with its history.

It has been observed that there was a danger that antiquarians might lay themselves open to accusations of popishness; especially where their 'fondness for antiquities' came into conflict with their religious disposition. And, certainly, Hegge's Protestantism made a considerable contribution to his representation of Cuthbert.[49] So, while ostensibly celebrating the life of the saint, Hegge was rather more skeptical in regard to the cult that grew up about Cuthbert after his death. This aspect no doubt appealed to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the parliamentary commander into whose possession a copy of Hegge's *Legend* came; for he was a 'non-sectarian puritan,' with a 'strong, simple belief in the dynamic role of divine providence in his life' [50] According to the 'account of the author from Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis'*, following the title page in the 1777 edition of Hegge's *Legend* , a member of Fairfax's retinue had a version of the work printed shoddily in London in 1663, while a truer version (known to Wood) was in the possession of Dr Edward Pocock, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Pocock, who died in 1691, had 'friendships with Jews, Muslims, and Christians of many persuasions [which] vouch for his tolerance, and his disgust with religious intolerance in his own time and place', making him perhaps better placed to promulgate Hegge's more circumspect work.[51]

From the beginning the cult of St Cuthbert had come with an agenda attached; his legend was regularly manipulated to satisfy different purposes and circumstances. For instance, Cuthbert's predictions about the future of the church, and his instructions about his body in the event of its being in danger were re-interpreted according to prevailing concerns. According to Symeon of Durham, writing in the twelfth century, the arrival of the heathen Danes had reminded the current bishop of Durham of the saint's directions to his monks that he 'should much prefer it that you should raise up my bones from the grave, take them away with you, and dwell as inhabitants of whatever place God may provide for you, than that you should for any reason condone iniquity, and bow your neck to the yoke of the schismatics'. He was forced to make such a provision because he 'had in his own time foreseen with the spirit of prophesy the future peril of his church'.[52] By the seventeenth century it seemed to some that the church had been visited by a much greater peril, as presented in an anonymous tract compiled in 1603. Its sentiments were clearly a continuation of those in the 'Rites of Durham' from the previous decade when the monastic past and its trauma were still within living memory of the inhabitants of Durham. When that tract was later copied and printed by the reverend Thomas Rud, born 1667/8, one-time librarian to the dean and chapter of Durham, in the 1720s and published fifty years later, it presented the traditional view of the cult and

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community of Cuthbert based on his early (Catholic) historians which was a clear celebration of Durham's (Catholic) bishops.[53] Much less critical than Hegge, it appears to be a faithful reproduction of the work of Durham's earlier historians. Accordingly, the 1603 treatise recounted that Cuthbert ordered that the monks should take his bones and 'fly from these places', thereby introducing a note of greater urgency and jeopardy, as he ordered that they should not 'submitt yourself to the yoak *and servitude* of Wicked Schismatiques'.[54] Unlike the misguided 'barbarians' of the ninth century, the saint and his successors were under threat from a far more dangerous quarter following the Reformation: from within the church itself.

In 1603, at the beginning of a new reign, and with the extinction of the dynasty that had presided over the Reformation, hopes were high across the religious divide. Cuthbert's warnings about the future of the church were clearly manifest, 'as the sequell and experience have made it most apparent'; and his words seemed to be especially pertinent to those living under the spiritual leadership of bishop Toby Matthew, who was notoriously diligent against Roman Catholic recusants.[55] Paradoxically, this was a return to Bede's interpretation of the episode, in the mid-eighth century—before the pagan invasions of the ninth—to whom the 'schismatics' were most probably those who had not adopted 'Roman' practices. For Bede's account of Cuthbert's instructions to his monks, that he preferred that they escape with his bones rather than 'bow your necks under the yoke of schismatics', came shortly after Cuthbert's exhortation that they 'have no communication with those who depart from the unity of the [Roman] Catholic peace'; in particular, the vexed question of calculating the date of Easter. Clearly, Bede wished to attribute his own Roman convictions to his favourite saint and it has been argued that Cuthbert's credentials as a supporter of the Roman party enabled him to be promoted posthumously as a major saint in a way not possible for earlier bishops who adhered to the Celtic or Irish view.[56] Yet, for Christopher Watson, in the 1570, it was partly Cuthbert's representation of Roman influence and superstition that moved him to attempt writing a history which denigrated his life and miracles.[57] Thus, the battle on behalf of Rome and its conventions had been fought repeatedly in England's north-eastern parts with Cuthbert as its champion.

By the time Hegge came to recount Cuthbert's instructions, in the 1620s, he made only a brief reference to Cuthbert's last will and testament, which simply desired that should the monks have to escape from a pagan invasion they should take his bones with them. With Durham now under the protection of bishop Richard Neile, who was restoring many of its traditions and customs, the memory of Cuthbert no longer needed to be invoked, except in so far as he epitomized the essence of the north-eastern diocese. Moreover, Hegge was deeply sceptical of the monastic foundation that thrived on the memory of Cuthbert. It has been

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observed that it was the hagiographers who shaped the way their subjects were seen by how they chose to present them, while behind these were vested interests striving to legitimise or enhance their power; such as monastic communities.[58] But, of course, in 1541 Durham had become a royal foundation, which owed its existence, privileges and possessions to king Henry VIII.[59] Its monastic past had been jettisoned. Hence, while Hegge extolled the saint 'as a glorious Starre of the first magnitude [who] shyned in the Firmament of this Church' he was extremely critical of Cuthbert's community. While, Lindisfarne had 'become the Stage whereupon *St. Cuthbert* acted all his Miracles...' and he condemned 'what advantage the Monkes took of the Blind Devotion of that Age' which was superstitious and gullible.[60]

The anonymous author of the 1603 tract took a different view. He recorded how 'The wonderfull Miracles which almighty God wrought by this his glorious Saint, as well in his life, as after his arrival to the joyes of Heaven' had motivated princes and noblemen to endow the 'Bishopps See and Church' with ' great Privileges, Liberties, Landes, and Possessions'.[61] Hegge was frankly shocked and demanded: 'How could the Monkes choose but (like Magicians when they meet together) to laugh one at another, to see Royaltie so dejectet'.[62] In particular, he deplored how king Alfred was 'cheated of his Sovereignty by those Monkes that had now got the art of enslaving the Devotion of Princes to their private ends; for at this tyme also, the great *Alfred* swore Fealty to *St. Cuthbert* and his Clergy, by whose help they perswaded him, that he had got the Victory over the *Pagans*'. For, King Alfred eventually freed the inhabitants of Cuthbert's land from tribute to King Guthrum—regarded by Hegge as being to the detriment of royal authority—and he was further dismayed by the devotion of Alfred's grandson, Athelstan, who went barefoot in pilgrimage to Cuthbert's shrine.

Hegge was well aware that Durham was a royal foundation and, as a consequence, inclined towards celebrating royal authority against ecclesiastical encroachments. So that, while he was hostile to Durham's saint, Cuthbert, and his community, he was very pleased to pay tribute to another of the triptych saints at the heart of the Durham cult: the Northumbrian king, Oswald. For Hegge, Oswald epitomised the diocese's glory in ways that Cuthbert did not. Not only was he responsible for the conversion of Nothumberland to Christianity, he laid down his life in its defence. Thus, King Oswald represented selfless devotion to the wider north-eastern community as well as to its, and his own, his faith, demonstrated through personal sacrifice. By contrast, Cuthbert's trials were self inflicted and motivated by personal interest and introspection, signifying all that was wrong with Catholicism to Hegge.

Worst of all, when put to the test, the monks' faith in their saint was found to be sadly wanting. For example, according to Hegge, as the fury of the Danes increased, in 893, the monks of Lindisfarne looked about

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them 'and saw by the bad successe of other Monasteries that it was not safe trusting in the protection of a Saint, and so concluding upon flight, putting all their Reliques into S*t. Cuthbert's* coffin, they left the *Pagans* the spoyle of an empty Church' When the bishop, Eardulphus, then resolved to take Cuthbert, with his whole clergy and people, to Ireland they were engulfed by a great storm which drowned out their prayers to Cuthbert and threatened them with shipwreck 'as they had not that Confidence in their Saint, as to encourage the Marriners'. Hegge went on to demand: 'Where had then been the *Church of Durham,* and the Devotion of Kings to his Sepulcher? Where had then beene the *Tutelarie Deitie* against the *Scotts*, and the Lande of the Church called *St. Cuthbert's Patrimony*? How then should his *Halwarke-folke* bee freed from Tribute and Service in Warre , and the Monkes of Durham fed soe many years with ease and fatt Revenues, if now their Saint had beene entombed in the Sea, and erected his Episcopal Seate amongst the Fishes?'[63] As far as Hegge was concerned the monks were wholly discredited. The sea was not always so disobliging, though. According to the 1603 treatise, bishop Egelwine, learning of proposed harrying of the north in 1070, resolved to flee to Holy Island with Cuthbert's body, with the clergy and people. The journey was frosty and snowy and when they arrived by Holy Island on the fourth evening, the tide was up. But, 'sodainely the Sea opened itself, and miraculously gave place of passage on drie land to the holy Corps and Company. And when they were passed through the Island, the Sea closed itself agane, in the accustomed course'.[64] This was miraculous on a biblical scale.

Although the two pieces were produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century (and printed within two years of each other in the late eighteenth century) they offered completely different perspectives on Cuthbert and his cult. They were both written at the beginning of new reigns—of James I and Charles I—but whereas that of 1603 came when the country was emerging from the dynasty that had shattered its monastic past and was produced to celebrate that monastic past, especially that of Durham, Hegge was writing at the end of a reign that had strived to create a much more broad-based and tolerant church and was therefore more confident about the future of the church when writing about its past. Indeed, Hegge observed at the beginning of his 'Legend' that 'Historie and Prophesie (set back to back) make up the true image of Janus'.[65] So that, while committed to recording and celebrating the antiquities of his home county, with especial reference to the Saxon saint, Hegge was not minded to commend the virtues of the community that had profited from him. The anonymous author of the 1603 tract, on the other hand, was far more traditional in his representation of Cuthbert.

Cuthbert was already returning to his customary place at the forefront of Durham's ecclesiastical life even before Hegge died, in 1629. The episcopal registrar, Thomas (son of Christopher) Chaytor, noted

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the saint's day in his journal in the 1610s.[66] Bishop John Howson, who had succeeded as bishop of Durham, in 1628, quickly acknowledged his diocese's saint when he complained to archbishop Laud that the archbishop of York had no authority to conduct a metropolitan visitation in Durham because the people of Durham recognized only 'God, King and Cuthbert'.[67] Above all, it was John Cosin, bishop of Durham immediately following the Restoration, who was to be the stoutest defender of Durham's customs. Upon his arrival in the diocese as a prebend in the 1620s he had composed a tablet over Bede's tomb in the cathedral which likened Durham to having the head of king Oswald and the body of Cuthbert; thereby conjoining the two saints as custodians of the diocese's welfare.[68] Cosin continued to honour Cuthbert as part of his commitment to 'search and study the Rights and Antiquities of the Church of Duresme' and was commended for his place in 'the succession of this Church [which] hath out-lasted above 1000 years, and so still may it last unto the World's end'.[69] Cosin put his findings to good use in pursuing a programme of restoring the 'beauty in holiness' to God's church , first implemented during the episcopate of Richard Neile, based on scripture, manuscript sources and printed books, relating to Durham. For example, in the 1620s he added his own annotations to the manuscript of 'the Rites of Durham' produced by William Caxton in the 1590s, noting particularly his regret at the loss of the shrines of Bede and Cuthbert.[70] The reintroduction of time-honored traditions and practices into the cathedral church of Durham no doubt stirred memories of fifty years ago, when the northern rebels had endeavored to effect a similar restoration; memories that remained alive in the 1590s, when 'the Rites of Durham' were collected. For a while it seemed that the music and light, silenced and extinguished in 1570, might be reinstated, and would herald the complete transformation of the English church.

But, the material and liturgical changes made to the cathedral attracted the wrath of some. The most vociferous critic was the prebendary of the fourth stall, Peter Smart, who voiced his disapproval with increasing rage; culminating in a sermon delivered in the cathedral on 27 July 1628. Entitled *The vanitie and downe-fall of superstitious ceremonies*, Smart's sermon was published in Edinburgh, that same year, together with a six page 'historical narration of some notorious acts and speeches of Mr John Cosens, and some other of his companions'. Cosin was accused of introducing 'severall popish ceremonies and practises' into the cathedral church, 'especially of erecting altars, and cringing to them, (a practise much in use of late) and of praying towards the east'. Smart railed against the removal of the communion table, the playing of music (especially during the administration of the sacrament, which he particularly deplored), burning candles (he mocked Cosin for spending two hours, up long ladders, lighting them all) and other changes that reeked of popery. He described his opponents as 'mangy Arminian hellhounds', while their

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practice of facing east during the communion service was 'abominable, as being used by the Manichees and pagans … [and] … by necromancers and sorcerers when they act their inchantments'.[71] Smart was arrested within hours of completing his sermon and proceedings against him began in the high commission court.[72]

Smart was in no doubt that Cosin had 'violently inforced the observation of those ceremonies, going about the church like a mad man' with the result that 'Popery and Superstition … are like to overthrow the whole Byshoppricke of Durham'.[73] But, support for Smart and his views, appears to have been very limited in Durham, with no evidence among the justices of the peace, nor from the clerical community. For, Arminianism in Durham was very distinctive in its nature; not least because the alternative, Scottish Presbyterianism, which was more readily observable to the inhabitants of the north-eastern reaches of the kingdom, tended to be regarded unenthusiastically. Moreover, Cosin was not advocating a return to spells and charms. 'Beauty in holiness' was to be harnessed to give access to the kind of power exercised by Cuthbert: protective, reassuring and effectual against dark forces that might erupt into human life; marking a kind of middle way between Puritanism, which aimed to confront such forces with charismatic prayer, and Catholicism with the invocation of angels and saints.[74] Nevertheless, Cuthbert received official recognition for the first time since the Reformation when King Charles I paid his respects at his tomb on his way to Scotland in 1633.[75]

III

St Cuthbert continued to be celebrated into the eighteenth century. In 1785, the Durham topographer and antiquary, William Hutchinson, included an account of Cuthbert's career at the very beginning of his three volume history of Durham which followed the traditional line, based on the earlier authorities.[76] He also referred to the newly published edition of Hegge's account; that was not alone in deploring the expropriation of Cuthbert for pecuniary gain. Earlier in the eighteenth century, Gilbert Spearman had produced a history of Durham who full title was 'wherein are shewn the Oppressions which attend the Subjects of this County by the Male-administration of the present Ministers and Officers of the said County Palatine, especially their appropriation of tithes.[77] While declaring his respect for those clergy who knew their place (which was not to 'intermeddle in secular affairs') he railed against the way in which they operated what 'may be properly termed an ecclesiastic state' based on claims of 'St. Cuthbert's patrimony, [so that] the subjects thereof labour under as great difficulties and discouragement' as the laity of Rome. Moreover, he continued, those 'vast powers and possessions' were obtained by 'imposing on the superstitious ignorance of the ages

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before the Reformation'. As with Hegge, it was not the saint but his community that was at fault.

Durham's distinctive traditions also attracted attention far beyond the north-east; with Cuthbert never very far from its heart. The distinguished Welsh antiquary, John Davies of Kidwelly, associate of Elias Ashmole and John Aubrey, translated and published a version of the 'Rites of Durham' in London, in 1672. He had acquired the manuscript through the poet, John Hall, of Durham, whom he met at St John's college, Cambridge.[78] A fellow antiquary, Richard Rawlinson, had in his collection a copy of *The origin and succession of the bishops of Durham,* originating from 1 August 1603; possibly one of the books bequeathed to him by William Claxton.[79] It was originally published 'at the Charge of Mr John Hall of Consett in the County of Durham'; most probably the same John Hall who had passed the manuscript (later copied by Rud) to John Davies. There is no evidence that Davies or Rawlinson ever visited Durham but these collectors clearly deemed Durham's customs worthy of preservation and dissemination. And they continued to exercise a powerful effect of the Dunelmian memory, with Cuthbert its most essential defining feature. What emerges from the various accounts of the life and legend of Cuthbert was his over-riding interest in the welfare of Durham, which he had an almost magical capacity to protect.[80] The abiding potency of his cult was manifest in a recent effort to rescue dean William Whittingham from his reputation as a 'puritan bogeyman'; for it concluded that the most damaging evidence against him, as far as the later Durham antiquaries were concerned, was 'his supposed hostility to the cult of St Cuthbert'.[81]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Cuthbert was featuring in the epic poems of Sir Walter Scott to whom the saint was the epitome of wisdom as well as crucial to the identity of Durham, for the poet was an historian as well as a purveyor of nascent identity formation. But the essential fact about Walter Scott was that his own lack of religious commitment meant that he did not deploy Cuthbert for religious purposes.[82] Later, James Anthony Froude, while experiencing grave doubts about his own religiosity, recognised that cults of saints had their place. He also discovered that, despite their historical inconsistencies, lives of saints were written as ideals of a Christian life so that Bede's account of Cuthbert was not a lie, it was something to be striven for.[83] But, Froude, too, was an historian and Cuthbert continued to be a rich source of interest to historians—even more so than to theologians—who were beginning to adopt an entirely academic interest in the saint. Some even ventured into the realms of psychology. Whereas Cuthbert's 'load of miraculous legends' were dismissed by William Fordyce because they 'only obscure and encumber his history', he observed in a note that 'they form important data in the history of the human mind'.[84] The following year, the second edition of the journal of the Society of Antiquaries of

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Newcastle upon Tyne, carried an article about the banner and cross of Cuthbert which was more concerned with their provenance and functional significance than their spiritual import. And Cuthbert has appeared in the journal regularly over the subsequent century and a half, reflecting the concerns and preoccupations of the day; such as a piece on Cuthbert's suspected misogyny which appeared in the 1980s.[85]

There had been scepticism about Cuthbert's uncorrupted body for years. Nicholas Harpsfield, the Catholic activist, who died in 1575, gave an account of the breaking open of the saint's tomb by Henry VIII's commissioners in 1537 which revealed the incorrupt state of his body; albeit with a broken tibia and missing tip to the nose.[86] And the 1603 tract recorded that when the Sepulchre of St Cuthbert had been opened by Henry VIII's commissioners 'the hole Corpes of *St. Cuthbert*, with all things about the same, was found incorrupted, whole, sound, sweet, odireferous, and fellable, the same was taken up, carried into the Revesterie, vewed, touched and searched by sundry Person, both of the Clergye and others, and afterwards laid in a new Coffin of Wood, of which Premisses, manie eye witnesses were of very late, and some are yet liveing'.[87] But, by the 1620s, an entirely difference construction was put upon the event by Hegge. For, the saint, having attracted so many treasures 'that the Monkes needed not to study Alchymie for Gold, having such a Philosophers stone as *St. Cuthberts* Tombestone', was a target of Henry VIII who had the tombs of saints broken open to seek out treasure. Cuthbert's tomb was opened so violently that his leg was broken. Otherwise, continued Hegge, his body was still entire apart from the tip of his nose which, he observed, was a 'small matter in a carcass that had wanted a Soule above 800 yeares', while his clothes looked as if they had been kept in a wardrobe. Hegge considered that: 'All this might be true, and yet *St. Cuthbert* more beholden to the art of his Monkes, then to his own Sanctity for his Incorruption. For the old *Ægyptians* did not think they made their Kings Saints ... [when] they preserved their Bodyes from Putrefaction.'[88] When the saint's remains were disinterred once again, in 1899—partly to conduct a proper anatomical examination of his remains—it was concluded that the body had indeed been preserved by some means or other; even though it had disintegrated in the meantime. Since then, Cuthbert has, at long last, been allowed to rest in peace.

Meanwhile, St Cuthert has been steadily enhancing his posthumous reputation as 'the most benevolently charismatic of all British saints'.[89] He is celebrated at Cuthbert's-tide each March in the cathedral and, on 4 September 2005, his name was restored to the historic dedication of the cathedral; 901 years after his body and relics were first translated there and over 450 years since they were desecrated by Henry VIII as part of his Reformation. Indeed, the cathedral is currently branded as 'Durham Cathedral, the shrine of Cuthbert' and preparations for the temporary return to Durham of the Lindisfarne gospels embrace a host of activities

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designed to commemorate him right across the region. Durham's tutelarie deitie is back in town. Yet, of course, he never really left. Even since the Reformation he has been regularly invoked by antiquaries and historians from across the religious spectrum who recognised the saint's centrality to the identity of Durham. But, above all, while all identities are multi-layered and shifting and evolve over time as religious and political contexts alter, throughout the various retellings and changing interpretations of St Cuthbert's story his significance in Durham remains unchallenged.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana*
Hegge, *Legend*	*The legend of St Cuthbert or the histories of his churches at Lindisfarne, cunecascestre, and Durham, by Robert Hegg 1626* (Darlington 1777)
Rites of Durham	*A description of all the ancient monuments, rites and customes belonging or beinge within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression; written in 1593*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Surtees Society 15, 1842
Rud, *Origin*	Thomas Rud, *Origin of the Bishop's of Durham,* printed from an Original manuscript in the Dean and Chapter's library at Durham by George Allan (Darlington 1779)
SS	Surtees Society

NOTES

[1] See Richard N. Bailey, 'Cuthbert's Relics: Some Neglected Evidence', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds), *Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge 1989), p. 231*ff.*

[2] J. Raine, *Cuthbert, with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of his tomb in Durham cathedral, in the year 1827* (Durham and London 1828).

[3] Raine, *Cuthbert*, pp. 228.

[4] Paul Antony Hayward, 'Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom', in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and The Middle Ages* (Oxford 1999), p. 115.

[5] For the significance of St Cuthbert to the regional identity of the north-east see, Christian D. Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages, Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert* (Woodbridge 2008); Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity* (Woodbridge 2006).

[6] The concept was developed through succeeding centuries and by the fifteenth century the *haliwerfolc* had become a 'chosen people' in a Middle English poem that recounted the flight of the community with its saint's body that drew parallels with Old Testament experiences. See, *The life of St Cuthbert in English verse, c A.D. 1450,* ed. J. T. Fowler (SS, 2, 1899) and Liddy, *Bishopric*, pp. 193–5.

[7] Symeon of Durham, *Tract on Origins and progress of this the church of Durham*, ed. and trans., David Rollason (Oxford 2000), pp. 144–147.

[8] Symeon of Durham's record was joined by two works by Reginald of Durham while twenty of thirty-eight surviving manuscripts of Bede's *Life of Saint Cuthbert* were copied and a number of collections of his miracles were written. See, Barbara Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge 1997), p. 139; William M. Aird,'The Making of a Medieval Miracle Collection: The *Liber de Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Cuthberti*', *Northern History*, 28 (1992), pp. 1–24.

[9] The earliest surviving evidence for those practices is a missal and a liturgical miscellany, from the fourteenth century, which describe the four large-scale processions around the cathedral in the early summer; on Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christ Day. BL MS Harley 5289; BL MS Royal 7.A.vi.

[10] *Rites of Durham*, p. 23.

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[11] W. H. D. Longstaffe, 'The banner and cross of Cuthbert', *AA* 2nd ser., 2 (1858), pp. 51–65 at 61 and 62.
[12] See, for instance, Alan H. Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage, Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago and London 1974).
[13] Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480–1642* (London and New York 2003), p.54.
[14] Robert Whiting, 'Abominable Idols: Images and Image Breaking Under Henry VIII', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982); Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford 2003), p. 107; A. D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250–1550* (Oxford 1995), pp. 57–63; R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and The English Reformation* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 54–5; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII,* ed. J. S. Brewer and others (London 1862–1910), 12; 1, p. 204.
[15] Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal; Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator* (London 1938), pp. 60–1.
[16] See, M. L. Bush, *The Pilgrims' Complaint: A Study of Popular Thought in the Early Tudor North* (Farnham 2009), pp. 91–4; 109–10; 180–1. St Cuthbert and his banner is dealt with specifically at 92–3.
[17] Longstaffe, 'Banner', p. 62–3.
[18] *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (New Haven 1964–9), 1; pp. 301–2.
[19] Christopher Sansom, 'The Wakefield Conspiracy of 1541 and Henry VIII's Progress to the North Reconsidered', *Northern History* xlv, 2 (2008); *The King's Book 1543*, ed. T. A. Lacey, London 1895, p xi.
[20] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Abbey of Durham*, ed. J. T. Fowler (SS 103, 1900), iii, p. 741.
[21] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations*, pp. 1; 393–403 at 394.
[22] *Rites of Durham*, p. 59.
[23] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations* 2, pp. 35–38 at 37 and pp. 117–132 at 122 .
[24] *The statutes of the cathedral church of Durham : with other documents, relating to its foundation and endowment by King Henry the Eighth and Queen Mary*, ed. Alexander Hamilton Thompson (SS 143, 1929), xxxiv; *Dobson's Drie Bobbes, first pub 1607*, ed. E. A. Horsman (Oxford 1958), p. 83.
[25] J. F. Hodgson, 'The Church of Auckland St Andrew', *AA* new ser. 20 (1899), p. 169.
[26] Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues' in Peter MacCulloch, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford 2011), pp. 90–1; *The works of James Pilkington,* ed. James Scholefield (The Parker Society, 1842), p. 129.
[27] David Marcombe, '"A rude and heady people": the local community and the rebellion of the northern earls', in Marcombe (ed.), *The Last Principality, Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494–1660* (Nottingham 1987), p. 119 (his italics).
[28] The earls' proclamation, issued from Darlington, on 16 December 1569, is at BL MS Harleian, 6990, fo. 44, and printed in Fletcher and MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, p.150. For a reassessment of the rising see, K. J. Kesselring, '"A cold pye for the papists": Constructing and Containing the Northern Rising of 1569', *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2004), pp.417–43 and *The Northern Rebellion of 1569. Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke 2007).
[29] SP 15/15/30; *Sadler Papers*, pp. 2; 53–4.
[30] These are in Durham University Library, DDR/EJ/CCD/1/2, and printed in *Depositions and other ecclesiastical proceedings from the courts of Durham*, ed. J. Raine (SS 21, 1845), pp. 136–205. See also, Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion*, pp. 118–143.
[31] PGL, DDR/EJ/CCD/1/2, fos. 170, 177–9, 180, 182–183, 187, 190, 196, 200, 203.
[32] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations*, 3, no 567.
[33] Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: The structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (Harlow 1989).
[34] This has been passed over with little or no comment in the Scottish historiography, except for Ronald Pollitt, 'The Defeat of the Northern Rising and the Shaping of Anglo-Scottish Relations', *Scottish Historical Review*, 64 (1988), pp. 1–21.
[35] Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, 113–15.
[36] Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot 2002), pp. 13; 172–5.
[37] *The life and death of Mr William Whittingham, deane of Durham,who departed this life anno domini 1579, June 10*, ed. A. E. Green, Camden Miscellany 6 (1871); *Rites of Durham*, p. 23.
[38] David Marcombe, '"A great villain of the Geneva gang"? William Whittingham, Dean of Duham, a Reassessment', in *Conflict and Disaster at Durham* (Durham 2003), p. 7.

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[39] See, for example, R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge 1998), Chapter 8.
[40] Abou-el-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 13.
[41] Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B. II. 11.
[42] *Rites of Durham*, pp. 107–8, and cited as exemplifying the pomp and lavish spectacle of the procession, Alan H. Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage*, *Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago and London 1974), p. 34. See also, John McKinnell, 'The Sequence of the Sacrament at Durham', *North-Eastern History* 8 (1998), esp. pp. 3–7.
[43] Tom Turpie, 'A monk from Melrose? St Cuthbert and the Scots in the Later Middle Ages, c. 1371–1560', *The Innes Review*, 62 (2011), pp. 47–69.
[44] A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis (1550–1714*), Oxford 1691, I, col 455. And see, also, Philip Pattenden, 'Robert Hegge, an Oxford Antiquary', *Oxoniensia* 45 (1980), pp. 284–99 and Pattenden, 'Robert Hegge of Durham and his Cuthbert', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* ns 5 (1980), pp. 107–123.
[45] A. I. Doyle, 'Claxton and the Durham Chronicles', in James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (eds), *Books and Collectors, 1200–1700* (London 1997), p. 335.
[46] *Wills and Inventories* (SS 1860), pp. 272–3.
[47] BL MS Harley 374.
[48] John Calverley was Hegge's brother-in-law. BL MS Add 27423. And see Pattenden, 'Hegge and His Cuthbert', pp. 108–9.
[49] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford 2003), p. 186; Sarah Scutts, '"Truth Never Need the Protection of Forgery": Sainthood and Miracles in Robert Hegge's "History of St Cuthbert's Churches at Lindisfarne, Cuncacestre, and Dunhome" (1625)', in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (eds.), *Saints and Sanctity*, Studies in Church History 47 (2011), p. 272.
[50] Ian J. Gentles, 'Thomas Fairfax, Third Lord Fairfax of Cameron (1612–72)', *DNB* (Oxford).
[51] G.J. Toomer, 'Edward Pocock (1604–91)', *DNB* (Oxford)
[52] Symeon of Durham, pp.100–101.
[53] This is from the title page of Rud, *Origin*.
[54] Rud, *Origin,* p. 3.
[55] Rud, *Origin,* p. 3; and see Newton, *North-East England*, pp. 71–4.
[56] *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life*, texts, transl. and notes by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge 1940), pp. 282–5; 356. Rollason and Dobson, 'Cuthbert', *DNB* (Oxford)
[57] See, Margaret Harvey, 'The Northern Saints After the Reformation in the Writings of Christopher Watson (d.1580), *Studies in Church History* 49 (2011), pp. 258–268, at 259. Watson's 'History' is at BL, MS Cotton Vitellius C IX.
[58] Stouk, *Medieval Saints*, xvii–xviii; Howard-Johnson, Introduction, in Howard-Johnson and Hayward, *The Cult of Saints*, p. 7.
[59] *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, with Other Documents Relating to its Foundation and Endowment by King Henry the Eighth and Queen Mary*, ed. J. Meade Fowler (SS 142, 1929), pp. 3–63.
[60] Hegge, *Legend,* p. 5.
[61] Rud, *Origin,* p. 3.
[62] Hegge, *Legend,* pp. 14, 16.
[63] Hegge, *Legend,* pp. 12–13.
[64] Rud, *Origin,* P. 9.
[65] Hegge, *Legend, p.* 3.
[66] Durham University Library, Add Ms 866, f.60v.
[67] TNA: PRO, SP 16/162/32, 33.
[68] Durham Dean and Chapter Library, Hunter MSS, xiii, 16.
[69] Isaac Basire, *Sermon preached at the funeral of Jo. Cosin, Bishop of Durham ...* (London 1673).
[70] Adrian Green, 'The Power and the Glory: The Architectural Patronage of John Cosin', in Scott Mandelbrote ed. *Music and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks* (Boydell, forthcoming).
[71] *The vanitie and downe-fall of superstitious ceremonies: or, a sermon preached in the cathedral church of Durham by one Peter Smart, a preaband there, July 27. 1628* (Edinburgh 1628). See also, *John Cosin. Correspondence: With Other Papers Illustrative of His Life and Times*, ed. G. Ornsby (SS 52 (1869), especially, pp. 184, 195.
[72] *The acts of the high commission court within the diocese of Durham*, ed. W. H. D. Longstaffe (SS, 1858), p. 197ff.

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[73] *Vanitie and downe-fall*.
[74] Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society. A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500–1640* (Oxford 1974), pp. 125, 197.
[75] Cosin, *Correspondence*, p. 212.
[76] W.Hutchinson, *The history and antiquities of the county palatine of Durham* (Durham 1785), 1, pp.20–26.
[77] G. Spearman, *An enquiry into the ancient and present state of the county palatine of Durham* (Edinburgh 1729), p. 20.
[78] See, David Hook, 'John Davies of Kidwelly, a Neglected Literary Figure of the Seventeenth Century', *The Antiquary*, 11 (1975).
[79] *Wills and inventories* (SS 1860), pp. 272–3.
[80] See, for example, Newton, *North-East England,* pp. 147–52.
[81] Marcombe, '"A great villain of the Geneva gang"?', pp. 2, 7.
[82] David Hewitt, 'Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)', *DNB* (Oxford)
[83] See, Hayward, 'Demystifying the Role of Sanctity', pp. 120–22.
[84] W. Fordyce, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (London 1857), p. 20.
[85] Longstaffe, 'The Banner and Cross of Cuthbert', *AA* 2nd ser., 2 (1858), pp. 51–65; Victoria Tudor, 'The Misogyny of St C', *AA* 5th ser., 12 (1984), pp. 157–165.
[86] N. Harpsfield, *Historia Anglicana ecclesiastica* (Douai 1622), p. 105. Apparently there was also a ring which Harpsfield claimed to have kissed as a divine momento and which was later kept in Paris. My thanks to Dr Margaret Harvey for this information.
[87] Rud, *Origin*, 28.
[88] Hegge, *Legend*, 23.
[89] *DNB* (Oxford)

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