

S. E Wilson, 2000: The Cult of St John of Beverley

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THE CULT OF ST JOHN OF BEVERLEY

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ABSTRACT

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THE CULT OF ST JOHN OF BEVERLEY

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This thesis traces the cult of St John of Beverley from its beginning in the eighth century through to the present day, with special emphasis on original hagiographical sources. It also contains a comparison of the various extant texts of St John's *Vita* and miracle stories, together with my own English translation of them.

As bishop of Hexham, and then of York, John was a senior ecclesiastical figure in the north until his death in 721. An attempt is made to determine his historical character from the sources available. As many of these are hagiographic in nature, they have had to be assessed in order to discriminate between what, if anything, may be relied upon as genuinely applying to the man, and that which clearly applied to the saint he was considered to have been.

An investigation is made of the legend which claims that King Athelstan sought, and received, divine assistance in his war against Scotland because of John's intercession. This legend arose from the tradition that Athelstan established a college of canons at Beverley together with renders of thraves to support it, and bestowed numerous liberties and privileges on Beverley, including that of sanctuary. The legend is important, not only for its relevance to Beverley's identity as a place of refuge for those who fled oppression, whether guilty or innocent of crime, but it also had national significance, with successive kings of England trying to harness the power and reputation of the saint on their own behalf for their political ends.

The texts relating to John's life are examined, starting with that written by Bede in the eighth century, which became the prototype for later accounts, including the official *Vita* written by Folcard in the mid-eleventh century. The changes and additions which were made to the Bedan account reveal the ways in which successive hagiographers continually re-created John in the image they, or John's community, required, and enhanced his reputation to conform to current perceptions of the saint. There are four collections of post-mortem miracle stories, as well as a number of individual stories of miracles attributed to John's intercession, almost all of which were recorded at Beverley. These are analyzed to identify how John's nature, and his relationship to his community, were perceived by his creators, and how the latter's changing requirements resulted in differences in the type of miracles being attributed to the saint. At the same time, it is evident that the self-identity of the community was closely linked with John's changing identity.

The various ways in which the community promoted the cult are considered, and the growth of the cult from a purely local phenomenon to national status is traced. This includes an exploration of the spread of the cult into Europe, and especially northern France where the town of Saint-Jean-Br velay is named after him, and where are preserved what are believed to be some of his relics. The evidence is examined for the existence of an alternative tradition that maintained that, rather than having always been a holy and pious man, John had been a sinning saint who repented.

Finally, the thesis looks at the way in which St John is remembered today, and how the communities that continue to venerate him commemorate their remembrance of him.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> , 64 vols (Antwerp, 1680)
Alcuin	<i>The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York</i> , ed. and trans. Peter Godman (Oxford, 1982)
AMI	<i>Alia Miracula I</i>
AMII	<i>Alia Miracula II</i>
AMIII	<i>Alia Miracula III</i>
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , eds Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie Tucker (London, 1961)
BL	British Library, London
BAACT	British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions
BAAS	<i>Beverley, an Archaeological and Architectural Study</i> , eds Keith Miller and others, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments supplementary series 4, HMSO (London, 1982)
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris
CChR	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 6 vols, HMSO (London, 1903-27)
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 6 vols, HMSO (London, 1903-27)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , HMSO (London, 1904-)
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , HMSO (London, 1901)
DNB	<i>The dictionary of national biography from the earliest times to 1900: founded in 1882 by George Smith</i> , eds Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, 22 vols (London, 1921-1990)
FE	Dixon, W. H., <i>Fasti Eboracenses: Lives of the Archbishops of York</i> , ed. James Raine, 2 vols (London, 1863)
HE	<i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> , ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
HCY	<i>The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops</i> , ed. James Raine, 3 vols, RS, 71 (1879-94)
LC	<i>Johannis Lelandi: Antiquari De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea</i> , ed. Thomas Hearne, 2nd edn, 6 vols (London, 1770)
MBM	<i>Memorials of Beverley Minster, the Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate Church of St John of Beverley, 1286-1347</i> , ed. A. F. Leach, 2 vols, SS, 98 (1898), 108 (1903)
MSJ	<i>Miracula Sancti Johannis</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64)
RS	Rolls Series. Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls (London, 1838-96)
SDSB	<i>Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Beverlacense</i> , ed. James Raine, SS, 5 (1837)
SS	Surtees Society (Durham)
Symeon	<i>Symeon of Durham</i> , ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000)
TE	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , ed. James Raine, 6 vols, SS (1836-1902)
VSC(A)	<i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymo</i> ; ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, <i>Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert</i> (Cambridge, 1940)
VSC(B)	<i>Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Beda</i> , in <i>ibid.</i>
VSJ	<i>Vita Sancta Johannis</i>
VSW	<i>Vita Sancti Wilfridi Episcopi Eboracensis: The Life of Bishop Wilfrid</i> , text and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1985)

INTRODUCTION

John of Beverley, bishop of York from 706 until his retirement shortly before his death in 721, was a senior figure in the northern Church during his lifetime. After his death Beverley, where his remains were buried, became a major centre for religious devotion in the north of England. At various times throughout the centuries John's name and power were invoked, not only for the protection of the community at Beverley and for the comfort of pilgrims to his shrine, but also for the benefit of the entire realm of England. His cult spread to northern France, where the town of Saint-Jean-Brévelay honours his name and is in possession of bones that are believed to be some of his relics. Despite his importance, John has received very little scholarly attention, and this thesis seeks to rectify that neglect.

For a saint's cult to be successful it needed to be actively promoted, and the most prominent advocates of John's cult were, of course, the religious members of the community at Beverley. The main objective of this thesis is to examine the ways in which the traditions regarding the saint were shaped, and how the cultic centre at Beverley was advanced as an effective source of spiritual power.

The principal method by which the cult was promoted was through the production of hagiographic narratives, which reflected the perceptions and aspirations of the community in relation to their saint. This work represents the first study of all the extant written sources recounting John's life and posthumous miracles, the vast majority of which I have transcribed from their original manuscripts, and which are presented here in both Latin, and my English translation of them. The nature of this written corpus will be discussed, as well as the circumstances which motivated its production, for in promoting John the various hagiographers were less interested in recording factual events than in writing stories which served their own and/or their community's purposes. This means that the choices made on what to include, and possibly what to exclude, in these narratives necessarily restricted their contents to only those things that served the writers' or their patrons' objectives.

An attempt has been made to establish what can be considered as fact pertaining to the historical man as opposed to the possible fictions relating to the saint. As the *Vita Sancti Johannis* was written more than three hundred years after John's death it is more readily recognized that caution must be exercised in attempting to extract historical realities from it. In addition, because the earliest account of John's life, which was written by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, was also written very close in time to when John lived, that is within ten years of

his death, there is a tendency to place more dependence on it as a source of historical information than is, perhaps, justified.¹ The *Ecclesiastical History* has a strong reputation as a source for the history of England up to the eighth century and because of this reputation, and the fact that the surviving manuscripts, which are virtually contemporary with the author, are extraordinarily consistent, it is sometimes easy to overlook the textuality of the work. However, even the works of Bede were informed by his personal world view: as a committed Christian he saw the hand of God in everything, therefore the way he wrote, and what he chose to include or exclude from his works were strongly influenced by his profound faith. This feature of his work is discussed by Kirby, who suggests that Bede's idealization of kings and ecclesiastics was a product of his 'sheltered and limited upbringing'.² It is possible, for example, that his kindly portrayal of John may have been influenced by his intention to represent him in a totally positive light as an ideal bishop, whereas it is likely that John was far more politically involved than Bede allows. As a senior church figure his appointment to the bishopric was as much a decision for the secular as the ecclesiastical powers, and he was very much involved in the controversy surrounding Wilfrid I's claims relating to the diocese of York.

Therefore my emphasis is, at all times, on the textuality of the sources rather than on their historical veracity, and my approach has been to treat the ancient texts as historical phenomena that reflect, and are shaped by, the historical forces that led to their production. The miracle stories have been scrutinized from the standpoint of English literary criticism in that they have been treated as works of literature and, as such, have been subjected to critical analysis by reference to style and technique as well as content in order to discover the possible underlying messages of the texts. At the same time, bearing in mind their textuality, I have examined them with the objective of identifying allusions to actual people and events, but have not treated them as a transparent window on fact. Allusions to biblical texts have been identified, and the possible reasons for their inclusion discussed.

Moreover, convention required that the life of a saint largely fitted a stereotypical pattern containing standardized themes and *topoi* based on the lives of earlier saints, and ultimately on the life of Christ. When an individual had been acclaimed a saint the normal practice was to endow him or her with a whole catalogue of qualities and to show him or her to have performed a number of deeds that were traditionally associated with sainthood. These may or may not have pertained to the person, but they conformed to the characteristics that it was customary for a

¹ HE v.2-6.

² D. P. Kirby, ed., *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1974), p. 2.

saint to possess.³ Furthermore, hagiographers imbued the text with their own concept of how they believed the saint should have behaved, and also used their work as a literary vehicle to communicate their own ideas.⁴

As these narratives span more than five hundred years, they not only reveal the character and function of miracles but also how and why the type of miracle recorded changed depending upon the changing needs of the saint's community. In addition, people from different levels of society sought different kinds of assistance: kings wanted help in war and divine endorsement for their political actions, merchants needed protection for themselves and their goods at sea, penitents required forgiveness, criminals desired dispensation for their crimes, and almost everyone needed relief from illness. These differing requirements are reflected in the different kinds of miracle stories recorded at various times in Beverley's history.

The thesis includes an examination of the legend that purports to substantiate the traditional claims that King Athelstan established a community of canons at Beverley which he endowed with the means of support, and on which he bestowed a right of sanctuary as well as other privileges and liberties. The promotion of this legend had a profound effect on John's cult and, irrespective of its historicity, the legend was exploited by both the clergy and successive kings of England for the sake of their own ambitions.

John's reputation as a miracle-working saint flourished for several hundred years, stretching beyond the confines of Yorkshire to parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, and reaching parts of the European continent. The cult evolved from being primarily local to one of national status, and spread to northern France where it was firmly established in Brittany at an early stage in its development. This thesis examines the establishment of the cult at Saint-Jean-Brévelay, where the community claims that relics belonging to John have been in its possession for hundreds of years.

³ For example, on the influence of earlier saints' lives on the anonymous author of the *Life of St Cuthbert* see Alan Thacker, 'Origins of the Cult' in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, eds Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989) pp. 103-123 (pp. 110-11); and on the ways in which Bede adapted his portrayal of Cuthbert to fit his own ideal image of the saint see Alan Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal of Reform', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, eds Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 130-53.

⁴ See for example Stancliffe's commentary on Bede's creation of a deathbed speech for St Cuthbert which expressed themes dear to his own heart, Clare Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary', in Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 20-44, (p. 28).

Concurrent with the conventional tradition pertaining to John that he was a conscientious disciple of Christ who lived the holy and pious life of the ideal bishop, there are indications that an alternative tradition existed that he was a reformed sinner. The evidence for this is examined.

This thesis maintains not only that the community at Beverley constructed and re-constructed John according to its own changing needs, but that his created identity also defined that community's own identity, its internal relations, and its relations with the outside world. The significant influence which John's cult exercised in the northern church elevated Beverley's prestige beyond its official position as a subordinate minster, the successful development of the cult having had a profound effect on the economic, ecclesiastic, and political status of Beverley.

⁴ See for example Stancliffe's commentary on Bede's creation of a deathbed speech for St Cuthbert which expressed themes dear to his own heart, Clare Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary', in Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 20-44, (p. 28).

1: SOURCES

The written evidence for the existence of the cult of John of Beverley comprises a mixture of literary and liturgical documentation, with the former far surpassing the latter in quantity. The narratives relating to John's life, and the accounts of post-mortem miracles connected with his name, survive in both manuscripts and printed transcripts, which are variously dated over several hundred years. These are presented largely in chronological order, as far as I have been able to ascertain it, and the relative dates and problems connected with dating are discussed.

Bede: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*

As Bede himself tells us, he entered the monastery of Wearmouth at the age of seven and was later transferred to Jarrow where he remained for the whole of the rest of his life, devoting himself to his studies.¹ This major work, which purports to cover the whole of English history from before the time of Roman occupation up to Bede's present, was completed in 731, and became so popular that it soon became well known not only in England but also in western Europe; no less than 160 manuscripts still survive.²

Five chapters of the *History* are about John, covering the period from his appointment as bishop of Hexham in 687 up to his death in 721.³ Apart from these chapters, which are told in the context of miraculous narratives, the *History* provides other, limited information about John's life, including the claim that he ordained Bede himself as a deacon and then as a priest.⁴ This makes Bede the only written source who had personal acquaintance with John. The accounts of the miracles rely on the testimony of people who were intimate with John during his lifetime: Berthun the first abbot of his monastery, and Herebald, who was a member of the bishop's clergy at the time of the events to which he testified.

The *History* is the earliest source of information about John's life and death, and it was heavily drawn upon by subsequent chroniclers, who reworked, reinterpreted, and supplemented the Bedan texts in accordance with their own purposes in writing about John.

¹ *HE* v.24.

² *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

³ *Ibid.*, v.2-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v.24.

Alcuin: *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Eboricensis ecclesiae*

Alcuin, who died in 804, wrote a verse history of Northumbria which covered the period from the time of the Romans up to the death of Archbishop Albert in 780; it is likely that it was completed around 792/3.⁵ There is only one extant medieval manuscript containing this work: Reims Bibliothèque 426, which is of the twelfth century.⁶ Alcuin was born in Northumbria and spent his early years in York as a member of the cathedral community, and after much travelling he joined the court of Charlemagne in either 781 or 782.⁷ The poem honours the traditions of the northern church, which Alcuin centres on York, by celebrating the lives of its saints, bishops, and kings. As one of the earliest bishops of York, and one whose sanctity had been recognized, it was appropriate that John be included in this history. A laudatory account of his life is set out in lines 1084 to 1217. Alcuin authenticates his information by acknowledging Bede's *History*, to which he refers as being of 'unquestionable accuracy', as his source concerning John, claiming to have omitted many other wondrous deeds in the interests of brevity.⁸

British Library, Cotton MS, Faustina B IV

British Library, Cotton MS, Faustina B IV contains the *Vita Sancti Johannis*, and a set of post-mortem miracles.⁹ It also contains a number of other saints' *vitæ*, including those of saints Alban, Wilfrid, Begu, Aldhelm, and Alexis, as well as certain letters, some of which were copies of ones written by Alcuin, and a few other short pieces of writings. An inscription on the first leaf, 'Liber Sanctæ Mariæ de Holmcoltran, lib. cxli', suggests that the manuscript came out of Cumberland. Raine identified the text as having been written in a twelfth-century hand, and whereas Leach asserts that the writing is not later than 1160, Ian Doyle judges it to be of the slightly later hand of c. 1175.¹⁰

(1) *Vita Sancti Johannis (VSJ)*¹¹

Vita Sancti Johannis was written by a monk called Folcard, who claims he composed it at the behest of Archbishop Ealdred of York, therefore the date of its original composition must have been roughly a hundred years before the Cottonian manuscript was compiled: between 1060

⁵ For a discussion on the dating of Alcuin's poem see *Alcuin*, pp. xxxix-xivii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. cxiii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxxvii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 1207-09.

⁹ Fols. 158^r - 179^v.

¹⁰ *HCYI*, pp. lvi-lvii; *MBMI*, p. xx; Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge with an appendix by Richard Doyle, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century' in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, *BAACT* 9 (1983), pp. 9-32 (n. 52).

when Ealdred was appointed to the see of York, and 11 September 1069 when he died. Attempts to determine whether *VSJ* was composed pre- or post-Conquest have centred on the prologue, but because Folcard is not specific about either the timescale involved, or the names of certain people and places, this does present certain difficulties in trying to establish a date.

Folcard praises his patron for his efforts to reform and modernize the clergy, and claims a special obligation to Ealdred because of the latter's many acts of kindness towards him. In particular, Folcard relates the story of how Ealdred had come to his aid when he had been unjustly evicted from his monastery, but unfortunately the tale is recounted in such figurative language that it makes identification of the people and places referred to impossible to determine with any degree of certitude. It appears that, at a time when Folcard was a simple monk in a convent, he was attacked by a superior for what seem to be personal reasons rather than for any breach of the rules or sinful behaviour. When his brother monks rallied to his aid his superior, backed up by secular authority, evicted him from the monastery. He was then saved from ruination by a queen who placed him under the protection of Ealdred, although Folcard still feared the malice of his enemies at the time of writing the prologue.

There has been some controversy over identifying the location of the convent and the identity of the queen, and in order to form an opinion it is necessary to look at Folcard's career as far as it is possible to determine. The possibilities are that he was ejected from St Bertin's, from Christ Church Canterbury, or from Thorney Abbey; and the queen may have been Edith, wife of King Edward the Confessor, or Matilda, wife of King William I.

Orderic Vitalis, who is extremely fulsome in praise of Folcard's personal qualities and literary skill, writes that Folcard was a monk of St Bertin at St Omer, and was appointed to Thorney by William I following the conquest of England. Orderic claims that he acted as abbot there for approximately sixteen years, although without receiving the benediction, and left following a dispute with the Bishop of Lincoln.¹² Folcard was actually deposed by Lanfranc at the council of Gloucester at Christmas 1085, which means that he was appointed to Thorney around Christmas 1069.¹³ This was a mere three months after Ealdred died, therefore, given this timescale, unless Folcard spent a period of time at Thorney as a simple monk before he was appointed abbot, the monastery from which he says that he was ejected and placed under the protection of Ealdred, is unlikely to have been Thorney.

¹¹ Appendices 1A/1B.

¹² Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford 1969-80), VI, 150-51.

¹³ Frank Barlow, *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), p. lii.

Notes in two of the manuscripts containing copies of *VSJ* have led to a general assumption that Folcard went straight from St Bertin's to Christ Church Canterbury some time before the Conquest. In Faustina B IV there is an inscription in the margin in a much later hand which reads, 'A Folcardo ecclesiæ S Trinitatis Cantuaria monacho ad preces et instantiam. Aldredi archiepiscopo Eboracensis; edita';¹⁴ and in British Library, Harley MS, 560, which is written in a seventeenth-century hand, there is a heading which reads, 'Collectiones de *Vita* et miraculis S. Johannis Beverlaci transcriptæ ex veteri manuscripto Folcardi monachi cænobii Dorobernensis qui anno nati servatoris claruit 1060 sub Edwardo anglorum rege et confessore'.¹⁵ However, there is no 'hard evidence' that Folcard was at Canterbury before 1069, and Barlow suggests that he either went to Canterbury after he was ejected from Thorney or, indeed, that he never became a monk of Christ Church.¹⁶ Despite the lack of definitive proof, however, the possibility still remains that Folcard was there some time during his career.

A third possibility is that the problems he refers to occurred at his monastery of St Bertin, which could have provided the reason for his migration to England.

The identity of the queen is equally perplexing. If the queen were Matilda, wife of William I, then the troubles at Folcard's monastery must have occurred between May 1068 when she arrived in England for her coronation, at which Ealdred officiated, and 11 September 1069 when the archbishop died. As Barlow points out, according to this scenario Folcard could have travelled to England with her for her coronation and immediately have been given over into Ealdred's keeping. This would have given him a period of just under sixteen months to compose all his works under the archbishop's patronage and gain the good will of the king: all this at a time of great upheaval.

As Barlow convincingly argues, it is more plausible to consider the possibility that Folcard arrived in England before the Conquest following expulsion from St Bertin, possibly joining Bishop Herman in about 1061, who had close connections with Queen Edith and Ealdred. In this case, the queen referred to would have been Edith. Furthermore, although the evidence is ultimately inconclusive, Folcard is a strong candidate for being the author of the anonymous *Life of King Edward the Confessor*, as demonstrated by Barlow: the circumstances of the anonymous writer exhibit many similarities with those of Folcard including his persecution by envious men,

¹⁴ 'Written by Folcard, monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, at the prayers and insistence of Ealdred, Archbishop of York'.

¹⁵ 'Collections of the life and miracles of St John of Beverley transcribed from an ancient manuscript of Folcard, monk of the monastery of Canterbury, who glorified [him] in the year of our Lord 1060 in the reign of Edward the Confessor, King of England'; *HCY* 1, p. lix.

¹⁶ Barlow, *King Edward*, pp. liii-lv.

and receiving the patronage of Queen Edith.¹⁷ Although there are limitations to Barlow's argument, as he himself acknowledges, and it is impossible to state with absolute certainty that Folcard came to England before 1066, nevertheless the accumulation of circumstantial evidence suggests that the case for Queen Edith having been his benefactor is reasonably persuasive, in which case *VSJ* would have to have been written before the Conquest, and after the appointment of Ealdred in 1060.

(2) *Miracula Sancti Johannis (MSJ)*¹⁸

A set of miracles, which in this manuscript is defective at the end, follows *VSJ*. There is no indication in the text as to who the author might have been, however, in the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (discussed below), the Bollandists printed the complete series of miracles from a different manuscript, the date of which is unknown, and ascribed the collection to William Ketell, or Kecell, a clerk of Beverley.¹⁹ In the *Acta Sanctorum* version this text is preceded by an address to 'Dominis amicis suis, Christo praeposito et Magistro Jesu, Ethal et Thur, Willelmus, B. Joannis Clericorum minimus, salutem, cum totius bonævoluntatis affectu'.²⁰ No satisfactory identification of these two characters has been made, and so the dating of the narrative has centred around the text itself.²¹

The first story in this collection is a version of the legend of Athelstan. This contains a verbatim quotation from Aelred of Rievaulx, which Squire claims proves that the latter was the source of the story.²² In comparing the two accounts I find that they are virtually identical and, as Aelred's chronicles appeared around 1150, if he were the source this would mean that Ketell was writing after that time, but before the Cottonian manuscript was composed in around 1160-75. However, the author of a later set of miracles contained in the *Acta Sanctorum*, which I have entitled *Alia Miracula I (AMI)* claims not only that he can find no miracles written down apart from those of Ketell, but also that he is writing the story of Athelstan visiting John's shrine because he cannot find it anywhere else.²³ Given his reference to the work of Ketell, and his admission that he has read widely, his claim not to have seen the Athelstan story written down implies that it was not contained in any manuscript of Ketell's work which was available to him.

¹⁷ Barlow, *King Edward*, pp. lvii-lix.

¹⁸ Appendices 2A/2B.

¹⁹ *AASS*, Maii II, 172-79.

²⁰ 'To his lords and friends in Christ Jesus, Provost Ethal. and Master Thur. William the least of the clerks of Saint John, [gives] greeting, with the affection of complete goodwill.'

²¹ For a discussion on the identity of Ethel and Thur see *MBM* I, p. xxi.

²² Aelred Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: a Study* (London, 1969), p. 92 and n.

²³ Appendices 3A/3B.

This opens up the possibility that the story was not part of Ketell's original composition, but that it was interpolated into the Cottonian manuscript, or its archetype, by another scribe who felt that it was appropriate to introduce the story at this point. This would then mean that Ketell's own work opens with the account of John safeguarding the people of Beverley from William the Conqueror's harrying of the north. There has also been some doubt as to the originator of this particular story: Raine supposed that Ketell was quoting Alfred of Beverley whose *Annales* were composed around 1150, but Leach maintained that Alfred 'was the least original of all the writers of that age' and it was more likely that either Alfred copied from Ketell, or that they both copied from a common source.²⁴ Further, there is some indication in *AMI* that Ketell was of an earlier generation than Alfred, which would support Leach's contention.²⁵

In the prologue to *AMI* the author claims that Ketell wrote after the arrival of the Normans in England, for the benefit of future generations and his successors. Clearly this indicates a date later than 1066, but implies that Ketell wrote his collection not long after the Conquest. Further, it suggests that Ketell was of a much earlier generation than the writer of *AMI*, who is presumably including himself as part of this posterity whom Ketell served. A second pertinent comment comes in a story that concerns a clerk who is said to have been imprisoned by Robert de Stuteville, who was sheriff of Yorkshire from 1169-1175.²⁶ On his escape, with John's aid, the clerk apparently fled to the church at Beverley where Alfred, the sacrist of the church, healed his bruised feet. The author refers to Alfred as 'bonæ memoriæ'. This does not necessarily prove that the author had known Alfred when he was alive but, despite its conventionality, it implies that the memory of Alfred was more recent than that of Ketell. Taken together with the remarks made in the prologue, this comparison suggests that Ketell was of an earlier generation than the sacrist, and may have been writing as early as 1100.

*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*²⁷

These chronicles comprise a series of three annals that were created to record the lives of the bishops of York in order to prove that the diocese of York was independent of the see of Canterbury.²⁸ All of them used to be ascribed to Thomas Stubbs, a fourteenth-century writer, but the discovery of a manuscript written at least one hundred and fifty years before his time revealed that the first part, which contains an abbreviated *vita* of John, must have been written

²⁴ *HC* Y I, pp. liv-lv; Alfred of Beverley, *Aluredi Beverlacensis – Annales, sive historia de gestis regum Britannia*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1716), pp. 129-30; *MBM* I, p. xxi.

²⁵ Alfred's exact dates are not known, but he speaks of himself as contemporary with events which occurred in 1112, and claims to have compiled his chronicle around 1143: *DNB* I (1885), 285.

²⁶ *HCY* I, p. lv.

²⁷ *HCY* II, 312-87.

²⁸ *HCY* II, p. xxi.

in the first half of the twelfth century, probably soon after 1140, which is the date of the latest event recorded.²⁹ This makes it the earliest existing post-Conquest chronicle to be produced in the area. It was most likely composed by a member of the cathedral body who had access to the documents and manuscripts of the minster.³⁰ The author of this first part drew mainly upon Bede and Folcard, but also upon other, unknown sources for his history of John.

Aelred of Rievaulx: *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*³¹

The chronicle of Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx from 1147 to 1167, was written around 1150. The Migne edition contains a version of the Athelstan legend that is virtually identical to the account in Ketell's collection of miracles. In discussing his namesake's writings, Squire claims that his work is a blend of creative imagination with historical data gleaned from other sources, with the primary aim of reconciling the Anglo-Saxon past with the northern present.³²

Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana, Maii II³³

The *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, Maii II, contains Folcard's *VSJ*, followed by *MSJ*, which is attributed to William Ketell, and three further collections of post-mortem miracle stories, which I have labelled *Alia Miracula I*, *Alia Miracula II*, and *Alia Miracula III*, respectively. These texts were edited from an English manuscript supplied by Leander Pritchard, a Benedictine monk, and they contain a number of differences from the Cottonian manuscript. These texts may have originated from a much older manuscript, but there is no evidence to indicate whether this is the case, or whether they came from a seventeenth-century transcript,³⁴ although almost all of them are also in the fourteenth-century *Beverley Cartulary*, discussed below.

(1) *Alia Miracula I*³⁵

In the *Acta Sanctorum* this set of miracles appears immediately after the narrative attributed to Ketell. The author was clearly a member of the religious community at Beverley because he frequently uses the words 'us' and 'we' when referring to the clergy. As he claims

²⁹ The last event recorded was the death of Archbishop Thurstan (*HCY* II, 313, 387).

³⁰ *HCY* I, p. lvii.

³¹ Aelred of Rievaulx: *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* in *PL* 95 (1855), cols. 724-5.

³² Squire, *Aelred*, especially pp. 88-92.

³³ *AASS*, Maii II, 165-92.

³⁴ *HCY* I, p. lvii.

³⁵ Appendices 3A/3B.

that one of the stories he tells happened during the reign of King Stephen ('eo tempore quo Stephanus rex Anglorum regnum obtinebat'), one can be reasonably certain that his work was composed sometime after that king's death in 1154. It can also fairly confidently be argued that it was written no later than the early 1180s, because it contains a miracle that is set in the time of the archbishopric of Gerard, who held the see of York from 1100 to 1108. The story concerns a deaf mute who, following his cure, is said to have remained in Beverley where he took up the trade of baker, and died an old man at the end of Archbishop Thurstan's time, which was in 1140. On the basis that the author claims that when he was a schoolboy he heard the story personally from the elderly baker, it is highly unlikely that he could have been alive to record this story much later than 1180.³⁶

(2) Anonymous: *Alia Miracula II*³⁷

AMII, provides no clues as to its date of composition. It is clear from the text, however, that the author was a member of the religious community at Beverley as he refers to himself as being one of the priests who responded to the pleas of a mad woman and her son, who had come there hoping for a cure. Taking into account the claim of the author of *AMI* that no-one apart from Ketell had recorded John's miracles, it seems reasonable to assume that this set of narratives were written some time after that collection.

(3) Anonymous: *Alia Miracula III*³⁸

This set of miracles was estimated by Raine to have been compiled in the late thirteenth century because he assumed that references to the disturbances during the barons' wars related to the civil war which broke out in 1264 during the reign of King Henry III.³⁹ However, there is evidence in the text that points to the much earlier conflict between King John and his barons. In one of the miracle stories, which relates how Beverley was kept free from invasion, there is a reference to the recent lifting of a general interdict which had been imposed on England, and to the escalating dispute between the king and his barons which resulted in their renouncing their fealty to him. It then claims that the king hired mercenaries from abroad, and that this was followed by an outbreak of civil war.⁴⁰

³⁶ *AMI*:2.

³⁷ Appendices 4A/4B.

³⁸ Appendices 5A/5B

³⁹ *HCV* II, p. lvi.

⁴⁰ *AMII*:5.

In 1208, Pope Innocent III imposed an interdict on England and Wales as a reprisal for King John's behaviour over the election to the see of Canterbury; this was subsequently lifted on 2 July 1214. On 5 May 1215, some barons renounced their fealty to the king, and a short period of conflict ensued which culminated in the king's capitulation and the issuing of the Great Charter at Runnymede in June of 1215.⁴¹ This firmly places the conflict alluded to in the miracle story at the beginning of the thirteenth century. As the author of these miracles asserts that all the events he recounts took place within a period of five years, there can be no doubt that they all occurred within five years of 1215, that is, between 1211 and 1219, and could have been written down shortly before or after the later date.

Further, the second story in this collection refers to the formal celebration of a miracle by the singing of hymns and ringing of bells, activities which were banned under the interdict, therefore this must have been set after 2 July 1214.⁴² A study of the text suggests that these stories were written in chronological order, which would mean that all of them, with the possible exception of the first one, must have occurred after this date.

Abridged vitae of St John

The *Bibliotheca Hagiographica* lists seven abridged *vitae* of John, five of which were edited by Raine in the Rolls Series.⁴³ Raine called three of these *lectiones*, because they are divided into sections and appear to be designed to be read out during church services. Such readings were made on the saint's feast days in those places where he was commemorated; they may also have been used to illustrate sermons.⁴⁴ Raine claims to have edited the first of these from Gray's Inn MS, 3, fols 42-44, written in the early part of the twelfth century, which was once in the St Benedictine abbey at Chester.⁴⁵ The second was edited from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS, 161, a compilation of saints' lives which was put together in the twelfth century, and Raine collated it with British Library, Cotton MS, Tiberius D III, another twelfth-century manuscript, which is less perfect, having been damaged by fire.⁴⁶ He edited the third from a *vita* that was first printed from a legendary of St Gildas des Bois by Mabillon, who thought that it was the

⁴¹ Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1226*, 4th edn (Harlow, 1988), pp. 413, 417.

⁴² *AMII*:2.

⁴³ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina: Antiquae et Mediae Aetates*, Socii Bollandiarum, 2 vols (Brussels, 1898-1899, impr. 1949), with suppl. (1911) I, 642-43.

⁴⁴ Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 5; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (London, 1982), pp. 24-2; Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 16. See also For Baudouin de Gaiffier, *Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Brussels, 1967), esp. pp. 475-507.

⁴⁵ *HCY* I, pp. lx, 511-17; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London, 1964), p. 49.

⁴⁶ *HCY* I, pp. lx, 519-26.

work of Folcard.⁴⁷ However, an examination of the text reveals verbatim extracts from Bede as well as from Folcard, intermingled with text which agrees exactly with parts of the *vita* Raine edited from the Cambridge Corpus Christi and Cotton Tiberius manuscripts referred to above. The legendary now appears to be lost, but it is believed to have been of the twelfth century.⁴⁸

Of the two other *vitæ* edited by Raine, one is from British Library, Landsdowne MS, 436, a fourteenth-century manuscript which belonged to Romsey in Hampshire. This is a compilation of the lives of several English saints, and the *vita* of John is very short, comprising an abridged version of the Bedan account.⁴⁹ The other is that printed by Capgrave in the fifteenth century, which is abridged from both Bede and Folcard, although it contains two additional miracles which are found in a fuller form in the *Beverley Cartulary* and which appear to contain verbatim quotations from that work.⁵⁰

Two other manuscripts containing short extracts from Folcard's *VSJ* are British Library, Harley MS, 560 and British Library, Cotton MS, Otho C XVI, which are both of the sixteenth/seventeenth century.⁵¹

The Beverley Cartulary

Raine refers to a fourteenth-century manuscript of Folcard, defective at the beginning and end, which had been amongst the dispersed collection of Sir Henry Savile but was currently untraceable.⁵² This is evidently BL, Additional MS, 61901, known as the *Beverley Cartulary*, which was acquired by the British Library in 1981 from the estate of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence.⁵³

The initial letters of each chapter of the manuscript are illuminated in a style which was current at the end of the fourteenth century, or very early in the fifteenth, and a number of pages are beautifully illuminated in the borders.⁵⁴ It also contains a number of portrait heads, one of which has been cut out from fol.104. Apart from this deliberate act of vandalism, the manuscript is deficient at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end. It is clear that the production of such a

⁴⁷ *HCY* I, 527-29; *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, eds L. D'Achéry and J. Mabillon, 2nd edn, 9 vols (Paris, 1734), III, 411-12.

⁴⁸ François Marie Duine, *Inventaire liturgique de l'hagiographie Bretonne* (Paris, 1922), p. 172.

⁴⁹ *HCY* I, pp. I, 531-4

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 535-41. See Appendices 6A/6B.

⁵¹ *HCY* I, p. lix.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ It had been bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps at auction in 1861 from the collections of Sir John Savile the elder (1545-1607) and Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622); Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-25.

splendid volume indicates continued elite or institutional interest in John's cult some six hundred years after his death.

The *Beverley Cartulary* brings together into one manuscript most of the material relating to John, as well as copies of a number of documents relating to the history and privileges of the minster. It contains Folcard's *VSJ*, which includes some text which is in the *Acta Sanctorum* but not in Faustina B IV. It also contains most of the miracles recorded in *MSJ* as well as those in *AMI*, although they are not all recorded as collections, nor are they reproduced consecutively, or in the same order. All of *AMII* and *AMIII* are recorded, presented together, consecutively, and in the same order. A number of other stories appear in the *Cartulary*, some of which are recorded in the *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, or in Capgrave, and others for which no other source exists. There is also an abridged version of John's *vita* that is almost identical to that contained in *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, which may well have been its source.

The *Cartulary* also contains chapters relating to Beverley's privilege of sanctuary, which are virtually identical to the text that has been attributed to Alfred, as discussed below. There is also a version of the rhyming charter of Athelstan, and copies of certain royal, papal and episcopal documents bestowing certain privileges on Beverley Minster. The penultimate document was granted in 1380, and the last was granted in either 1378 or 1382, but because there are several leaves missing at the end, the date of its final completion cannot be established for certain.⁵⁵

'Alfred': *Annales*, and *Libertates Ecclesiae Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco cum Privilegiis Apostolicis et Episcopalibus*⁵⁶

The *Annales*, which are a history of England up to 1129, cannot be considered to be an original work because they are a compilation from well-known sources, although they can confidently be attributed to Alfred of Beverley.⁵⁷ However, there is doubt surrounding the claim that he wrote the *Libertates*, which sets out in detail the liberties and privileges of the church of St John. The foreword claims that Alfred, the sacrist of the church, translated it from English into Latin, but because the work contains papal and episcopal privileges which extend to the reign of Edward III, these at least cannot be attributed to him.⁵⁸ An examination of the opening chapter seems to suggest that it was an excerpt from a general history of York rather than a treatise written specifically for Beverley, although it is possible that Alfred copied the section relating to

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁶ *SDSB*, pp. 95-108.

⁵⁷ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England 1, c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1996), p. 212.

⁵⁸ *MBM* I, p. xxv.

Beverley from a much larger work.⁵⁹ The text was published by the Surtees Society in 1837, edited from British Library, Harley MS, 560 'a very corrupt seventeenth century transcript'.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, there is no way to determine the true date of the original compilation, but the *Beverley Cartulary* contains twenty-three sections which are identical to the introduction and first twenty-two chapters, apart from a small number of minor variants. Therefore, it may confidently be asserted that, ultimately, it must have derived from a manuscript that was written as early as the fourteenth century.⁶¹ It is possible that the Harley manuscript derived from the *Cartulary*, or that they both derived from another, earlier, manuscript.

*Historia Anglicana*⁶²

The authorship of these chronicles has been attributed to a monk of St Albans, Thomas Walsingham, a prolific writer of histories who died some time in the early part of the reign of Henry VI.⁶³ They contain a miracle about a youth who apparently underwent an extraordinary experience involving a little red man, and a beautiful woman who removed his brain; after several years wandering overseas, his brain was restored at the shrine of St John. The chronicles were edited from British Library, Royal MS, 13 E IX, which is of the first half of the fifteenth century, although the manuscript is immediately derived from an older compilation which was probably made between 1377 and 1392.⁶⁴

The records have been arranged in supposed chronological order, and this miracle story follows a letter written by Pope Clement to King Edward III in 1343, and is followed by other events that are verified as having occurred in 1343 and 1344.⁶⁵ It seems likely that the editor of the chronicles dated the miracle story at 1343 because of its position within the text, but it is not at all clear to which part of the story this date is intended to refer because the narrative spans many years: the man involved is said to have spent six years searching for a cure, after which he fathered fifteen sons and then, after his wife's death, he entered holy orders and became a priest. Because the editor has dated the story at 1343, he assumes that the reference in the text to 'Sir J., Baron of Greystoke', is a mistake for 'W': John was baron from 1295 to 1306, and William was then Lord Greystoke until his death in 1359.⁶⁶ However, if the story were recorded in 1343 when

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ BL, MS Add., 61901, fols. 60^v-69^r.

⁶² Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols, RS 28 (London 1863-64).

⁶³ For biographical information on Walsingham see Antonia Gransden *Historical Writing in England 2: c. 1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London, 1996), pp. 118-156.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. ix-xi.

⁶⁵ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, I, 259-63.

⁶⁶ G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant*, 6 vols (Gloucester, 1982) II, 186, 190-91.

the priest must have been middle-aged, it is likely that the text is correct in referring to John of Greystoke, who would have been the baron when the priest was a young man.

Memorials of Beverley Minster: The Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate church of St John of Beverley, AD 1286-1347⁶⁷

The Chapter Act Book, which has been edited and published in two volumes by the Surtees Society, comprises a collection of documents, none of which pre-dates 1286, which have been kept by the officers of Beverley Minster.⁶⁸ This is a valuable resource, and the documents, which are primarily legal in character, include a number of miracle stories relating to John which are claimed to have taken place in the fourteenth century. These are all healing miracles, and although versions of two of them occur in the *Beverley Cartulary*, others appear in no other source.⁶⁹

John Leland

In 1533, the antiquarian John Leland undertook a commission for King Henry VIII to undertake historical research, during the course of which he visited nearly a quarter of all the monastic libraries in the country.⁷⁰ He died of insanity before completing his task, but left behind a collection of notes which, although valuable, in many instances lack proper attribution to his sources.⁷¹ He writes that much of his information on John comes from a *vita* of the saint composed by an unknown author.⁷² This anonymous writer evidently drew on sources which are now lost, because although some of the material exhibits similarities with that contained in Bede and Folcard, there are a very large number of differences and additions. A sixteenth-century manuscript printed in the Beverley Minster provost's book comprises a greatly abbreviated *vita* of John and contains some of the material that Leland provides. This has prompted Leach to suggest that this may have been his authority on the early history of Beverley.⁷³ However, because of all the additional material which Leland provides, he evidently had other sources which are now lost.

⁶⁷ *MBM* I and *MBM* II.

⁶⁸ For a description of the *Chapter Act Book* see *MBM* I, pp. lxxii-lxxxvii.

⁶⁹ See Appendices 7A/7B.

⁷⁰ Gransden, *Historical Writing* 2, p. 477.

⁷¹ *LC* ; and *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed. Lucy Toulmin-Smith (London, 1907); Gransden, *Historical Writing* 2, p. 475.

⁷² *LC* IV, 99.

⁷³ *MBM* II, 343.

Secondary Sources

The most recent attempts to reconstruct John's life and the traditions relating to his cult appear in books written by the nineteenth-century antiquarians, George Oliver and George Poulson, which were published in the same year of 1829.⁷⁴ Their studies of Beverley and its history were determined by local motives: they were both Beverley historians and their works served a local audience utilizing local material. Although they have recorded a great deal of useful and informative material, they very rarely attributed a source to their numerous assertions so that much of what they have to say is completely unverifiable. They have also embellished their accounts with fanciful creativity, and it is clear that a great deal is owed to their imagination, as indeed Oliver admits in his foreword.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, their narratives on John are in the same tradition as the *vitæ*, retelling the stories in their own ways and embellishing them to suit their own purposes. It is clear that they have taken the evidence of the earlier texts in a somewhat credulous way, and have rewritten them in a quasi-historical form, claiming for them a historical accuracy that is inappropriate and unjustifiable.

Although there have been a number of twentieth-century studies concerned with Beverley, they have all tended to concentrate on the minster, the muniments, or the development of the town.⁷⁶ Although many of them refer to John and some of the miracle stories attaching to him, his is a subsidiary role. There has been no substantial study or book on John himself who, paradoxically, seems to have been supplanted in scholarly studies by the institution he helped to form. The reasons for this are unclear, but may be related to the overshadowing figure of St Cuthbert, who has been the object of numerous studies. One of the explanations for this may be that there are more resources, particularly contemporary, or near-contemporary resources for this great northern saint, and historians have been able to mine these for valuable historical information. In contrast, although Bede wrote five stories about John within a few years' of his death, *VSJ* was not written until over three hundred years later.

⁷⁴ George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley in the County of York* (Beverley, 1829); George Poulson, *Beverlac: or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley*, 2 vols (Beverley, 1829).

⁷⁵ Oliver, *History*, p. xii.

⁷⁶ For example, *The Victoria History of the County of York: East Riding*, vol. 6, *The borough and liberties of Beverley*, ed. C. R. Elrington (Oxford, 1989); *Beverley, an Archaeological and Architectural Study*, eds Keith Miller and others, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments supplementary series, 4, HMSO (London, 1982); Morris, 'Beverley Minster'.

At the same time Cuthbert, who died some twenty-nine years before John, came to be regarded as the quintessential *vir dei*, whose cult set a pattern for many of the holy bishops who came after him, including John. The excellence of Cuthbert, and the strength of the resources, have attracted a great deal of attention and, in the process, may have detracted from a recognition of the importance of John as another great northern saint.

2: JOHN AND THE NORTHERN CHURCH: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter endeavours to identify the man who came to be known as John of Beverley as opposed to the saint he was regarded as after his death. Almost all the written material relating to John appears in works of a hagiographic nature and, because hagiographers are more concerned with creating 'a literary vehicle for the fulfilment of a didactic or propagandist aim' rather than reconstructing a factual record of past events, these texts must be treated with caution when seeking to establish historical actuality.¹ The *vita* of a saint is constructed according to the perceptions and expectations of his/her biographers and it is extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to differentiate between those elements in the narratives which might be an accurate representation of the person and of the world in which s/he lived, and those which are a reflection of the world in which the biographers lived and their conception of the saint.² However, despite these difficulties, it is still possible to obtain some information about John's life and career.

It is likely that he was born sometime in the first half of the seventh century. Although the nineteenth-century historian, George Oliver, claims that he was born in 640, this is the only recorded instance of an actual year being applied to his birth.³ As Oliver did not cite a source for this assertion, one can only assume that, along with the extravagant praise heaped upon the figure of John's father as a stalwart bastion of Christianity and a man who 'lived to be an honour to his country, and a shining ornament to the religion he professed', Oliver arrived at such a date by pure conjecture in his desire to elaborate his narrative.⁴ Bede writes that John died in 721 after having retired to his monastery because of his very great age.⁵ This suggests that he far exceeded the normal life expectancy of the eighth century when approximately ninety per cent of the population died before they reached the age of fifty.⁶ Further, he was appointed bishop of Hexham in 687 and, bearing in mind that a bishop would probably have had to be of mature age, a birth date somewhere in the first half of the seventh century is not an unreasonable supposition.⁷

¹ Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 9.

² Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1986), p. 9.

³ George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley in the County of York* (Beverley, 1829), p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ *HE* v.6.

⁶ D. P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the Time of Wilfrid' in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, ed. D. P. Kirby (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1974), pp. 1-34 (p. 6).

⁷ Currently the minimum age for a bishop in the Church of England is thirty years, E. A. Livingstone, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (Oxford, 1977), p. 66.

At this time the Church was still struggling to convert the people of the north to Christianity and to unify the Northumbrian Church under the authority of Rome. The success of these endeavours depended to a very large extent upon the vagaries of whichever ruler predominated in the two northern kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, which saw alternate periods of unity and division throughout this period as changes in boundaries and leadership continually occurred.⁸ At the same time, the development of the Northumbrian Church was hampered by differences between the philosophies and practices of those who adhered to the Irish traditions maintained at Iona, and those who followed the Roman Church.⁹ However, unification of the church became a real possibility when Oswiu of Bernicia ruled in favour of following Rome at a synod held at Whitby in 664.¹⁰ It is against this background that John would have received his religious education, and had grown up to become a senior figure in the northern Church.

The only near-contemporary record concerning the life of John derives from Bede, to whom all subsequent historians are deeply indebted but beyond whose testimony many of them were willing to pass.¹¹ Bede makes no mention of John's birthplace, his parentage, or his childhood, starting his account of John from the time he was made bishop of Hexham on the death of Eata, during the early part of the reign of King Aldfrith. However, without the support of Bede, the tradition arose that John was born in Harpham, which is a few miles outside Beverley. The earliest written record on this dates from as late as the sixteenth century when Leland (*c.* 1503-52) wrote that John, Archbishop of York, was born in the town of Harpham 'ut vulgo creditur'.¹² The latter phrase suggests that Leland was repeating a piece of information that was widely accepted to be true but that he could not personally verify as being a matter of fact. Like many other historians, Leland also passes beyond Bede's account by wrongly ascribing to John the title of archbishop whereas, largely because of the unstable situation vis-à-vis the Church in the north after Paulinus fled Northumbria in 632, York was not raised to the status of a metropolitan see until Egbert was sent the pallium by Pope Gregory III in 735.¹³

⁸ On the history of Northumbria in the Anglo-Saxon period see Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 72-99; and David N. Dumville, 'The origins of Northumbria: some aspects of the British background', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 213-22.

⁹ For a discussion on the continuity of British Christianity in what is roughly present-day Scotland, Wales, Devon, and Cornwall, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Avon, 1991), pp. 30-39. On the considerable diversity which existed amongst the churches in the Celtic areas see Wendy Davies, 'The myth of the Celtic Church', in *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxbow Monograph, 16 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 12-21.

¹⁰ For Bede's account of this synod see *HE* III.25.

¹¹ *HE* v.2-6.

¹² *LC* IV, 100.

¹³ Nicholas Brooks, ed., *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597-1077* (Leicester, 1984), p. 83.

John is also traditionally deemed to have been of a noble Anglo-Saxon family although, again, not on the testimony of Bede. The earliest reference to his parentage comes in the *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, which dates from the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁴ In it the anonymous author refers to John as 'hic de gente Anglorum, natalibus nobilis', although he may not have intended to suggest that John's parents were aristocratic, for such a description may simply have been meant to imply that the saint had come from a pious, native-born, Christian family.¹⁵ Hagiographers had a tendency to elevate the status of their subjects, therefore one would expect nobility of birth to be professed for one who was considered to be a saint. Furthermore, despite any hypothetical professions in favour of the virtues of poverty and humility, medieval prejudices were based on a hierarchical model of the universe and man's place in it, and this inevitably led to preference of the rich over the poor, the aristocracy over the peasantry.¹⁶

The claim that John was from a well-born family is supported by the findings of Murray, whose study of the relationship between the nobility and the Church in the middle ages concludes that the upper hierarchy of the Church, that is to say bishops and abbots, were sociologically identical to the lay aristocracy: they were all 'born in substantially the same circumstances.'¹⁷ High birth was a prerequisite for high rank within the Church, for in many ways bishops and abbots pursued similar lives to that of the lay aristocracy: they were landowners and had the responsibility of governing great estates as well as the large numbers of people under their control; and they needed to be politically adept, able to deal with princes, peers, and other church dignitaries on the same level.¹⁸ A prime example of this is Wilfrid, whose noble family was closely connected with the royal court.¹⁹ It is possible, therefore, that John, as a member of the higher reaches of the church hierarchy, was born into the upper classes. In any event, he must have possessed considerable wealth to have been able to found a monastery at Beverley, and endow it with lands for its support.

Bede records that John attended the double house of *Streonæshalch*, which is generally accepted to have been at Whitby.²⁰ Here, he was subjected to the ascetic rule of Abbess Hilda, a nun who had acquired such an impressive reputation for piety, industry and prudence that even kings and

¹⁴ *HCY* II, 312-87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 326.

¹⁶ On this issue see Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹⁸ On the aristocratic nature of early Anglo-Saxon bishops see also Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, "Beowulf" and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy' in *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Robert T. Farrell, British Archaeological Reports 46 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 32-95 (esp. pp. 52-58).

¹⁹ *VSW*:2.

²⁰ *HE* IV.23.

princes sought her advice.²¹ The grand-niece of King Edwin, Hilda had been ordained by Bishop Aidan who held her in the highest regard, showing his affection and esteem by visiting her often at Whitby. The monks under her rule lived in common, sharing everything and owning nothing while they were taught the precepts and observation of religious life. They were required to show their dedication to a life of charity by regularly performing good works, and they were directed to study the scriptures, which would have entailed their becoming proficient in Latin.²²

Apart from her role in spreading and reinforcing Christian teaching, Hilda also hosted the famous synod held at Whitby in 664 to settle the question concerning the calculation of Easter: she was a supporter of the Iona party but accepted the synod's decision in favour of the Roman method of calculation, which was successfully argued by Wilfrid.²³ Peter Hunter Blair stated that, at Whitby, Hilda created an institution which was 'unquestionably the pre-eminent centre of learning in Anglo-Saxon England'.²⁴ It was certainly the supreme educational establishment in Northumbria and, as a product of this foundation, John received what was probably the best education available in the seventh century at the direction of one of the century's most powerful and influential women.

Bede wrote that John referred to Archbishop Theodore's teaching concerning the correct time to bleed a patient, but Folcard goes beyond Bede and claims that John was educated at the hands of the Archbishop when he was a boy, before going to Whitby.²⁵ The anonymous author of the York chronicles goes a stage further and credits Theodore with having given John his name,²⁶ a renaming which is reminiscent of Jesus giving Simon the name of Peter,²⁷ and giving James and John, the sons of Zebedee, the name Boanerges (Sons of Thunder).²⁸ Such allegations must be seen in the context of these authors' claims for John's sanctity, for there is no doubt that to have been associated in this way with such an illustrious personage as Theodore redounded to John's further honour. There is no supporting evidence to verify the claim that John was given his name by the Archbishop, and the claim that he studied under him is an embellishment of Bede, who does not state John was Theodore's pupil, nor that he was sent to Canterbury as a child.

²¹ For a detailed discussion of the identification of *Streonaeschalch* with Whitby see C. E. Fell, 'Hild, abbess of Streonaeschalch' in *Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium*, ed. H. Bekker-Nielson (Odense, 1981), pp. 76-99.

²² *HE* IV.23.

²³ *HE* III.25.

²⁴ Peter Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a centre of learning in the seventh century' in *Literature and Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3-32 (p. 30).

²⁵ *HE* V.3; *VSJ*:2, 5.

²⁶ *HCY* II, 326.

²⁷ Mark 3:16; Luke 6:14.

²⁸ Mark 3:17.

Bede's reference to John's connection with Theodore appears in the narrative context of a miracle story apparently told to him Berthun, whom he claims was, 'most reverend and truthful', thereby declaring his veracity.²⁹ This concerns the miraculous cure of the daughter of an abbess: the young woman's arm had become infected after having been bled. Using reported speech, Bede records that John recalled how Archbishop Theodore, 'beatæ memoriæ', used to say how dangerous it was to bleed a patient when the moon was waxing and the ocean tide flowing.³⁰ As well as endowing the story with dramatic emphasis, reported speech is used to create a sense of authenticity as regards the words used and the event itself, and by using it in this instance Bede is emphasizing the personal connection between the two men.

Because Bede's account implies a personal acquaintance of John with Theodore, it is reasonable to infer that John went to Canterbury some time during his career and, whilst there, learnt something of the medical practices of the day from the Archbishop. However, it is not possible to verify whether he actually did go there nor, if he did, whether it was before or after his time at Whitby. Nevertheless, it is feasible that he studied under Theodore after completing his education at Hilda's monastery, thereby following a similar pattern to that of Otfar and Aldhelm. After completing his period of study at both of Hilda's monasteries (these were at Whitby and Hartlepool), Otfar is said to have visited Theodore in Kent to continue his studies and acquire greater perfection.³¹ As Sims-Williams points out, this in no way implied any denigration of the standards at Hilda's monasteries because the Canterbury school was unique.³² Similarly, Aldhelm, a member of the Wessex royal family who became bishop of Sherborne, started his education as a monk at Malmesbury and completed his studies at Canterbury.³³ It is conceivable, therefore, that John went to Canterbury in order to perfect his education, after he had completed a period of study in the monastery at Whitby.

It is not known what happened to John between the time he completed his education and his appointment to the see of Hexham, although Folcard's claim that he spent some time as a missionary endeavouring to transmit the word of God to the ignorant country people of the surrounding areas, is not an unreasonable supposition.³⁴ The author of the York chronicles, however, not only repeats this claim but adds that whilst preaching the word of God to the English people, John gave himself up to the life of a hermit, living at *Arneshaug*, or *Mons Aquilæ*

²⁹ *HE* v.2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, v.3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, IV.23. For more information on Otfar's career see Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800* (Cambridge 1990), pp. 184-94.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³³ D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1992), p. 13.

³⁴ *V&J*:2.

(Eaglesmount), on the banks of the river Tyne, a place fairly near to Hexham.³⁵ This claim may merely reflect the author's desire to amplify John's ascetic virtues, and/or may be a reflection of contemporary local claims to an association with the saint. Its reiteration by subsequent writers may well have contributed to the formation of the alternative tradition surrounding John, which is discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The basis on which the York author makes a claim for John's eremitic life may have been Bede's reference to the practice of John, when he was bishop of Hexham, to seek out a remote dwelling for private prayer and meditation. Bede situates this place about a mile and a half from the church at Hexham across the river Tyne where there was an oratory dedicated to St Michael the archangel.³⁶ Raine identifies this as St John's Lee, and points out that Bede's description of this place exactly accords with this village, which is on the opposite bank of the Tyne from Hexham, and that it acquired this name because of its association with the saint.³⁷ This is supported by Plummer, but Colgrave and Mynors consider that Warden, which has a church dedicated to St Michael, and which contains Anglo-Saxon work, is a more likely site.³⁸ Folcard names the Bedan site *Herneshou*,³⁹ and it seems likely that the author of the York chronicles, in following the Folcardian version of events, conflated the notions of John having been a missionary with the story of him seeking out an isolated retreat across the river Tyne near Hexham and came up with the notion that he had become a hermit, giving the site the name of *Arneshaug*. There is little reason to doubt that John would have spent his time preaching and teaching after he had finished his education and before he was elevated to the bishopric of Hexham. It is also reasonable to suppose that John would, as Bede claims, seek a place for private study and prayer, but Bede's account hardly constitutes evidence for the claims made by Folcard, and the author of the York chronicles.

Notwithstanding its lack of contemporary foundation, the claim that John was a hermit was by no means as outrageous as some other suggestions later made about his professional life. Leland records that John was 'primus doctor Theolog.' at Oxford University, citing as his source an anonymous *vita*.⁴⁰ Of course, this claim is totally without substance, being nothing more than a fable that gained credence over time merely by being repeated.⁴¹ Even an antiquarian like Fuller

³⁵ HCY II, 327.

³⁶ HE V.2.

³⁷ HCY I, 246n. According to Raine, Richard of Hexham (col. 292) 'says that the church of St Michael was begun by Wilfrid and finished by Acca', and that the only church currently dedicated to St Michael in the neighbourhood of Hexham was Warden, although there is a village called St John's Lee on the opposite bank of the Tyne (FE p. 86n.).

³⁸ C. Plummer, ed., *Venerabilis Bedæ Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), II, 274; HE, pp. 456-57.

³⁹ VSJ:4.

⁴⁰ LC IV, 100.

⁴¹ DNB, 29 (1892), 435.

disputed this, despite having seen John's picture in a window in the library at Salisbury with an inscription asserting that he was the first master of arts at Oxford. He cast doubt on its authenticity because there was no evidence for a university at Oxford in the seventh century, and 'the solemnity of graduating was then unknown'.⁴²

Leland also credits King Aldfrith (685/6-705) with being John's patron, although nothing is said about patronage in earlier sources. Bede does not supply any dates for John's appointment to Hexham, saying only that he succeeded Eata following the latter's death at the beginning of Aldfrith's reign, which commenced in 686.⁴³ Nor does he give the day and month of John's death, simply stating that it occurred in the year of our Lord 721. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records John's consecration to Hexham under the year 685 but, as Plummer points out, the passage is a confused one, and may not have been intended to have been strictly chronological.⁴⁴ Further, under the year 721 it records that 'in this year passed away the holy Bishop John, who was bishop thirty-three years eight months and thirteen days'.⁴⁵ John of Worcester also records John's death under the year 721 but gives the precise date of the nones of May, i.e. 7 May; this could have been taken from Folcard's *VSJ*, or from a church calendar.⁴⁶ Assuming that the very precise length of time given by the *Chronicle* refers to the period between John being made bishop of Hexham and his death, rather than the date he resigned his bishopric, then calculating backwards from 7 May 721, a date of 25 August 687 (rather than the *Chronicle's* 685) would be arrived at as the date of his consecration.⁴⁷

The date of 12 September 674 given in the Beverley Minster Provost's Book for John's consecration to Hexham is clearly wrong, as is the date of 680 for his appointment to the see of York. On this basis, the date it gives of 692 for John's conversion of a parish church into a conventual church certainly cannot be relied upon.⁴⁸ As can be seen, the manuscripts which contain information relating to the significant dates in John's life have a tendency to veer between remarkable precision and vagueness or confusion, consequently it is hard to construct a chronology of John's life with great confidence.

⁴² Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, ed. John Freeman (London, 1952), p. 642. The researches of R. W. Southern have placed the development of education at Oxford no earlier than 1095; R. W. Southern, 'From Schools to University' in *History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto (1984 repr. 1986), pp. 1-36.

⁴³ *HE* v.2.

⁴⁴ Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedæ*, II, 273.

⁴⁵ For a lucid discussion of the dating of John's elevation to the see of Hexham see *Ibid.*, 273.

⁴⁶ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, eds R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, 2 vols (Oxford, 1995), II, 176.

⁴⁷ For a discussion on the date of John's retirement see below pp. 35-37.

⁴⁸ *MBM* II, p. 343.

Confusion also exists relating to the circumstances surrounding John's accession to the bishopric at Hexham. According to Stephanus, Wilfrid's devoted and extremely partial biographer, in the second year of Aldfrith's reign he 'granted [Wilfrid] the monastery at Hexham with all the possessions belonging to it, and after a while, carrying out the command of Pope Agatho and the synod, he restored to him the see of York and the abbacy of Ripon together with their revenues, having driven out the usurping bishops'.⁴⁹ Bede concurs with Stephanus that Wilfrid was restored to his episcopal seat and bishopric in the second year of Aldfrith's reign, but makes no mention of the various incumbent bishops being expelled from the sees into which his great see had been divided.⁵⁰ As far as can be ascertained, the situation appears to have been as follows.

The see of Hexham had formerly formed part of the great diocese of Wilfrid, who dominated the Northumbrian church from 669 to 678, when his quarrel with King Ecgfrith led to the division of his immense see.⁵¹ This resulted in Bosa, who had been trained at Whitby, being made bishop of Deira with a seat in York; Eata, the prior of Lindisfarne, was made bishop of Bernicia; and a third see was created in Lindsey for Eadhæd, who was subsequently appointed to Ripon when Lindsey returned to the control of Ethelred of Mercia. Bernicia was later divided into two further sees with Eata put in charge of Lindisfarne, and Tunberht appointed to Hexham.⁵² Tunberht was later deposed and Cuthbert installed in his place, but owing to the latter's desire to rule from Lindisfarne, he exchanged sees with Eata, which led to the latter being established in Hexham.⁵³ In her lucid discussion of the situation at the time of Wilfrid's reinstatement, Cubitt points out that the only suggestion that either Eadhæd or Bosa were forced to leave their sees to make way for Wilfrid comes from his biographer, Stephanus, whose partiality is evident.⁵⁴

It is possible that when Wilfrid was reinstated Eata had already died and John of Beverley had not yet been created bishop of Hexham. Therefore Hexham could have been vacant and under Wilfrid's control during the intervening period between Eata's death in 686 and John's consecration in August 687, although this is not compatible with Bede's claim that John succeeded Eata on the latter's death. Farmer presumes that Wilfrid was only restored to the, now diminished, see of York and acquiesced in the appointment of new bishops at both Hexham and Lindisfarne.⁵⁵ This view is supported by Kirby, who saw the consecration of John as bishop of

⁴⁹ *VSW*:44.

⁵⁰ *HE* v.19.

⁵¹ Kirby, 'Northumbria', p. 9.

⁵² *HE* iv.12. For a discussion on the partitioning of Wilfrid's diocese see Michael Roper, 'Wilfrid's Landholdings in Northumbria' in Kirby, *Saint Wilfrid*, pp. 61-79 (pp. 74-5). See also Catherine Cubitt, 'Wilfrid's 'Usurping Bishops': Episcopal Elections in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-c. 800', *Northern History*, 25 (1989), 18-38.

⁵³ *HE* iv.28.

⁵⁴ Cubitt, 'Usurping Bishops', p. 20.

⁵⁵ D. H. Farmer, 'Saint Wilfrid', in Kirby, *Saint Wilfrid*, pp. 35-59, (p. 51).

Hexham as 'the first fracturing of the reconstituted diocese'. He suggests that Wilfrid may not have opposed the maintenance of one diocese in Bernicia, although he was opposed to the re-establishment of Ripon as a bishopric.⁵⁶

As bishop of Hexham, John would have borne all the normal responsibilities incumbent upon a seventh/eighth century bishop, amongst which would have been regular attendance at councils and synods. After he became archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore took steps to reform the Anglo-Saxon Church using a clearly defined structure based on the authority of the bishops, and one of his initiatives was to decree that synods be convened on a regular basis.⁵⁷ There can be little doubt that John was present at the council of Austerfield (702/3), which was convened to deal with the controversy over Wilfrid's demands regarding the division of the Northumbrian see, because John's own diocese of Hexham was one of those to which Wilfrid had laid claim.⁵⁸ The inconclusive end to this meeting led to the Pope instigating a further synod to resolve finally the territorial dispute, and this was held on the banks of the river Nidd in 706.

As one of the main protagonists John was present, along with Bosa, bishop of York and Abess Aelfled. King Osred, then aged only eight or nine, was also present with his nobles, as was Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁹ Their joint will was that the bishops should arrive at a reconciliation with Wilfrid in accordance with the Pope's command, and the declared will of Aldfrith, whose deathbed pronouncement revoked his previous opposition to Wilfrid's claims. Despite their initial refusal to agree to a reconciliation, after withdrawing for private deliberations and consulting with Theodore and Aelfled, they finally agreed to make peace with him. He was eventually restored to the monasteries of Hexham and Ripon together with all their revenues, and John became bishop of York on the death of Bosa that same year.⁶⁰ The precise circumstances regarding Wilfrid's reinstatement are not known and it is not clear whether John remained at Hexham until Bosa's death, so causing Wilfrid to wait for the see to become vacant before he could be reinstated, or whether John was expelled from Hexham to make room for Wilfrid.

Folcard claims that John attended a council of nobles that had been assembled by royal edict. There is no mention of the attendance of the Archbishop of Canterbury at this meeting, and Folcard calls John by the title of archbishop, so if the story is an accurate reflection of reality, John was the senior ecclesiastic present, and acting as if he were the metropolitan bishop for the

⁵⁶ D. P. Kirby, 'The Genesis of a Cult: Cuthbert of Farne and Ecclesiastical Politics in Northumbria in the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 383-97 (p. 395).

⁵⁷ Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650-c. 850* (London, 1995), p. 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁰ *VSJW*:60.

north of England, even though he had not received the pallium from the Pope. Folcard claims that Osred attended, and in his presence the council is said to have arrived at many decisions relating to the government and maintenance of peace of the realm, as well as the ratification of church and monastic possessions.⁶¹

Raine believed that this account related to a synod allegedly held at Alne in 707 'about which there is some mystery and doubt'.⁶² Cubitt's detailed study of church councils in this period fails to mention any such synod or council, but no clear records were kept of the meetings of church councils until the second half of the eighth century. What evidence does exist from before this time suggests that the church maintained 'a continuous conciliar tradition from the days of Archbishop Theodore'.⁶³ Further, the meeting referred to by Folcard is said to have been convened by royal edict, and although ecclesiastical matters are said to have been discussed, it may not have been considered to have been a church synod.⁶⁴ Therefore, although the only indication that such a meeting took place comes from a hagiographical text and so cannot be considered as definitive proof, the claim that it did take place is not inconsistent with contemporary practice.

Following this alleged meeting the king, on behalf of himself and his accompanying nobles, is said to have accepted John's invitation to dine. Although the story cannot be verified, it is not incompatible with John's status that he should have entertained royal and noble personages in the same way that even the humble Aidan is said to have dined with King Oswald.⁶⁵ Indeed, it was essential that senior churchmen maintained good relationships with secular powers in order to safeguard their ecclesiastical possessions. But here again, the biography of John veers into the narrative of miracle, for the story is told within the context of the miraculous inexhaustibility of the alcoholic beverages provided by him for the delectation of the king and his accompanying nobles.

Very little else is known about John's life and work during his time as a bishop, although the view is now widely held that a coherent system of pastoral care existed in the seventh and eighth

⁶¹ *VSJ*:9.

⁶² *FE*, p. 87 n.

⁶³ Catherine Cubitt, 'The 747 Council of Clifesho', in John Blair and Richard Sharpe, eds, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 193-211 (pp. 193-94).

⁶⁴ See Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon*, p. 6 on the distinction between synods convoked by archbishops, and those convened by kings.

⁶⁵ *HE* III.6.

centuries.⁶⁶ John would have been responsible for organizing the task of converting the heathen in his diocese to Christianity, and giving religious instruction to his disciples,⁶⁷ as well as having the sole authority to perform ordinations, carry out the rite of confirmation, and consecrate the holy oils used in the dedications of churches and altars.⁶⁸ The see of Hexham embraced the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and Bede tells us that Bishop John ordained him, first as a deacon when he was nineteen years of age, and then as a priest when he was thirty, both ordinations being carried out on the direction of Bede's abbot, Ceolfriht.⁶⁹ There is no evidence for the frequently-made assertion, including that made by Folcard, that Bede was one of John's pupils, and it is probable that the notion gained credence solely on the strength of the ordinations John performed.⁷⁰

Several of the miracle stories told by Bede show John visiting Beverley and the surrounding area in performance of his episcopal duties, and one account describes the bishop travelling around on horseback with a sizeable retinue of men.⁷¹ Although Bede's concept of John as an ideal bishop no doubt influenced his narratives, a strong sense of authenticity is given to the circumstantial details by their being narrated by Berthun, John's first abbot at Beverley, and Herebald, who was one of his clergy at the time of the reported events, and who later became abbot of a monastery near the mouth of the river Tyne.

Herebald does not elucidate who John's companions were, apart from saying that some were members of the clergy, like himself, and others were laymen, but the young men are shown to be in his service as it was from him that they sought permission to try out their horses. It was common practice for bishops to be accompanied on their peregrinations by members of their clergy: Aidan, for example, is said to have been accompanied by all manner of people, monks as well as lay-folk, during his travels, which he undertook on foot wherever possible;⁷² Cuthbert is said to have travelled with his retinue,⁷³ and the story of Wilfrid's miraculous resurrection of a dead child while he was out riding, visiting villagers in order to baptize and confirm them, was recounted by such a companion who witnessed the event.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ John Blair, 'Minster Churches in the Landscape', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Della Hooke (Oxford, 1988), pp. 35-58 (p. 36). See also Eric Cambridge and David Rollason, 'Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 87-104; and John Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organization and pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 193-212.

⁶⁷ For a series of scholarly essays on pastoral obligations in early medieval Britain see John Blair, *Pastoral Care*.

⁶⁸ Alan Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England', in *ibid.*, pp. 137-70 (pp. 137-38).

⁶⁹ *HE* v.24.

⁷⁰ *V&S*:1.

⁷¹ *HE* v.6.

⁷² *HE* III.5.

⁷³ *VSC(B)*:30.

⁷⁴ *VSW*:18.

By being described as travelling on horseback, John is portrayed as maintaining the dignity of his rank in conformity with Pope Gregory's pronouncement on *gravitas*: 'the highest praise which Gregory the Great could bestow on any man, as his letters constantly show, was to call him a man of gravity; this was the virtue which, above all virtues recommended someone to the episcopate in his view'.⁷⁵ The concept behind this attitude was that a bishop needed to demonstrate, by means of his outward appearance and comportment, that he was a figure of authority who was worthy of respect and veneration. Nevertheless, at the same time as maintaining this external posture he needed to be self-deprecating and humble in his inner self. Unlike John, Aidan and Chad are said to have chosen to walk rather than ride, thereby demonstrating a belief that humility and self-effacement were more important characteristics for a bishop to possess in order to avoid the possibility of basking in vainglory by committing the sin of pride. However, although their actions displayed a spirit of extreme humility, they did not conform to the concept of *gravitas*, and were not endorsed by Archbishop Theodore, who apparently forced Chad to ride rather than walk by insisting on personally helping him to mount his horse.⁷⁶

It may have been during the course of a progress such as this that John came upon the spot where he was to establish his monastery, and where he was to end his days. Bede calls it *Inderauuda* in English, and *In Silua Derorum* in Latin;⁷⁷ it is later historians, such as the writers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Folcard, and Leland, who have named it as Beverley.⁷⁸ Because of this discrepancy, doubts have been raised as to whether the monastery referred to by Bede was on the same site as the minster at Beverley.⁷⁹ However, archaeological findings at Beverley confirm that a settlement existed there in the eighth century, close to the site of the later minster.⁸⁰ Although there had been some earlier clearance of land for cereal cultivation, at this time part of the area was still covered in woodland, primarily of oak, which accords with Bede's name for the monastery which translates as 'in the wood of the men of Deira'.⁸¹ The exact etymology of 'Beverley' has been disputed, but either 'Beaver-lake' or 'Beaver-clearing' accord with the topography of the area surrounding the settlement site, which was of undrained marshland, and may well have been the home of beavers.⁸² That a lake used to surround the town is supported by

⁷⁵ Mayr-Harting, *Christianity*, p. 70.

⁷⁶ *HE* IV.3.

⁷⁷ *HE* V.2, 6.

⁷⁸ In the D text of the *ASC* it is called *Beoforlic*, see G. P. Cubbin, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a collaborative edition* (Cambridge, 1997), VI, 10; Leland calls it *Beverlic*, *LC* IV, 99-104; in *VSJ* it is called *Beverlic* in the Cottonian manuscript, *Beverley* in the *AASS*, and *Beverlich* in the *Beverley Cartulary* (*VSJ*:4).

⁷⁹ *BAAS*, pp. 3, 7; *MBM* I., pp. xv-xix.

⁸⁰ *VCH Yorks.*, VI, 2.

⁸¹ Peter Armstrong, David Tomlinson and D. H. Evans, eds, *Excavations at Lurk Lane, Beverley 1979-82*, Sheffield Excavation Reports, 1 (1991), p. 243.

⁸² *VCH Yorks.*, VI, 2. See also Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960, repr. 1991).

circumstantial details in three of the stories recorded in *AMI*, which mention a lake outside the cemetery, encircling the town.⁸³

As the eighth-century settlers chose to inhabit what was virtually an island surrounded by badly drained marshes, rather than the more convenient higher ground nearby, the presumption is that this site was preferable for other reasons than topographical suitability. It has been speculated that, because of John's predilection to seek out isolated retreats, as mentioned by Bede, this would make the 'island' site more attractive to him, and support the contention that *Inderauuda* and Beverley were one and the same place.⁸⁴

Further support for this claim comes from Rollason's careful analysis of the list of saints' resting places, generally known in abbreviated form as the *Secgan*, which is extant in two eleventh-century manuscripts: one from the first half, and the other from the mid-eleventh century.⁸⁵ Although the *Secgan* as a whole was completed in its present form c.1031, the lists appear to have been compiled cumulatively, and were subject to periodic modification. The first half, which lists John's resting place as being at Beverley, near the river Hull, seems to consist of more ancient material than the second, and some of it was probably written in the mid-ninth century.⁸⁶ Rollason notes that very few of the earlier saints listed were translated later than the end of the ninth century, naming only Oswald, Eadburg, Edmund, and Cuthbert, and that there is no evidence that John of Beverley was ever translated from his original burial place.⁸⁷ From this, Evans reasons that Bede's assertion that John was buried *In Silua Derorum* means that 'there is every reason to suppose that Beverley and *Inderauuda* were one and the same'.⁸⁸ Morris, who has made a detailed examination of this question, endorses this view. He argues that there was an uninterrupted presence of a religious community at Beverley from the eighth century onwards and that, as a translation of John's relics over any significant distance before the ninth century would have been contrary to normal practice, the most plausible interpretation of the evidence is that the *monasterium* and later minster occupied the same sites.⁸⁹

The earliest written record of the traditions associated with the founding of the monastery are contained in Leland's notes, which date from the sixteenth century. Leland claims to have taken

⁸³ *AMI*:2, 5, 6.

⁸⁴ *VCH Yorks*, VI, 2.

⁸⁵ David Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 61-93 (p. 61).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 68.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

⁸⁸ Armstrong, *Excavations*, p. 246.

⁸⁹ Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge with an appendix by Richard Doyle, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century' in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, *BAACT*, 9 (1983), 9-32 (pp. 9-10).

these notes from a book of unknown authorship about the life of John, and he writes that John found a church in Beverley dedicated to John the Evangelist, which he subsequently converted and filled with monks.⁹⁰ He then records that John added a new presbytery, or choir, and appointed a place for the prior in the nave, and that to the south he constructed an oratory dedicated to St Martin in which he later installed nuns; he states that Bishop John associated to the two monasteries seven priests and an equal number of clerks in the body of the church.⁹¹ An account in the Beverley Minster provost's book, taken from Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS No. 298, which is written in a sixteenth-century hand, comprises an abbreviated *vita* of John, and contains much of the information given by Leland on the early history of Beverley. In addition, it gives the year 692 for the conversion of what the document calls 'a parish church' into a conventual church, and it names Berthun as the first abbot, who was Bede's source for most of the miracle stories he records about John.⁹² If the monastery were established in 692, it would mean that John founded it when he was the bishop of Hexham.

No information exists on the nature of the rule followed by the communities, and although one might surmise that John would most probably have instituted the observances he had followed during his time at Whitby, even here little is known.⁹³ In addition, nothing is known about the fabric of the church, although it has been speculated that it was likely to have been built of stone,⁹⁴ or its architecture, apart from the fact that it evidently had at least one *porticus* because this is where John is said to have been interred.⁹⁵

The foundation at Beverley would have needed material support for its successful continuance, but the search for information concerning such support is hampered by the lack of documentary evidence from the eighth century. Only thirteen charters or related documents, such as those granting estates in Northumbria, are known in connection with the pre-Conquest period, but none of these are original documents, all of them having been merely preserved in later copies, and none of them relate to Beverley.⁹⁶ The only information now available regarding grants of land to Beverley in the eighth century comes from Leland who, quoting from his unknown source, records that John acquired the manor of Ridings, where he built a church which he dedicated to St Nicholas, and lands in Middleton, Welwick, Bilton and Patrington;⁹⁷ all of these lands are in

⁹⁰ But see below pp. 37-38 concerning the possibility that the church was actually originally dedicated to St Peter.

⁹¹ *LC* IV, 99-100.

⁹² *MBM*, II, 343.

⁹³ See *HE* IV.23-24.

⁹⁴ Morris, 'Beverley Minster', pp. 10-11.

⁹⁵ *HE* V.6.

⁹⁶ P. H. Sawyer, 'Some sources for the history of Viking Northumbria', in *Viking Age York and the North*, ed. R. A. Hall, CBA Research Report, 27, (London, 1978), pp. 3-7 (p. 4).

⁹⁷ *LC* IV, 100.

the East Riding of Yorkshire. The same source claims that Osred endowed the foundation with the town of Dalton and its church.⁹⁸

Although there is no other evidence for this endowment, it may well represent an authentic tradition, especially as the king was remembered at Beverley as ‘vir religionis et fidei’,⁹⁹ which description strongly contradicts other, much earlier, references to the young king: St Boniface, writing in 746-7, regarded Osred as ‘steeped in sin, in debauchery and adultery with nuns’, an opinion shared by Æthelwulf, a monk writing between 803 and 821.¹⁰⁰ However, although the flattering way in which Folcard portrays Osred may well be a reflection of the community’s remembrance of the king as a generous benefactor, it may equally have been designed to conform to the hagiographic convention of only showing the saint in a positive light: it is clearly more seemly to depict John entertaining a pious and religious king, rather than a debauched and sinful one.

Leland also claims that two nobles in the neighbourhood were generous in their gifts: a *comes* called Puch, who lived in the manor of South Burton two miles from Beverley is said to have given his daughter, Yolfrida, as a nun to the monastery, where she was buried on her death in March 742, and endowed it with the manor of Walkington.¹⁰¹ Another *comes*, Addi, is said to have given the manor of North Burton together with the advowson of the church; churches were subsequently built in ‘Leckingfeld’ and ‘Scorburgh’ in the later parish of Burton.¹⁰² Both of these men are connected with miraculous cures said to have been performed by John: Bede tells us that he healed Puch’s wife of a long illness, and brought Addi’s servant back from the point of death.¹⁰³ In recording these two healing miracles, Bede claims that Puch and Addi had both called upon John to dedicate churches which they had built on their estates. This has been taken as evidence that lesser churches were built within the territory of a greater ‘mother’ church, responsible to the bishop, thereby supporting John Blair’s hypothesis that a coherent pastoral network existed in the seventh and eighth centuries, which focused on a central church. Whether this was a monastery or a community of priests, he argues that it was their responsibility to support pastoral work within specifically defined territories.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Ibid., 101.

⁹⁹ *VSJ* 9.

¹⁰⁰ Kirby, ‘Northumbria’, pp. 16-7.

¹⁰¹ *LC* IV, 100.

¹⁰² In England, parishes in the medieval and modern sense did not develop until the tenth to twelfth centuries, although before this *parochiae* or ‘minster parishes’ were the organizational centres for pastoral care: see Richard Sharpe, ‘Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland’, in John Blair, *Pastoral Care*, pp. 81-109 (pp. 83-84).

¹⁰³ *HE* v.4, 5.

¹⁰⁴ John Blair, ‘Minster Churches’, p. 35.

The claims that John studied both at Canterbury and at Whitby suggest that he was a man of great learning. In *Fasti Eboracenses*, Robert Bale (d.1503), is cited as the source for a list of works purported to have been written by John: 'Pro Luca Exponendo lib. i. Homeliae Evangeliorum, lib. i. Ad Hyldam Abbatissam, lib. i. Ad Herebaldum Discipulum, Epist. i. Ad Andoenum et Bertinum, Epist. ii., et alia'. Bale is notoriously unreliable, as the editor of the *Fasti* acknowledges, remarking that 'Bale is probably drawing, as usual, upon his imagination'; furthermore, the *DNB* notes that nothing is known of any of these works.¹⁰⁵ However, despite Bale's probable fantasizing, and the lack of evidence to support their existence, there is nothing inconsistent in this list of writings since Hilda, Herebald, and the others to whom these letters are addressed had figured prominently in John's life. There is no mention of these works in the latest edition of Bale's mid-sixteenth century *Index Britannicorum Scriptorum*, which nevertheless refers to four books or volumes of *Sententiae* supposedly written by John, the location for which is given as Queen's College, Oxford.¹⁰⁶ Queen's lost most of its medieval collection in the sixteenth century, mostly to Archbishop Parker and these works, if they ever existed, are no longer to be found there, nor are they at the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Like Cuthbert, John withdrew from the active life to end his days in prayer and contemplation: the former withdrew to his hermitage on Farne Island, the latter to his monastery at Beverley after having consecrated his priest, Wilfrid, as bishop of York in his stead. According to canon law, it was not permissible for anyone to succeed to a bishopric during the reign of his predecessor unless there was a compelling reason. Bede asserts that John resigned because of his extreme old age ('præ maiore senectute'), and this supports the suggestion that John was too old and feeble to continue administering the see of York.¹⁰⁷ John's handing over of the diocese to a man who had spent some years sharing his workload so that he could spend the rest of his days unencumbered with episcopal responsibilities, initiated a pattern which was followed by other bishops of York: both Wilfrid, John's successor, and Ælbert, who was bishop of York from 776 or 777 to 779 or 780, resigned in old age and handed the diocese over to men who had carried out some of their duties for them.¹⁰⁸ These cases are strong indications that the designation of his successor rested largely with the incumbent bishop, although, as Cubitt points out, there were other factors involved in episcopal elections, including the rights of the cathedral or monastic community.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ *FE* p. 87; *DNB*, 29 (1892), 436.

¹⁰⁶ John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and other writers*, ed. R. L. Poole (1902, repr. 1990), p. 182.

¹⁰⁷ *HE*, p. 144, n. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Cubitt, 'Usurping Bishops', p. 29; *Alcuin*, ll. 1248-50, 1524.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Exactly when John retreated to his monastery is unclear because of the conflicting evidence available to us: under the year 721, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that John died, having been a bishop for thirty-three years eight months and thirteen days, whereas Bede writes that he died in 721 after thirty-three years in the bishopric.¹¹⁰ As Bede does not give a precise period of time as the *Chronicle*, Plummer argues that he may either have been speaking roughly, or had taken into account that John had given up active episcopal work before he retired to Beverley.¹¹¹ At any rate, Plummer believed that Bede was implying that John's retirement did not long precede his death.¹¹² John of Worcester, writing in the first half of the twelfth century, also put both John's retirement and death in the same year of 721.¹¹³ However, the twelfth-century author of *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, and Leland's source, contradict this by claiming that, having resigned his episcopacy, John spent four years in Beverley before his death, which would mean that he retired in 717 or 718.¹¹⁴ The York chronicles also state that John's successor, Wilfrid, served as a bishop for fifteen years.¹¹⁵ As the latter retired in 732, this is consistent with a consecration date of 717 or 718.¹¹⁶

Conversely, the latest edition of the *Handbook of British Chronology* records that John resigned as bishop of York, with Wilfrid taking over in around 714, although a question mark is appended to this date, indicating that there is doubt about it.¹¹⁷ An entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that Wilfrid died on 29 April 744, having been a bishop for thirty years. The period of time given for the length of Wilfrid's episcopate must be intended to relate from when he first became a bishop up to his death, not his actual retirement, because a consecration date of 702 is clearly not feasible. However, this points to a consecration date of 714, a date which Plummer believes is obviously too early.¹¹⁸ If Plummer is right, then the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* must be wrong and, if it is wrong, the mistake could have arisen through a combination of scribal errors, which may have originated from an error in a copy of *VSJ*.

Cotton MS, Faustina B IV exhibits a glaring inaccuracy in Chapter 3. It correctly asserts that John was raised to the bishopric on the death of Eata, but then states that 'Blessed Bishop Wilfrid, who had been expelled from his episcopate for a long time, returned to his homeland after having received a letter from the Roman assembly and the Lord Pope, and regained the bishopric of the church of Hexham with the resolution of the synod, and held it splendidly for

¹¹⁰ *HE* v.6.

¹¹¹ For a further discussion on Bede's claim that John was a bishop for thirty-three years see below, p. 68.

¹¹² Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedæ* II, 277.

¹¹³ John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, II, 176.

¹¹⁴ *HCY* II, 329; *LC* IV, 101.

¹¹⁵ *HCY* II, 331.

¹¹⁶ E. B. Fryde and others, eds, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn (London, 1986), p. 224.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedæ*, II, 278.

thirty-three years'. This is clearly a mistake as the Wilfrid to whom this refers died in 709 after spending only three years in the see of Hexham. In addition, he was first raised to the episcopacy in 664 following the synod at Whitby and spent a total of forty-five years as a bishop.

The version of *VSJ* in a number of manuscripts: BL, Cotton MS, Tiberius D; Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 161; the legendary of St Gildas des Bois; the *Acta Sanctorum*; and the *Beverley Cartulary*, all give a different reading from Cotton Faustina B IV: 'Blessed Bishop Wilfrid, who had been expelled from his episcopate for a long time, returned to his homeland after having received a letter from the Roman assembly and the Lord Pope, and regained the bishopric of the church of Hexham with the resolution of the synod, and St John was appointed to the see of York, and held it splendidly for thirty-three years'.¹¹⁹ Although even this is inaccurate in that John held the see of York for a maximum of fifteen years, it is clear that the thirty-three years does relate to John, who had been a bishop since 687, rather than to Wilfrid, and that the scribe who copied the *VSJ* into the Faustina manuscript missed out a line or lines from his archetype.¹²⁰

It is possible that the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was taken from a corrupt manuscript of *VSJ*. If this is so, then the scribe could have confused Wilfrid I, who was wrongly referred to as having been a bishop for 'annis triginta tribus', with Wilfrid II, who succeeded John on his retirement; he could then have compounded the error by mistranslating the period of time as 'thirty years'.

Clearly there is no proof as to the accuracy or otherwise of this hypothesis, apart from the certainty of the error in Faustina B IV, and it is possible that John spent eight years in retirement (Wilfrid II lived for another twelve years after he retired). However, the doubts surrounding the date of 714, combined with Bede's claim that John was very weak and extremely old when he finally let go the reins of the see of York, suggest the feasibility of a retirement date closer to the date of his death.

Bede states that John was buried 'in porticu sancti Petri in monasterio suo', but Folcard's account, which relies heavily on the Bedan text, states that he was buried 'in porticu Sancti Joannis Evangelistæ'.¹²¹ However, as convincingly argued by Cambridge, this need not necessarily suggest two different places. He argues that when Bede was writing the whole church

¹¹⁹ HCY II, 519-529; AASS, Maii II, p. 168; *VSJ*:3.

¹²⁰ This also indicates that the other manuscripts cannot derive from Faustina B IV, but must come from a different branch of transmission.

¹²¹ HE v.6; *VSJ*:13.

was dedicated to St Peter, and his reference to the *porticus* most probably referred to the area around the principal altar; on the other hand, when Folcard was writing the high altar in the presbytery was dedicated to John the Evangelist.¹²² Morris suggests that Folcard probably 'made a conscious departure from Bede at this point in order to bring his narrative into line with changes that had affected the layout of the church during the pontificate of Archbishop Ealdred of York (1060-69).'¹²³

Although John's death on 7 May 721 was the end of a life spent honouring his God, it was not the end of others honouring him. His corporeal remains stayed on earth, but his devotees acclaimed him to be a saint in heaven who had the favour and attention of God.

¹²² Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 18.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 10

3: THE LEGEND OF ATHELSTAN

It is traditionally claimed that King Athelstan was the founder of the college of canons at Beverley, and that he endowed the Minster with many privileges, including the right of sanctuary and the exercise of justice, gifts of land, and the assigning of thraves of corn from the whole of the East Riding for the maintenance of the clergy. This chapter seeks to explore the claim that Beverley acquired its traditional rights and privileges from a connection between Athelstan and John which stemmed from the events leading up to his Scottish campaigns. It also examines the impact of this claim on the development of John's cult, and explores both the national and local interests that the legend promotes.

Athelstan, the son of Edward the Elder, and grandson of Alfred the Great, was crowned at Kingston on 4 September 925.¹ His success in politics and warfare was such that Alfred of Beverley referred to him as the first monarch to have ruled over the whole of England, Scotland and Wales.² Within two years of his coronation, Athelstan had ensured that he was the only king in England, as well as being overlord of the rulers of Scotland and Wales.³ In 934 he invaded Scotland, and three years later he defeated a combined army of Scots and Norsemen at the battle of Brunanburgh, a victory which is celebrated in the famous alliterative verse poem preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 937.⁴ Legend has it that on his way northwards in 934, the king turned aside to seek the aid of John in the forthcoming battle, and in return for victory he bestowed great gifts and privileges on Beverley.

There are several accounts of this legend, two different versions of which are reproduced in this thesis: one is in *MSJ*, attributed to William Ketell, and the other is in *AMI*, which was written anonymously in the twelfth-century.⁵ An almost identical version to the one in *MSJ* appears in *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* by Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-67).⁶ A third version is in *Libertates Ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco cum Privilegiis Apostolicis et Episcopalis*, which is purported to have been recorded by Alfred, the sacrist of the Church of St John of Beverley although, as pointed out in Chapter 1, this ascription is unreliable.⁷ An identical account to this latter version is also to be found in the *Beverley Cartulary*.⁸

¹ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), p. 339.

² Alfred of Beverley, *Alfredi Beverlacensis annales, sive historia de gestis regum Britannia*, ed. T Hearne (Oxford, 1716), p. 93.

³ David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 148-49.

⁴ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 342-43.

⁵ Appendices 2A/2B, 3A/3B.

⁶ Aelred of Rievaulx: *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* in *PL* 195 (1855), cols 724-25.

⁷ *SDSB*, pp. 97-108.

⁸ BL, MS, Add 61901, fols. 60^v-69^r.

The basic legend is that the king visited John's shrine on his way to wage war against the rebellious Northumbrians and Scots; praying to the saint for help in the battle to come, Athelstan promised that if he were to be successful he would return and confer great largesse on Beverley. After the battle, having been victorious, the king returned and fulfilled his promise, granting Beverley many gifts and the greatest liberty. The significance of the legend is that it attributes the establishment of the rights and privileges of Beverley to the king who was the first monarch to be acknowledged as having held sovereignty over the whole of England, it establishes John as a saint who has both national and local interests at heart, and it provides a pattern for subsequent kings to emulate. These factors were significant in the development of the cult both locally and nationally, issues which are discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The Aelred/Ketell version records that, on his way north to do battle, Athelstan encountered a group of pilgrims in the province of Lincoln who were returning from Beverley where they had sought, and had received, a wide variety of cures at John's shrine. Impressed by the saint's intercessory powers, the king decided to make a detour to Beverley where he performed a solemn vigil and prayed earnestly to John for his support against his enemies, pledging that he would reward Beverley with worthy gifts if he was successful; as a guarantee of his vow he left his dagger on the altar to be redeemed if he was victorious. The night before the battle John appeared to Athelstan in a vision proclaiming his success in persuading God to favour the king in the forthcoming conflict. After achieving victory and forcing the king of the Scots to surrender, Athelstan stayed in Scotland for a time before returning to Beverley and redeeming his dagger with great munificence.

The claim that Athelstan left his knife on the altar as a token of his vow reflects the symbolic importance of such weapons, not only as symbols of conquest, but as warranties of vows. A pre-Conquest document dated 1066 records that William of Normandy granted the land of Steyning in Sussex to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Fécamp, the grant to take effect if God should give him victory in England: he 'gave seisin to the Church by the token of a knife'. This land does appear in the Domesday Book as the property of Fécamp, although an earlier writ dated between 1042 and 1047, which is of dubious authenticity, claims that Steyning was a gift to Fécamp from Edward the Confessor.⁹ However, irrespective of the authenticity of the 1066 document recording William's actions, there is evidence to suggest that, before written records superseded oral testimony, it was common practice to confirm a gift or grant by means of a knife. Clanchy, whose study of the transition from oral to written records in England is limited to the period between 1066 and 1307, explores the use of objects, including swords and

⁹ H. W. C. Davis and others, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1963-8), I, no.1. As this is a pre-Conquest charter it is not cited in David Bates' edition of *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acts of William I (1066-1087)* (Oxford, 1998); P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London, 1968), 1054.

knives, as a method of committing things to memory, the object used acting as an aide-memoire as well as as a symbol of the transaction. In particular, he refers to a twelfth-century charter attached to a knife, which is preserved at Durham, as an example of what he believes to have been just one of many charters which were authenticated by attaching a knife to them rather than a seal.¹⁰ Further, in twelfth-century Lincolnshire, Roger Basuin is said to have confirmed his gift and grant of land to St Mary's in Lincoln by placing a knife on the altar in the presence of witnesses; and a gift to Spalding Priory by a certain Jocelin was confirmed by a knife, also in front of many witnesses.¹¹ The legend's claim that Athelstan left a knife as a symbol of his warranty is therefore compatible with post-Conquest practices, and perhaps with the practice of Duke William himself immediately prior to the Conquest. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that it was customary to confirm a vow in England in this way prior to the advent of the Normans, therefore the incident could have been created to conform to contemporary practice, so indicating a post-Conquest shaping of the legend.

However, an indicator of an early connection between John and the king may lie in an Anglo-Saxon silver ring. This ring is currently held at the Moyse's Hall Museum at Bury St Edmunds, but its provenance and history are unknown before 1911.¹² Its composition is typical for an Anglo-Saxon silver object, and in her detailed description of the ring Okasha describes it as being about 2.2 cm in diameter, 0.5 cm in breadth and 0.15 cm in thickness. It contains text both on the inside and outside of the hoop, and the outside also figures an engraved symbol representing a crown. The script is consistent with an Anglo-Saxon date, although some features are typical of post-Conquest inscriptions, however, these are insufficient to prove that it is a post-Conquest text. Having transliterated the text on the inside as reading, 'IOHNSE BEVERIYA/RCEB//', and on the outside as, '(A.E.STA.) R(. . .)G(. . .)N ..', she refers to a much earlier photograph of the ring in which the text was a great deal more legible than when she saw the ring.¹³

The inscription cannot be determined from that photograph, but the text was read by Oman as a crown with 'ATHELSTAN.R.AN.GIFAN' on the outside, and 'IOHNSE BEVERLEY ARCEB' on the inside. He quoted the translation of this by Professor Max Förster as 'ATHELSTAN KING OF THE ENGLISH GIVER' and 'JOHN OF BEVERLEY, ARCHBISHOP'.¹⁴ If this is an Anglo-Saxon ring, made before 1066, it represents the earliest written instance of John being referred to as an archbishop, a title that was not officially accorded to bishops of York until 735.

¹⁰ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993), p. 39.

¹¹ Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1971), pp. 39, 72.

¹² Elisabeth Okasha, 'A rediscovered medieval inscribed ring', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973), 167-71 (p. 167).

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-69.

¹⁴ C. C. Oman, 'Anglo-Saxon Finger Rings', *Apollo* 14 (1931), 104-08 (p. 107 and fig.).

Although these engravings, together with the early date of the ring, suggest that it may have been given by the king himself to the shrine, taking into consideration the status of Athelstan and the importance of the shrine, Oman suggests that its trifling value precludes that interpretation, and that it was more likely to have been a pilgrim's trophy bought at the shrine, or a reward given to one of his followers by Athelstan.¹⁵ A ring is said to have been found in John's tomb when his relics were translated to a new shrine in 1037, and it is conceivable, although impossible to verify, that this is the same ring.¹⁶ What the existence of this silver ring does prove, however, is that, long before the legend found written form in the twelfth-century, the tradition arose there was a connection between Athelstan as a benefactor of Beverley, and that John was intimately connected with this.

The story of John appearing to Athelstan in a vision is evidently a borrowing from other saints' lives. On the basis that the factual reality of an event was of much less importance than the truth it symbolized, it was an established convention that hagiographers integrated into their narratives certain topoi appropriated either from the life of Christ, as the supreme paradigm, or from other saints' lives. One of the earliest literary sources for such a miracle is in the *Life of St Columba*: Adomnan of Iona, who died in 704, records that on the day before his battle against Cadwallon in 634, Oswald had a vision of St Columba, who told that king that God had granted him victory over his enemies in the forthcoming fight.¹⁷

Similarly, but much more significantly, St Cuthbert is reputed to have appeared in a vision to King Alfred in 878 before the battle at Edington, promising the king victory and rulership over the whole of Britain for himself and his descendants.¹⁸ The re-enactment of a similar miracle for Alfred's grandson, Athelstan, reinforces the God-given rights of the dynasty: God himself is shown to bestow on these kinsmen his supreme validation for their dominion over their vanquished foes. Simpson argues that the Alfred/St Cuthbert episode was composed to underline 'the hereditary right of the West Saxon kings to rule Britain, and . . . northern England in particular'.¹⁹ It seems likely that the emulation of the Alfredian vision was intended to amplify the grandeur of Athelstan by this indirect reference to his most illustrious forbear, thereby creating historical validation and strengthening the legitimate authority for the endowment of Beverley with its liberties and privileges.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *MBM* II, 350; *LC* IV, 102. See below, p. 149.

¹⁷ *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, eds A. O. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1991), I.i. For a recent translation see *Life of St Columba*, trans. Richard Sharpe (London, 1995).

¹⁸ *Symeon* II.10; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols, RS 75 (London 1882-1885) I, 204-205; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998-99), I, 121; Luisella Simpson, '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*, eds Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 397-411, (p. 399). Simpson suggests that the literary source and model for this vision was King Edwin's visitation by a stranger told in Bede, *HE* II.12.

¹⁹ Simpson, 'King Alfred/St Cuthbert', p. 402.

The version of the legend recorded by the anonymous author of *AMI* is a much more detailed account than that told by Aelred/Ketell and expands upon the story in several particulars. In this version the curative powers and fame of John are doubled by the claim that Athelstan met two, not one, large groups of pilgrims returning from the shrine after benefiting from the saint's intercessionary powers by having been healed of a variety of infirmities. Furthermore, the influence of the saint on the outcome of the battle is accentuated by the assertion that Athelstan carried the banner of John into battle as a token of his pact with the saint.²⁰ The saint's involvement in the victory is made more emphatic than in the former version by stressing that Athelstan attributed his victory to God and John.

After the battle the king is said to have spent three years in Scotland visiting the neighbouring provinces and islands, imposing tributes that were to remain an obligation owed to all the successive kings of England. The claim that he stayed in Scotland for three years may have been an assumption that arose because of the battle of Brunanburgh, which took place in 937, and at which Constantine, who was his adversary in 934, was again one of the protagonists. However, the site of the battle has not been identified and may not have been in Scotland.²¹ The narrative continues by recording another miracle which tells how Athelstan appealed to God for some sign that his rule over the Scots was just, and then, with his sword, clove a solid rock as if it were as soft as butter.²²

Clearly, this version of events foregrounds the miraculous and thus enhances the influence of John and the will of God, and by addressing the national issue of sovereignty it gives divine authority to the claim of Athelstan's successors to govern Scotland in perpetuity. Indeed, King Edward I sent a letter to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301, declaring his right to overlordship of the kingdom of Scotland on the basis that it was God's will, through the intercession of John of Beverley, that Athelstan subjugated King Constantine.²³ In his letter Edward referred to the fissure in the rock near Dunbar which Athelstan is alleged to have miraculously cleaved. Clearly, in the absence of written proof, or the actual sword purportedly used, Edward utilized the fissure as physical evidence: a symbol of divine approval for Athelstan's title, and thus of his successors. In a similar way that a dagger placed on the altar was a token of a vow, this incident with the sword reveals the exploitation by the author of the symbolism inherent in the

²⁰ Poulson appears to confuse the two battles and claims that it was on Athelstan's second expedition, which culminated in the battle of Brunanburgh, that he carried John's banner: George Poulson, *Beverlac: or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley*, 2 vols (Beverley, 1829), I, 35n. Another example of this practice of proclaiming a saint's patronage in battle against foreign enemies is the claim that Robert of Mortain carried St Michael's standard at the Battle of Hastings: Brian Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', in *Anglo-Norman Studies 13, proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1990*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 119-44, (p. 121). See also p. 53 below on the famous Battle of the Standard.

²¹ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon*, p. 343.

²² There are numerous examples of the magical ability sometimes possessed by swords, see Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols (Indiana, 1975), II. D1081, D1564.6.

²³ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols, RS 28 (1863-64), I, 88-89.

use of such weapons as titles to claims of property or authority in the days before the widespread use of documentary evidence.²⁴

From the national issue of sovereignty over Scotland, the narrative moves to local issues, and continues with an account of Athelstan visiting Beverley to donate arms and other gifts, as well as assigning thraves for the support of the clergy. He is also said to have established the peace of St John, the extent of which is described, together with the penalties for infringing the various boundaries.²⁵

In the third version, which is in *Libertates Ecclesiae Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco*, and the *Beverley Cartulary*, the legend is told in a less sensational manner, but contains certain additional information. For example, a precise date is given for the campaign, ‘anno enim regni sui decimo’ (‘in the tenth year of his reign’, i.e. 934), and the king of the Scots is named as Constantine. Rather than Athelstan meeting pilgrims on the road who had been cured at John’s shrine, this version claims that he turned aside to Beverley on the advice and exhortation of Archbishop Wulfstan of York (931-56), who is said to have handed him the banner of St John’s church. Furthermore, although the king prayed to John and vowed to donate rich gifts should he return a conqueror, there is no mention of his leaving a dagger as surety. On being victorious against the Scots, Athelstan returned to Beverley and offered many gifts, which are said to have included all the gold and silver vessels in the king’s possession as well as the weapons and armour which he had won in battle, a list of which is given: ‘arcum . . . sagittas, et pharetram, bipennem gladium, et lanceam, scutum, loricam, et galeam’ (‘bow . . . arrows, quiver, two-edged sword and lance, shield, breastplate, and helmet’). These are said to have been displayed publicly in the church of Beverley for a long time afterwards.

With the exception of the implication that John intervened with God to accord Athelstan victory, no other miraculous event is mentioned: there are no pilgrims healed by divine dispensation, there is no vision before battle, and there is no miraculous cleaving of a rock after the battle. If, as suggested in Chapter 1, the *Libertates* text forms part of an extract from what was primarily a history of the archbishops and church of York, then giving precedence to the influence of Wulfstan in Athelstan’s actions would have been more appropriate for its purpose than a relation of John’s miracles.

²⁴ See Clanchy, *Memory*, pp. 36-41.

²⁵ The limit is said to have extended as far as a thorn bush situated beyond Molescroft, which would put the boundary a little over a mile from Beverley; anyone infringing the peace within this circle would have to pay eight pounds of silver to the church. Additionally, three further stone crosses were erected on the approaches to Beverley, within which a fine of twenty-four pounds would be levied on any violator, with a fine of seventy-two pounds imposed for any violation with the cemetery of the church, three times that amount for transgression within the body of the church, with any violation within the chancel deemed to be so profane as to be beyond earthly punishment, leaving the miscreant to the judgement of God.

This version not only describes how Athelstan allegedly established the peace of the church of St John, but also defines the terms of the protection offered and the increasing penalties for any breach of the sanctuary limits. The ultimate place of refuge is said to have been the *fridstol*, which was within the sanctuary itself. The present minster contains a Saxon *fridstol* that is positioned next to the altar. When Leland saw this chair, engraved on the back were the words 'Hæc sedes lapida ab Anglis dicebatur Freedstol, id est, pacis cathedra ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam pacis securitatem habebat', which translates as 'This stone chair which in English is called the *Fridstol*, that is, the Throne of Peace arriving at which a fugitive has complete safety'.²⁶ However, no inscription is now visible, which has given rise to differences of opinion as to whether or not it is the original chair of sanctuary. Poulson speculates that it may indeed be the original chair which, after having been broken and defaced either by soldiers during the civil wars, or during the Reformation, was over-zealously renovated, resulting in a loss of the inscription.²⁷

The chair is made of limestone, and its shape resembles the *fridstol* at Hexham.²⁸ It has been dated as possibly originating in the late seventh century, which is compatible with the establishment of the original monastery around the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. Lang suggests that its original function may have been associated with the *cathedra* of a bishop or abbot; therefore, if the chair did originate in Beverley it could have been created for the use of John himself, or of Berthun, the first abbot. Its alleged function as a chair of sanctuary may have arisen at a later date and then been incorporated into the traditions at Beverley.

The 'Alfred'/*Cartulary* account also records that Athelstan ordained that Beverley should be the head of not only the Sneculfros Hundred but of all the East Riding. As Leach points out, the most notable indication for this is that the sites of the crosses at Beverley were the only places in the East Riding where inquisitions by a jury of twelve were held, and the custom arose that the foreman of the jury pay the sacrist a penny by placing it on the Red Book of St John's, which contained the four gospels.²⁹ It is also claimed that the king named a town in Scotland after John for the love he had for him (St Johnstone, now known as Perth), and gave lands in Brandesburton, and Lockington to the church of Beverley: Both Brandesburton and Lockington are in the vicinity of Beverley, being only about six miles away to the north-east and north-west

²⁶ Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1443*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1906-10) VII (1909), 180.

²⁷ Poulson, *Beverlac*, II, 687.

²⁸ James Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture III, York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 224.

²⁹ *MBM* I, p. xxvii.

respectively.³⁰ Further, the king is credited with having founded the college of canons at Beverley.³¹

Before considering the validity of these traditions relating to Athelstan, it is necessary to try to establish the status of Beverley at the time of the king's alleged involvement. As with many other religious houses which had a gap in their monastic history and then emerged in the eleventh century as secular foundations, it is usually claimed that Beverley had been abandoned in the middle of the ninth century because of the Danish invasions. This old orthodoxy has more recently been challenged, and it is now widely accepted that the Vikings were more interested in plunder than in wholesale destruction for its own sake. It is very likely, therefore, that the damage they caused during their raids on churches, although considerable, was not completely irreparable, and that after their departure churches were able to be restored, and community life continue, albeit without their former treasure.³²

Excavation of the site at Lurk Lane, which is to the south side of Beverley Minster, indicates a steady growth in the community for about one hundred and fifty years from the beginning of the eighth century. There is no clear evidence relating to the destruction of the monastery during the Viking incursions, but the discovery of a purse hoard has pointed to an abandonment of the site around 851, rather than the traditionally accepted date of c. 866, although it is not impossible that the monastery was abandoned on two separate occasions. Other archaeological findings are ultimately inconclusive, and have been interpreted as indications either that a college of canons was founded early in the tenth century, and that the community which was already on the site was later enriched by endowments from a king, or that refoundation occurred c. 930 or later.³³ Because Athelstan did establish religious houses at Milton Abbas in Dorset, and Muchelney in Somerset, as well as being a generous patron of a great many monasteries and churches, it became something of a topos to credit him with founding or refounding a number of houses.³⁴ Moreover, he does not appear in written documentation as the founder of the church of St John of Beverley until 1290 in an ordinance of Archbishop John which claims that the residence of the canons and other officers and clerks was departing from the king's original statutes.³⁵

³⁰ *LC* IV, 156.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 101.

³² See P. H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1972), esp. pp. 138-145.

³³ See Peter Armstrong, David Tomlinson and D. H. Evans eds, *Excavations at Lurk Lane, Beverley, 1979-82*, Sheffield Excavation Reports, 1 (1991), pp. 243-44 for a complete review of all the archaeological evidence.

³⁴ Dumville, *Wessex and England*, p. 163. See also Michael Wood, 'The Making of King Aethelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?' in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, eds Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 250-272. On the claim that Athelstan founded a monastery at Exeter see Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993).

³⁵ *MBM* I, p. 190.

No franchise from Athelstan was mentioned in the writ issued by Edward the Confessor which declared that Ealdred, the then Archbishop of York, was to be the sole lord over Beverley under the king; that he had the king's permission to draw up a *privilegium* for the lands belonging to the minster; and that the minster and its adjoining district should be as free as any other minster.³⁶ Because of this, Morris suggests that the eleventh-century community at Beverley was not only unaware of any such franchise, but also felt no need to invent one. The most likely explanation for this, he claims, is that it was a settled community with 'an uninterrupted history reaching back into the eighth century'.³⁷ He argues that it was not unusual for a monastic community of the seventh and eighth centuries to become transformed into a body of secular canons, and that it was possible that Beverley 'retained some institutional continuity' during the period of the Viking invasions.³⁸

A note in the *Beverley Cartulary* points to just one, short period of desertion during the period of the Danish raids: it is recorded that the church was abandoned after it had been burnt together with its books, vestments, bells and ornaments, but was later returned to and repaired (*reparata*).³⁹ Although this note may have been influenced by the topos of abandonment, it does seem that the Viking invasions did have some impact on the site, but the probability remains that the framework for continued religious activity remained in place, was revitalized, and continued to operate up to the time of Athelstan's alleged visit, and that by this time the monastery, or minster, had already evolved into a secular institution, served by canons rather than monks.⁴⁰

As discussed in Chapter 2, it is now widely believed that a coherent system of pastoral care existed in the seventh and eighth centuries, the focus for its organization being the 'old minster', which was a superior church with responsibility for the pastoral care of those within its territory. According to John Blair, one of the strongest indicators of early minster status was the receipt of grain renders, or church-scot.⁴¹ Both the *AMI* and the 'Alfred' *Cartulary* accounts declare

³⁶ Florence E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 2nd edn (Stamford, 1989), pp. 135-36, 432.

³⁷ Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge with an appendix by Richard Doyle, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century' in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, BAACT, 9 (1983), 9-32 (p. 11). See also Antonia Gransden's arguments for the continuity of Anglo-Saxon monastic communities in 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989), 159-207.

³⁸ Morris, 'Beverley Minster' pp. 11-12. This argument was also put forward by Knowles, who claims that the tendency for houses to transform from monastic to clerical establishments was widespread in England and on the Continent during this period, David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 23-24.

³⁹ MS Add 61901 fol. 82^r.

⁴⁰ Originally, the word *mynster* was merely the Old English rendering of *monasterium*, and did not differentiate between houses of monks or communities of canons. See Sarah Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology' in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 212-225. On the important role of minsters in the Anglo-Saxon period see John Blair, 'Minster churches in the Landscape' in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Della Hooke (Oxford, 1988), pp. 35-58.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50; and John Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book' in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), 104-142, (pp. 116n, 119). On Anglo-Saxon church dues see also Owen, pp. 2-5.

that Athelstan assigned revenues to the church comprising four thraves from each plough through the whole of the East Riding according to plough-coulter and ploughshare, as perpetual alms for the maintenance of the clerks.⁴² However, the 'Alfred'/*Cartulary* version claims that these renders were already in place through the whole of the East Riding, having been established by the laws of former kings for the support of their horses and messengers. Certainly a chronicler in the nearby Cistercian house at Meaux believed that payments of four thraves of grain had been assigned to Beverley by Athelstan on his return from his Scottish expedition, and that they provided nourishment for the royal horses.⁴³

Leach claims that the historian of St Peter's (afterwards St Leonard's Hospital) at York corroborated Beverley's version of the legend, and claimed that Athelstan also deposited a dagger at St Peter's, which was 'redeemed by the gift to the hospital of what was known as "Peter corn," being a "thrive" of corn from every plough-land in the diocese of York, an endowment of the same kind as the "St John's thraves" of Beverley'.⁴⁴ Leach claims that the earliest mention of this endowment appears in a document dated 1246 in which a jury gave its judgement on a dispute between King Henry III and the dean and chapter of York on a matter relating to the right to the hospital. The jury found that 'quidam rex ante Conquæstum, tempore Englescheriæ, dedit illis qui deservierunt ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboracensis, qui vocabantur tunc Kaladeus, qui modo dicti sunt canonici, de singulis carucis junctis totius comitatus Eboracensis unam travam bladi'.⁴⁵ In fact, there is an earlier record of this gift to the hospital in a charter of William II, which was issued sometime between 1090 and 1098. This refers to the 'antiquam elemosinam' of a thrive of corn, on which it claims the hospital had been founded.⁴⁶ Clearly both of these references suggest the existence of an ancient, pre-Conquest document which originally made the award of a thrive of corn. A similar system of grain renders of one thrive from every ploughland also existed at Lincoln, and was known as "St Mary corn" or "Mariecorn".⁴⁷

Kapelle argues that the charters granting thraves of corn indicate that a comprehensive system of grain renders had long existed in Yorkshire, but he suggests that Athelstan did not possess sufficient power to impose a new general tribute, consequently, when he held power in the north he merely granted renders which used to be given to the earlier kings of Northumbria and which

⁴² The first written confirmation of Beverley's thraves is in a writ of Henry I, issued between 1125 and 1135: W. Farrer, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1914-16), I, 97.

⁴³ Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 12; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond, 3 vols, RS 43 (1866-8), II, 236.

⁴⁴ *MBM* I, p. xxiv.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; *HCY* III, 162: "a certain king, before the Conquest, in the time of the Englishry, gave to those who served the church of St Peter of York, who were called Culdees, and are now called canons, from each joined plough of the whole of Yorkshire a thrive of corn".

⁴⁶ Farrer, *Charters* I, 166.

⁴⁷ J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), p.68; Owen, p. 37.

the Danish kings of York had continued to collect.⁴⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that if Athelstan did grant these renders to the church of Beverley he was merely transferring to them the grain which had to be paid according to law already established by former rulers.

The next question is whether Athelstan granted Beverley special sanctuary rights, or whether such rights were already in force. Beverley was not unique in possessing sanctuary rights, although they were more extensive than those possessed by most other churches.⁴⁹ A pre-Conquest tract, *Nordhymbra cyricgrid*, which dates from c. 1015 to c. 1050, indicates that special sanctuary rights existed at the church of St John at Beverley, as well as at St Peter's in York, and St Wilfrid's in Ripon. The fines are calculated in 'hundreths' although the amounts differ from the twelfth-century sources.⁵⁰ Hexham had outer crosses and sanctuary rights which involved identical financial penalties to those applied at Beverley; homicide at the site of the *fridstol* or the shrine containing the relics, was punishable by death. According to Richard of Hexham, the church had the right of sanctuary from the earliest days, but his account of this privilege is an abstract from a charter of Henry I, granting such immunity to St Peter's at York; moreover, Henry's charter is a confirmation of a lost charter of Edward the Confessor.⁵¹ The charter to St Peter's was confirmed by King Stephen, indicating that it was believed to be authentic at that time, and Stephen also confirmed the existence of the sanctuary at Beverley.⁵²

Further corroboration for the existence of these rights comes from Symeon of Durham who records that £96 was the penalty for violating St Cuthbert's peace, an amount which accords exactly with the sum laid down for breaching the inner sanctuary at Hexham and Beverley.⁵³ In addition, a Bull of Pope Adrian IV dated 1 March 1154 confirms the peace of St John for a league from the door of the church in every direction 'sicut antiquitus extitisse cognoscitur' ('just as it was known to have existed long ago'), confirming that Beverley's special sanctuary rights were held to be long-standing.⁵⁴

St Cuthbert's dying speech, as recorded by Bede, refers to the inevitable influx of fugitives and malefactors who would be drawn to his body's resting-place for refuge, and how the guardians of his remains would have to intercede with the secular world on their behalf.⁵⁵ This certainly suggests that the tomb of a famous saint virtually automatically acquired certain responsibilities connected with sanctuary as early as 687, which is when Cuthbert died. The laws of Ine

⁴⁸ William E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), p. 73.

⁴⁹ See M. D. Lobel, 'The Ecclesiastical Banleuca in England', in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 122-40.

⁵⁰ F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols (Halle 1903-16), I, 473.

⁵¹ Richard of Hexham, *The Priory of Hexham*, ed. James Raine, 2 vols, SS 44, 46 (1864), I, 61.

⁵² Davis, *Regesta Regum*, III, nos 99, 975.

⁵³ Symeon II.13; D. Hall, 'The Sanctuary of St Cuthbert', in Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 425-36 (p. 428).

⁵⁴ *MBM* II, 254.

⁵⁵ *VSC* (B):37.

allowed a convicted criminal to escape death if he fled to a church, and Alfred the Great's laws permitted sanctuary for periods of three or seven days depending upon whether the refuge was a monastery, or a church consecrated by a bishop.⁵⁶ It is possible, therefore, that sanctuary was established at Beverley well before the time of Athelstan; nevertheless, the significance of the legend associating John with him as the founder lies in the evident desire of the people of Beverley to attribute the establishment of their traditional rights to this highly illustrious Anglo-Saxon king.

The validation of John's cult and the sanctuary by reference to Athelstan's alleged connection was reinforced annually on the anniversary of the king's death, which was commemorated in the same way as the deaths of the archbishops.⁵⁷ This annual commemoration is referred to in the oath administered to those who took sanctuary, which ends with the words, 'Also ye shalbe redy at the obite of King Adelstan at the dirige and at the messe if such tyme as it is done at the warning of the belman of the town and do your dewte in rynging and for to offer at the messe on the morne so help you God and theis holy Evangelists'.⁵⁸

Furthermore, the *Chapter Act Book* of Beverley Minster contains a ruling, which is dated 1309, that a chapter mass for the soul of the king should be celebrated daily, with singing in a low voice. Attendance at this mass was considered sufficiently important that vicars who were absent were fined 2d. per day, and clerks who were not punctual would not be ordained that year.⁵⁹ As well as these habitual, ritual commemorations, the king's authority continued to be invoked to reinforce the rights of sanctuarymen: in a letter dated 11 January 1322 in which he defended the rights of those seeking sanctuary at the minster in opposition to the provost and chapter, Archbishop Melton of York added weight to his argument by referring to Athelstan as the founder of Beverley's immunities and privileges.⁶⁰

Although Leland states that Athelstan confirmed Beverley's privileges in 938, 217 years after John's death, no genuine charter granting these privileges exists.⁶¹ Furthermore, the Domesday commissioners were apparently not shown any such charter and merely stated that 'In Bevreli St John's carucate was always free from the king's geld'.⁶² However, not a single contemporary manuscript of any pre-Conquest Northumbrian charter has survived and very few are preserved in later copies, which gives rise to all the attendant difficulties connected with copied documents, such as making and replicating mistakes, deliberate alteration of text, and complete

⁵⁶ F. L. Attenborough, ed. and trans., *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922), Ine 5, Alf 2.1, 5-5.4, 42.2. On Athelstan's sanctuary laws see *ibid.*, IV Athelstan 6.

⁵⁷ *BAS*, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Martyn Kirby, *Sanctuary: Beverley – A Town of Refuge* (Beverley, 1982), p. 12.

⁵⁹ *MBM* I, 241.

⁶⁰ James Raine, ed., *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, RS 61 (1873) pp. 362-63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Farrer, *Charters* I, 95, quoting *VCH Yorks* II, 215.

fabrication.⁶³ However there is evidence that Athelstan made at least one grant in the Beverley area: he gave Amounderness to the church of St Peter in York.⁶⁴ The charter granting this land was copied twice into a fourteenth-century register at York, and although its authenticity has frequently been questioned on the basis that it purports to have been made at the time of the appointment of Wulfstan as archbishop of York, that is in 930, whereas other indications point to 934, recent scholarly opinion convincingly maintain that it is an authentic charter granted by Athelstan on 7 June 934 on his way to Scotland.⁶⁵

Sawyer lists six manuscripts that contain the rhyming charter of Athelstan, which sets out the immunities and liberties of Beverley together with its right of sanctuary. Most of them are full of inaccuracies, and it has been judged that they are all probably derived from the earliest extant manuscript, BL, Cotton MS, Charter IV 18, which has been judged to have been written during the reign of Edward II (1307-27).⁶⁶ Lines fifty-five onward, which assert that men should not undergo trial by combat but should be judged by twelve compurgators, attest to its having been composed post-Conquest because old English law did not allow for the former method of deciding guilt or innocence.⁶⁷ There is a similar rhyming charter for Ripon Minster and, like Beverley, the language has been dated to the fourteenth century.⁶⁸ Because of their similarities, and their location in the same diocese, Doyle has speculated that one may have been an imitation of the other, or that they had the same author.⁶⁹

Witty claims that the charter was put in its present form around 1330-31, which was during the time that Nicholas Huggate was provost of the Collegiate Church of Beverley, and Leach suggests that this provost was likely to have been involved in its composition.⁷⁰ Thirty-one of the eighty lines of the charter, that is nearly forty per cent, are devoted to the issue of Beverley's right to thraves and the penalty for withholding payment. As the most prominent issue in the *Chapter Act Books* is that of the payment or otherwise of thraves, and as Huggate was deeply involved in combating a conspiracy by the East Riding rectors against their payment, Leach suggests that the charter may well have been concocted in order to support Beverley's claim.⁷¹

It is possible that earlier versions of this charter did exist but have not survived. The evidence for this is based on another version of the charter which is in the *Beverley Cartulary*, the

⁶³ P. H. Sawyer, 'Some sources for the history of Viking Northumbria', in *Viking Age York and the North*, ed. R. A. Hall, CBA Research Report, 27 (London, 1978), pp. 3-7 (pp. 3-4).

⁶⁴ Farrer, *Charters* I, 3-4; D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents 1, c.500-1042* (London, 1955), p. 505.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the arguments see Sawyer, 'Viking Northumbria', p. 4, and Whitelock, *Historical Documents*, p. 505.

⁶⁶ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 451; *MBM* II, 280-7. See Appendix 7 for the text of the charter.

⁶⁷ *MBM* II, 285n.

⁶⁸ Farrer, *Charters* I, no. 114.

⁶⁹ Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 20.

⁷⁰ J. R. Witty, 'The Rhyming Charter of Beverley', *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, 22 (1921), 36-44 (p. 36); *MBM* II, p. viii.

⁷¹ *MBM* I, pp. xcvi-ix; *MBM* II, p. Iviii.

existence of which Sawyer was evidently unaware when he composed his list.⁷² It comprises eighty-seven lines as compared with the eighty-one lines of the Cottonian version, the extra lines being marked 'va cat', as an indication to ignore them in reading or copying. Doyle notes that this annotation is in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century hand, and may have been added after comparison with a copy of the slightly shorter version. He also reasons that, because of certain misreadings, the *Cartulary* copy of the charter cannot have derived from the Cotton version.⁷³ Consequently, it must have derived from another manuscript of a different genealogical branch, which points to the existence of earlier manuscripts.

It is not impossible, therefore, that the original charter could have been forged earlier in the fourteenth century, or even in the late thirteenth century, and it is tempting to speculate that it may have been created in support of Edward I's claim to Scotland. The fabrication of a charter detailing Athelstan's institution of Beverley's rights and privileges would have revived remembrance of the legend and of the claim of English kings to rule Scotland based on Athelstan's relationship with John. This would have led inevitably to the drawing of parallels between Athelstan's title to the kingdom of Scotland, which was claimed to be divinely authorized, and Edward I's similar claim. Edward's visits to John's shrine, and his deliberate imitation of Athelstan by carrying the standard of the saint into battle with him against Scotland, are strong indications of the king's desire to emphasise the analogy between them. The creation of a charter to provide apparent documentary evidence of Athelstan's connection with John would have reinforced the authenticity of the legend and further validated Edward's claim.

The first genuine surviving writ relating to Beverley is written in English, and was that granted during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042-66) relating to the status of Ealdred vis-à-vis Beverley, and which gave him permission to draw up a *privilegium* relating to the lands belonging to the minster.⁷⁴ This was subsequently confirmed by both William I and Henry I.⁷⁵ As Leach points out, Edward's charter clearly recognizes that the minster is already in existence but, rather than endowing Beverley with any 'peculiar prerogative', it seems to be granting it the same status as any other minster.⁷⁶ No mention was made in these charters of Athelstan having been the founder of these privileges, and it was not until February 1136, in a charter of King Stephen confirming the peace and other privileges of Beverley, that Athelstan was cited for the first time as having conferred these privileges and successive kings of England as having confirmed them.⁷⁷

⁷² BL, MS, Add 61901, fols. 69^v-v.

⁷³ Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 20.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 47.

⁷⁵ Bates, *Regesta Regum* no. 31; Farrer, *Charters* I, 87-89; Davis, *Regesta Regum* I, no. 31, and II, no. 669.

⁷⁶ *MBM* I, p. xxxi.

⁷⁷ Farrer, *Charters* I, 93-94.

Morris suggests the likelihood that some of Beverley's privileges derived from ecclesiastical laws effected by Athelstan: his ordinance on church dues embodied both ancient and new rights and obligations, and he also made decrees on sanctuary.⁷⁸ Leach states, 'the privilege and limits of sanctuary were found by a jury in 1106, in regard to York Minster as against the king and the sheriff, also to have been granted by Athelstan, and to apply to Ripon, Durham, and Hexham, as well as York and Beverley'.⁷⁹ Furthermore, none of the privileges that were allegedly granted by the king to the church were unique to Beverley, including the exact terms relating to the mile limit surrounding Beverley which also existed at Ripon, although such a limit was apparently absent from York or Durham. However, unlike Beverley, the possessors of these privileges did not have miraculous stories to explain their acquisitions.

As well as the lack of extant documentary evidence that Athelstan granted Beverley its privileges, there is the omission of any mention of this matter by Folcard, whom one might have expected to allude to the supposed founder of the college and originator of Beverley's rights and liberties. However, Folcard seems to have limited his work strictly to John's life, because he also failed to mention the ceremony during which John's relics were given the supreme honour of ritual translation, which occurred just a few years before the *VSJ* was written. What is perhaps of more significance, however, is that if the document detailing the liberties and privileges of the Church of St John of Beverley cannot be attributed to Alfred, then this Beverley historian also failed to mention the momentous events which supposedly led to the founding of the church. Moreover, Folcard's patron, Ealdred, did not refer to any authority from Athelstan when drawing up the *privilegium* at the behest of Edward the Confessor.

Although the ancient silver ring points to an early tradition linking Athelstan and Beverley, the tradition does not appear to have taken written form until the twelfth century. Its composition at that time may be connected to the troubled reign of King Stephen (1135-54). Robert de Stuteville, who is mentioned in *AMI*:4, was among the barons who assembled to decide what course of action to take when King David of Scotland threatened to destroy Yorkshire in 1138.⁸⁰ The resultant confrontation between the forces of the kings of England and Scotland near Northallerton in Yorkshire saw the English army carry into battle with them a standard, which Richard of Hexham described as follows: 'Some of them soon erected, in the centre of a frame which they had brought, the mast of a ship, to which they gave the name of the Standard . . . On top of this pole they hung a silver pix containing the Host, and the banner of St Peter the

⁷⁸ Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 12, referring to I Athelstan; see also IV Athelstan 6 on sanctuary laws. For an edition and translation of this king's laws see Attenborough, *Laws*. See also Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*. vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), 290-308.

⁷⁹ *MBM* I, p. xxix referring to *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, by Arthur F. Leach, Camden Society (1891), p. 190.

⁸⁰ Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Staphanii et de bello standardii*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 3 vols, RS (London, 1886), III, 139-180 (p. 160).

Apostle, and St John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon, confessors and bishops'.⁸¹ The claim in *AMI* that Athelstan carried John's banner before him into battle against the Scots could have been a deliberate imitation of the recent event.⁸² This event links the actions of Stephen with those of Athelstan and, at the same time, implies that the God-given right of Athelstan to rule over Scotland devolved onto the king of England, Stephen.

If the divine right of the English king to overlordship of Scotland were established, this would support the claim of successive archbishops of York to authority over Scotland. York was granted such authority in 1072, but this was hotly opposed by the Scottish bishops. In 1125-26 the Archbishop of York submitted to the pope that, as 'the king of Scots was the vassal of the king of England for Scotland', Scotland was part of the kingdom of England and so subject to the metropolitan authority of York, but this was, predictably, disputed by the Scottish bishops who were petitioning the pope to award the pallium to the Bishop of St Andrew's.⁸³ A reiteration of Athelstan's subjection of Scotland couched in such terms as to leave no doubt that it was God's will that this should persist in perpetuity would undoubtedly have lent strong support to York's claim.⁸⁴

Leach suggests that, as Athelstan was accepted as the first king of all England, it was expedient and prudent for those wishing to defend their rights after the Conquest to strengthen their claims by resting them on this monarch to whose rights successive kings claimed to be the heirs.⁸⁵ As Ridyard so succinctly put it when referring to an incident involving William the Conqueror at the shrine of St Etheldreda, 'the objective truth of whether or not the events happened is less significant than the fact that a writer of the twelfth century believed them either to have happened or to be worth inventing'.⁸⁶

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, which was written c. 945, gives the credit for Athelstan's victory over the Scots to intercession by St Cuthbert.⁸⁷ This narrative was reproduced by Symeon of Durham, whose chronicle ends in 1129, and it records that the king visited the tomb of the Durham saint at Chester-le-Street when he was on his way to Scotland with a large army.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 163; translation taken from 'The Acts of King Stephen, and the Battle of the Standard' in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Middle Ages*, trans. Joseph Stevenson (Dyfed 1988), pp. 53-76 (p. 67).

⁸² For a discussion of this Anglo-Scottish conflict see J. Keith Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1993), pp. 28-37.

⁸³ Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London, 1979), pp. 39, 32.

⁸⁴ For a summary of the York/Scotland situation see Charles Johnson, ed. and trans., *Hugh the Chanter, The History of the Church of York 1066-1127* (Oxford, 1990), pp. xlv-liv. Hugh himself does not, in fact, deal with this issue in a comprehensive way.

⁸⁵ *MBM*, I, p. xxx.

⁸⁶ S. J. Ridyard, 'Condigna Veneratio: Post Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', in *Anglo-Norman Studies 9, proceedings of the Battle Conference 1987*, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 179-206 (p. 182).

⁸⁷ Simpson, 'King Alfred/St Cuthbert', p. 397.

At the tomb of the saint he sought his protection in the forthcoming expedition and placed at his head a testament listing the many gifts that he was giving him.⁸⁸

It is generally accepted that 934 was the year in which the king attended Cuthbert's shrine, and this date is consistent with the claim in the *Libertates* and *Beverley Cartulary* that he visited Beverley in the tenth year of his reign.⁸⁹ As well as visiting Chester-le-Street and endowing it with a great many gifts, Athelstan is also said to have visited Ripon in the course of this campaign, where he was similarly generous in dispensing gifts.⁹⁰ In the light of his clear patronage of these Northumbrian cults, it would be inconsistent had he not also visited Beverley, the other great religious centre in that area, and offered gifts in return for divine help in his forthcoming battle.

However, the evidence of Symeon, both regarding the visit of Cuthbert to Chester-le-Street, and on the matter of the saint appearing in a vision to King Alfred, undoubtedly reveals a high degree of imitation in the Athelstan/John account. It is therefore possible that, although Athelstan may indeed have visited Beverley in 934, the legend itself was a reworking of the account of the king's visit to Cuthbert's tomb, incorporating various topological elements such as the vision, which was also a Cuthbertian imitation, the use of the knife as a token of the vow, and the cleaving of the rock as if it were butter. The legend could, therefore, have been written in order to claim an attribution that originally applied to Cuthbert.

Circumstantial support for an Athelstan/John connection comes from the recording of an incident which Leland claims to have translated into English from a book called *Scala Chronica*, which he said had been translated from French verse into French prose by an Englishman brought to Edinburgh as a prisoner-of-war.⁹¹ This was Sir Thomas Gray, who was imprisoned from 1355 to 1359. In order to alleviate the boredom of captivity he commenced a history of England from the earliest times up to 1363, using the excellent library available to him in Edinburgh and always attributing his sources.⁹² The original manuscript of *Scala Chronica* no longer survives and, although part of it was transcribed by Stevenson, this did not include the section relating to the Athelstan/John story, which means that Gray's source for it is unknown.⁹³

⁸⁸ Symeon II.18; Stevenson, *Chronicles*, pp. 68, 88.

⁸⁹ See Gerald Bonner, 'St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street' in Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 387-395 (p. 390); Simpson, 'King Alfred/St Cuthbert' p. 405; David Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: The Evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183' in Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 413-424 (p. 420); David Hall, 'The Sanctuary of St Cuthbert' in Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pp. 425-436 (p. 430). See also Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books' in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143-201 (pp. 170-73).

⁹⁰ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon*, p. 342.

⁹¹ LC I, 522.

⁹² A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England 2: c. 1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London, 1996), pp. 92-3.

⁹³ Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, *Scalacronica*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1836).

The story relates that the king of Northumberland crept up on Athelstan at 'Bridmanburge'⁹⁴ intending to kill him. On being disturbed, Athelstan tried to find his sword in the dark but found the scabbard empty, then on praying to John of Beverley he miraculously found his sword, whereupon he vanquished the king of Northumberland, his brother-in-law. The latter is presumably Sihtric, to whom Athelstan is said by William of Malmesbury to have given one of his sisters in matrimony, and with whom he had made a lasting treaty.⁹⁵ However, the equivalent story told by William claims that it was Anlaf, Sihtric's son, who crept up on Athelstan with the intention of killing him, and that the saint invoked by Athelstan was Aldhelm.⁹⁶ A third version of this story is given by the Ramsey chronicler, who writes that Bishop Oda accompanied the king and, when the latter's sword slipped from his scabbard, the holy man's prayers brought about divine intervention. The chronicler reported that the sword the saint provided was said to be still preserved in the royal treasury at the time of writing, which was c. 1170.⁹⁷ It is impossible to know which of these stories, if any, was a borrowing of any of the others, particularly as Gray's source is not known, but it is noteworthy that William should have claimed that the king called upon the patron saint of Malmesbury, where he himself was a monk.

Nevertheless the recording of the French story indicates a belief in a spiritual link between John and Athelstan which went beyond a single battle which the saint helped him to win, but encompassed other situations which threatened the king's life. Perhaps of equal significance is that Gray's source was written in French verse, which indicates that the original composer was fluent in that language and might well have been a native of France. This supports the notion that the French were aware of an intimate connection between Athelstan and John which, in turn, lends some support to the contention that the king was instrumental in establishing John's cult in Brittany, a theory which is expounded in Chapter 5 of this thesis. If, as discussed in that chapter, the king were responsible for the transference of some of John's relics to Brittany, then it would make it certain that he had visited the shrine at Beverley.

It is probable that the minster's rights were acquired gradually over a period of years, rather than secured in their entirety at one point in time on its foundation, or refoundation. However, the attribution of its establishment, together with all its rights and privileges, to a single monarch, especially one of Athelstan's stature, would have endowed Beverley with great prestige as well as additional security. As a creation of the religious community which possessed his relics, John represented that community on a symbolic level, therefore, the purported transaction between him and Athelstan whereby wealth and privileges were given in

⁹⁴ Possibly *Brunanburgh*.

⁹⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I, 126.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁹⁷ Ramsey, *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, RS 73 (1886), p. 16.

exchange for divine intercession, not only defined the relationship between the saint and the king, but on a wider stage also epitomized the relations between the religious community and the secular power.

There is no doubt that the very existence of the legend indicates the importance to Beverley of the saint-king axis around which the cult was developed: the legend not only validated the authority of John and the traditional rights of Beverley, but also provided a pattern for successive kings to emulate in their desire to link themselves politically and religiously with this man who was acknowledged to have been the first king of all England.

Although the historicity of the legend itself may be challenged, it is nevertheless almost certain that Athelstan did have some genuine relationship with Beverley as a benefactor, and may well have been a recipient of holy relics for his collection.

4: THE *VITÆ* AND *MIRACULA* OF ST JOHN

The purported intention of any work of hagiography is the edification of the audience: the model of a pious, holy man or woman is set before the people in order to inspire them to emulate his or her spiritual and moral example, and to instil in them an awareness of the truth of the glory of God's grace,¹ but in the chapter which follows it will be seen that the stories recorded about John were designed to serve additional purposes.

The production of the *Vita Sancti Johannis* and the recording of post-mortem miracle stories was an essential part of the promotion of John's cult: the *Vita* chronicled his earthly career, and the miracles demonstrated his status in heaven, thereby validating the spiritual power of his relics which were preserved at Beverley, the cultic centre. Episodes from these works would have been read out in church on his feast day, simultaneously keeping alive his memory and reminding the congregation of God's continuing relationship with them through the dead, though still-living, saint.

A saint was considered to be someone who had led an exceptionally virtuous life and whose spiritual power was signalled by their ability, in life and in death, to call on God to perform miracles. The theological and philosophical question of what constituted a miracle was debated for centuries and, whatever definitions were made, the one thing that was indubitable for Christians was that a true miracle ultimately came from God. It was not until the eighteenth century that a definitive work was finally produced which set out the conditions and characteristics of a genuine miracle, but the general populace in the Middle Ages had no doubt that a miracle involved wondrous happenings, especially cures, which could not be accounted for according to their limited understanding of science and nature.² As beings of great virtue, the saints were believed to be especially honoured by God, who would demonstrate his, and their, glory by the manifestation of miraculous signs on their behalf.

St Augustine believed that people would be more likely to understand and absorb Christian truths by reading or hearing about the deeds of saints, rather than through complicated arguments put forward in Christian teaching. This view found concrete expression in the writing of the *vitæ* of

¹ Heffernen gives a different, but not incompatible definition from mine, 'The primary social function of sacred biography, understood in the broadest of terms, is to teach (*docere*) the truth of the faith through the principle of individual example'; Thomas J. Heffernen, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992), p. 19. On hagiography see also Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990); Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology Folklore and History* (Cambridge, 1983); and H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels, 1934).

² R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), p. 54 referring to Prospero Lambertini (later Pope Benedict XIV), *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*.

saints in which the acts of the saints were dramatized.³ In this regard, the most influential of the early hagiographers was probably Gregory of Tours (538/9-593/4), whose compositions of the *vitæ* of saints emphasized virtuous deeds, rather than sought to expound complex theological arguments.⁴ This giving of priority to the acts of the saints provided a paradigm which most subsequent biographers followed in composing their sacred works.⁵ Further, because a saint was considered to be a re-creation of past models of holy piety, it was perfectly in accordance with hagiographic tradition to borrow stories from other saints, which inevitably gave rise to duplications of stories over generations of saints. Indeed, because of the need for saints to conform to a recognizable pattern, the very duplication of their deeds was essential in verifying their membership of the heavenly community.⁶ The model on which all saints' *vitæ* were ultimately based was, of course, Christ, whose life and works were repeatedly shown to have been imitated by the holy men and women who succeeded him.

John's official *Vita* and miracle collections were produced by the religious community at Beverley. As well as seeking to enhance his reputation, these works also sought to bestow authority and prestige on the possessors of his holy relics. 'Saints belong to and reflect the societies which produce and honour them',⁷ therefore any reading of their hagiographies must be qualified by the understanding that the writer was presenting a particular construct which reflected the beliefs and aspirations of the community which 'owned' the saint. The stories themselves are influenced by, and embody, these communal beliefs, but at the same time, the control exercised over the text also aims at influencing the target audience by manipulating their responses to the saint: thus the writer and his audience participate in a reciprocal relationship.⁸

There is a very real sense in which a religious community created the sort of saint it required and showed him or her to provide the sort of benefits it wished to receive. This is reflected most clearly in the hagiographic works produced at various times throughout that community's history. The process of composing the *VSJ* and miracle collections entailed decision-making and selection: from the initial decision to undertake, or to arrange for someone else to undertake, the writing of

³ In this chapter the terms '*vita*' and '*vitæ*' are used to refer to the written texts of saints' lives, to distinguish them from the more general sense of 'life' and 'lives'.

⁴ For translations of Gregory's hagiographic writing see Raymond Van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Confessors* (Liverpool, 1988); Raymond Van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool, 1988); Edward James, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers*, 2nd edn (Liverpool, 1991)

⁵ Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 4-5.

⁶ Apart from Christ, St Anthony of Egypt and St Martin of Tours were the principal models for succeeding generations of saints to emulate: see Stephen Wilson, *Saints*, p. 3. See also Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 3-13.

⁷ Stephen Wilson, *Saints*, pp. 6-7.

⁸ For a highly critical study of the work of hagiographers see H. Delchaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. V. M. Crawford (Norwood, 1974).

such a text, choices were made as to what material to include and what to exclude. The natural bias possessed by the community towards their own saint as opposed to rival saints, as well as towards local or national concerns, whether social or political, would have affected the content and timing of the works. In addition, because he was believed to have been a saint, John was regarded as a religious exemplar and therefore exceptional; consequently, the reports of his behaviour cannot be assumed to reflect the conduct of either John himself, or of seventh/eighth century bishops in general.⁹ Moreover, each composer made a decision about the manner in which to tell the stories and brought his/her own subjective perceptions to the task. S/he was therefore reflecting the world as s/he knew it, or wished it to be, rather than the actual world in which the saint lived. Therefore, these texts cannot be viewed as categorical evidence of the realities of history previous to their own time period, but as artefacts of their own particular historical era.

SECTION 1: THE VITÆ

The *Vita Sancti Johannis* by Folcard, and all subsequent abridged versions, are ultimately based on the five chapters that Bede wrote about John in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, although they all exhibit differences in both content and style.

Bede: *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, v.2-6

As a complex literary genre, saints' *vitæ* do not always conform to exactly the same pattern, but there are some conventions which are frequently followed: the *vita* of a confessor usually opens with the author's preface in which he humbly expresses his unsuitability for the task, and this is followed by a description of the saint's birth and parentage (normally noble), which sometimes includes some miraculous event forecasting future greatness. This is followed by an account of the saint's adult life, setting out his merits and justifying his sanctification, and concludes with his peaceful death, followed by an account of post-mortem miracles, which is the final proof that he had achieved saintly status in heaven in the presence of God. In this respect, the five chapters which Bede wrote on John cannot be considered a *vita* as they represent different episodes during the saint's adult life, with the first story taking place when he was already into his career as the bishop of Hexham, and the remainder occurring when he was bishop of York. At the same time, whereas an official *vita* is produced specifically to further the saint's cult, the narratives relating to John which Bede wrote form a small part of a much larger work. However, they are the first

⁹ For a discussion on the difficulties faced by historians when consulting hagiographic texts see Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 1-15.

written evidence of the perception that John led a truly virtuous life and had found great merit with God, as revealed through miraculous signs, and they form the basis of Folcard's official *VSJ*, and hence all other *vitæ* of the saint. As such, these narratives are an integral part of John's cult, and it is essential that they be considered in detail at the outset.

In writing about John of Beverley, whom he calls 'uir sanctus', Bede was setting forth an example of what he considered to be both a good and holy man, and an ideal bishop.¹⁰ Bede is unique amongst those who wrote about John in that he had actually met him when, as bishop of Hexham, John ordained him first a deacon and subsequently a priest.¹¹ However, the *History* was not completed until 731, ten years after John's death, therefore the events Bede relates about him took place several years before he wrote them down. Nevertheless, he does attempt to validate his narratives by citing his sources, distinguishing between those stories told to him by eye-witnesses, and those which came to him second hand. Of the five stories, three are written as if narrated in the first person by Bede's sources: two by Berthun, who was initially John's deacon when he was bishop of Hexham and was subsequently the first abbot of the monastery which John established; and one by Herebald, a favourite member of Bishop John's household who later became an abbot in a monastery on the banks of the Tyne.¹² The first person narratives appear to give the text additional validity because they seem to be written by the sources themselves, whereas in fact they have been mediated by Bede's perceptions of, and intentions regarding, the bishop.

The two stories which are apparently narrated by Berthun are of events which he professes to have witnessed personally; he is also the source for a third story, which was apparently told to him by someone who claimed to have been present. Bede gives a strong endorsement of the abbot, calling him 'uir reuerentissimus ac ueracissimus', thereby establishing the notion that he was an authentic and truthful source.¹³ However, although he claims that Berthun is his main source, he does not actually state that the abbot told him of the miraculous cure of the dumb and scabby-headed youth, which is one of the two stories which are not told in the first person; instead, Bede claims that 'those who were present' said that the youth chattered ceaselessly once he had begun to speak.¹⁴

¹⁰ *HE* v.2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, v.24.

¹² *Ibid.*, v.3-5, v.6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, v.2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

This first story is alleged to have taken place whilst John was bishop of Hexham, and is said to have occurred during Lent, the forty days leading up to Easter, which was a period of preparation for baptism, then for the re-admission of sinners. It was later characterized by fasting and penance as a commemoration of Christ's retreat into the wilderness.¹⁵ Although Bede claims that it was John's custom to withdraw to a remote dwelling in order to pray and read, by locating this particular incident in Lent, he is drawing attention not only to John's proper observance of this important period in the Christian calendar, but he is also creating a correlation between his practice and Christ's withdrawal into seclusion. On this particular occasion, the beneficiary of John's kindness is a young man who is dumb and has a diseased head, and Bede's description of the bald crown with just a few rough hairs sticking out around, although faintly humorous, brings to mind the tonsure and crown of thorns. This could be a subtle reminder that the boy is a representative of Christ for, as Jesus told his disciples, whatever they did for one of the least of his brothers, they he did for him.¹⁶ The implication of this is that in behaving with great charity towards this pauper John was doing this for Christ himself.

Despite the detailed description of the method John is said to have used to teach the boy to speak, it is clear that Bede still considered it to have been a miracle. The claim that the boy was already known to the bishop, from whom he had often received alms, and had never in all that time uttered a single word, is intended to verify not only that the youth's dumbness was genuine, but that it was also a long-standing condition. Having established this, any cure that was forthcoming would be likely to be seen as miraculous but, to emphasize that the influence of God was vital in the healing process, the sign of the cross was made on the boy's tongue before the speech therapy began. Moreover, Bede makes it clear that he believed that the event was miraculous by comparing the boy's ceaseless chatter on acquiring the power of speech with the cripple who had leapt and walked about in the temple following his miracle cure by the apostles Peter and John.¹⁷ By choosing this biblical story to illustrate the miracle, rather than a more analogous example such as the one that tells how Christ healed a deaf mute after touching the man's ears and tongue, and then called out 'Ephphatha', Bede gives prominence to the delighted behaviour of the two people after they had been healed.¹⁸

Although John was then shown to hand the boy over to the care of a physician who healed the boy's other physical ailments, Bede makes it clear that this cure, too, was carried out with the help of the bishop's blessing and prayers, the implication being that the earthly doctor was only

¹⁵ Matthew 4.2.

¹⁶ Ibid., 25.40.

¹⁷ Acts 3.2-8.

¹⁸ Mark 7.32-37.

able to achieve successful results with the help of spiritual healing. The contrast between the now eloquent, clear-complexioned, and beautifully curly-headed youth, with the ugly, destitute and dumb boy he had been before emphasizes the wondrous nature of the deed.

Bede maintained strong beliefs on the importance of all Christians, but most especially the 'spiritual elite', mediating between the active and contemplative lives.¹⁹ His construct of John portrays the bishop as striking a perfect balance between these two objectives and so conforming to Bede's notion of how a virtuous, conscientious bishop should behave: he seeks seclusion during Lent for private prayer, but is not forgetful of his pastoral duties, and performs a singular act of charity in emulation of his Lord for a destitute individual who was a representation of his Lord. At the same time, the cure provides a miraculous validation of Bede's own concept of an exemplary bishop.

Bede sets the scene for the second story by stating that, after a long exile, Wilfrid was restored to Hexham and John was appointed to the see of York on the death of Bosa.²⁰ The story is then narrated in the first person as if by Berthun, who claimed that he accompanied the bishop on his visit to a convent at 'Uetadun', which has been identified as Watton, about seven miles north of Beverley.²¹ This is valuable evidence for the existence of an Anglo-Saxon nunnery at Watton, because it had ceased to exist by the time of the Norman Conquest. A priory on the site is known to have housed Gilbertine canons and nuns in the twelfth century. From the lack of narratorial comment on Abbess Hereburg's disclosure that she had planned for her daughter to succeed her as abbess at the convent, it could be inferred that this was not an uncommon practice in religious houses at that time. That she had a daughter reveals that the abbess had been a married woman before entering the convent, and had evidently taken her child with her into holy orders.

Hereburg's daughter was seriously ill because her arm had become infected following flebotomy, a widespread medieval practice for almost all illnesses. John's alleged admonition to Hereburg for having bled the girl at the wrong time of the moon's cycle is dramatized by being put into the form of direct speech, which gives it the appearance of a verbatim quotation and conveys a sense of immediacy and authenticity to the text. Further, the claim that John recalled the advice of Archbishop Theodore on the correct time to perform such an operation implies that they had enjoyed a personal relationship, and that John had had a superior education under the personal direction of this illustrious and learned archbishop.

¹⁹ Alan Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal of Reform' in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough and Roger Collins, eds, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 136-42 (p. 132).

²⁰ *HE* v.3.

²¹ C. A. M. Plummer, ed., *Venerabilis Bedæ: Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), II, 460n.

The seriousness of the girl's condition, and hence the miraculous nature of the cure, is emphasized by John questioning what he could possibly do for her if she was on the point of death, and suggesting that it was completely hopeless to expect her to survive. The narrator supports his eye-witness account by stating that he accompanied the bishop when he visited the girl to pray for and bless her, and he verified that her arm was very badly swollen such that it was impossible for her to bend her elbow. Berthun's involvement in the event is further demonstrated when the girl sends for him to tell him that, although her arm was still swollen, the pain had entirely disappeared from her arm and body as if the bishop had carried it away himself. This notion of the bishop literally taking the pain away with him when he left the room is continued by the claim that when they departed the convent, the swelling also departed. Although the girl attributed her cure to the bishop's actions, she recognized that it ultimately came from God to whom she, and her fellow nuns gave thanks when she had fully recovered.

Because part of the saint's symbolic role was as an imitator of Christ, most, if not all, of his or her miracles could be seen to have a basis in the accounts recorded in the New Testament. The biblical paradigm is frequently pointed out by the narrator himself in order to emphasize the saint's status as a true emulator of Christ, but it sometimes happens that the account of a saint's performance of a miracle might be far removed from anything which is recorded in the Bible, yet the fundamental qualities of the story indicate that it does have its precedence in the scriptures. Thompson pointed out that the story of John curing the nun at Watton has 'clearly preserved most of the details of the miracle of the bringing Jairus's daughter back to life, as told in Luke 8.41-55 (the story is also told in Mark 5.22-43).²² Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue who pleaded with Jesus to go to his daughter is refashioned as the abbess; his daughter is dead, whereas the nun is close to death; both John and Jesus had to be persuaded to attend the respective daughters; Jesus is accompanied by Peter, James, and John, whereas John of Beverley is accompanied by Berthun. Further, both Jairus's daughter, and the nun were given refreshment after they had been healed.

The third miracle, which is also narrated in the first person by Berthun, supposedly took place at the home of a *gesith* called Puch, on whose estate John had dedicated a church.²³ The bishop's initial refusal to stay and dine because of his need to return to the monastery was overcome by the promise of alms from both Puch and Berthun, who again makes clear his personal involvement in the event. She is said to have been cured immediately after the holy water had

²² HE v.3; Bertram Colgrave, 'Bede's Miracle Stories' in *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writing*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1969), pp. 201-29 (p. 208).

²³ HE v.4. For a discussion of the status of *gesiths* see J. G. Edwards and Richard Pares, 'Gesiths and Thegns in Anglo-Saxon England from the Seventh to the Tenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 529-536.

been administered to her. The claim that this was a miracle cure was supported by the length as well as the gravity of the illness attending this woman: we are told that she had lain ill for nearly forty days and had been bedridden for three weeks. Someone who had been so ill that she had been unable to rise from her bed for three weeks, was suddenly fit and strong enough to wait on others at table. In this, Bede compares her actions with those of Peter's mother-in-law, who is said to have ministered to the Lord and his followers after he had cured her of a fever by touching her hand.²⁴ There is no suggestion that the *gesith*'s wife knew that she was imitating Peter's mother-in-law, rather sacred history was repeating itself without her awareness, thereby affirming the eternal and permanent nature of God's ways.²⁵ Further, the comparison between the two women implied that the miracles were also comparable; hence John is perceived as having emulated his Lord in bringing about the cure. Bede thus presents the bishop as one of the holy men who succeeded Christ, and who endeavoured to follow his example, and through whom God continues to perform similar miracles.

The story exhibits striking similarities to a tale told about St Cuthbert, which is contained in both the *Anonymous Life*, and Bede's *Prose Life*, the latter having been based on the anonymous version, and follows it closely. In both stories, the bishop was invited into the home of a *gesith* whose wife was gravely ill and asked to bless some holy water for her benefit; a priest accompanying the bishop took it to the woman and sprinkled it over her and she immediately recovered. Having risen from her bed, she ministered to the holy man and the rest of the guests until the end of the meal, and her behaviour is likened to that of Peter's mother-in-law, healed of a fever by Christ.²⁶ Although saints' lives are full of similar stories, based as they are on the paradigm of Christ, nevertheless, it is significant that Bede, who admired both of these northern saints as exemplary bishops, wrote similar stories about them. The correspondence between these two saints, as revealed through similar elements in the way they are said to have conducted their lives and performed their works, bestows honour on both of them, signifying the validity of their places in the apostolic succession and verifying their brotherhood in Christ. In addition, it endows the northern church with an homogeneity of grace, as revealed through the sanctity of these two admirable bishops.

The next miracle is also said to have taken place after John had dedicated a church on a private estate owned by the *gesith* Addi.²⁷ Whether or not this, and the dedication he is reported as having performed for Puch, were part of a bishop's normal practice, by depicting John as

²⁴ Matthew 8.14-5.

²⁵ J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: a Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 177.

²⁶ *VSC(A)* IV.3; *VSC(B)*:29.

²⁷ *HE* V.5.

performing two such ceremonies, Bede is representing him as a diligent bishop, carrying out his pastoral duties in a conscientious manner. The cure of Addi's servant was swift and absolute: after John's prayer and blessing he literally rose from his deathbed, for his funerary preparations had already been made and his burial coffin lay right beside him. Although not identical, in that the servant was still alive, although barely, the nature of the cure is similar to that of Jesus raising Lazarus from death.²⁸ However, the most significant feature of this story is the complete faith that Addi is shown to have had in the bishop's ability to bring about a cure. In this he resembles the centurion in Capernaum whose faith was so great that he believed his servant would be cured if Jesus simply spoke the word.²⁹

Merely to have the bishop agree to dine with these men would have cast distinction upon them, but it is possible that they were also hoping for a miraculous intervention through his mediation, especially as there was a widespread belief that the days on which churches were consecrated were particularly sacred and likely to produce some sort of divine manifestation.³⁰ In view of this, the vigorous pleading on the part of Puch, whose pleas were joined by Berthun, may have been prompted by a belief that the holy bishop was more likely to be able to bring about a cure on this particular day.

The fifth story recorded by Bede contains much that is reported as direct speech, which not only dramatizes the events but contributes to a sense of authenticity, especially as the narrator, Herebald, is the person to whom the miracles are said to have happened.³¹ Having raced his horse against the express command of John, and then fallen headlong onto a stone, sustaining severe injuries, Herebald is shown as having no doubt that his accident was as a result of his disobedience: it was a cleric's duty to obey his bishop, and he was punished severely for not doing so. That the fall was considered to have been caused by divine intervention is emphasized by the claim that the stone on which Herebald fell down was the only one to be found on the entire plain.

Bede's interest in the miracle extends beyond the physiological mechanics of the cure, just as his concern for John's sanctity is not purely based on his miracles but on his episcopal example. Even more serious than his physical injuries was Herebald's improper catechism and baptism, which had been performed by a priest whom John had forbidden to carry out these sacraments

²⁸ John 12.17-43.

²⁹ Matthew 8.5-13; Luke 7.2-10.

³⁰ Ian Wood, 'The audience of architecture in post-Roman Gaul', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: papers on history, architecture, and archaeology in honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, eds L. A. S. Butler, and R. K. Morris, CBA Research Report, 60 (London, 1986), pp. 74-79 (p. 77).

³¹ *HE* v.6.

because of his incompetence. It has been suggested that this is an indication of the 'desperate shortage of properly qualified candidates for holy orders in the late seventh century', which dire situation evidently continued well into the eighth century, as attested to by Bede's complaints to Egbert about the many places which lacked teachers of any kind, as well as the appalling standard of many of the clergy.³²

John's decision to catechize Herebald appears to have gone against the prevailing view that even if a baptism had been performed by a heretic, provided it had been done in the three-fold name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, then it was still valid. Indeed, in 746 Pope Zacharias admonished St Boniface for ordering the rebaptism of certain Christians because the priest had muddled the Latin formula by saying, 'Baptizo te in nomina patria et filia et spiritus sancti', instead of saying, '... patris et filii ...'. His argument was that the priest had not made any heretical statement, therefore the baptism was valid and should merely be absolved by the laying on of hands.³³ As Plummer pointed out, Bede strongly supported this view,³⁴ but for him the major concern was not that John performed a recatechism, but that the priest who had carried out the original rite had done so against the bishop's express command. The disobedience of Herebald brought to light the disobedience of the priest, and the recatechism rectified these two undutiful acts.

When John catechized Herebald he is said to have blown on his face. This is in accordance with the ritual Bede outlines in his exposition of 1 Samuel, Book 4, Chapter 7: he declares that teachers should expel impure spirits 'exsufflando et catechizando', that is, by blowing on them and catechizing them.³⁵ Although John catechized him while he was still unwell, Herebald was not baptized until he had fully recovered, indicating that it was necessary for him to undertake a more prolonged period of instruction before being considered to be fit to receive baptism.³⁶ Despite the differences of opinion over the necessity for rebaptism, Herebald was clearly of the view that he was cured through this, and the prayers and benediction of the bishop, for after all of these actions he claims that he immediately felt better.

³² Alan Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, eds John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 137-70, (p. 163n.); Bede, *Epistola*, chs. 4-5, 7, 11-15, for a translation see Bede: *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People: The Greater Chronicle: Bede's Letter to Egbert*, Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1994). Note also that the Herebald event occurred in the eighth, not the seventh century.

³³ Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedæ*, II, 276-77.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Bede, 'In primam partem Samuhelis, IV, ch. 17 in *Bedæ Venerabilis Opera*, 2, ed, D. Hurst, CCSL 119 (Turnhout, 1962); *HE*, p. 468, n. But see John.20:22, 'hoc cum dixisset insuflavit et dicit eis accipite Spiritum Sanctum', 'and when he (Jesus) had said this he breathed on them, and said to them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost'.

³⁶ Sarah Foot, 'By water in the spirit': the administration of baptism in early Anglo-Saxon England' in Blair, *Pastoral Care*, pp. 171-92 (p. 176).

Although, as with the mute boy, John called in a physician to deal with the physical problems, both Bede and Herebald are clear that the cure was a miraculous one combining, as it did, both the cure of Herebald's body and, more importantly, of his soul. When Herebald said that the bishop's prayers and benediction called him back from the threshold of death to the path of life, he meant spiritually as well as physically. In some ways this story echoes the biblical story of mankind as a whole: man, in the person of Adam, was expelled from paradise because of his disobedience to God, but was later redeemed through Christ. This analogy confirms the continuous, ever-present and permanent nature of God's great scheme.

Bede's narrative ends with John's death and burial in the year 721 'in porticu sancti Petri' of his monastery. He asserts that John lived for thirty-three years as a bishop and, without wishing to push too far the analogy between John and Jesus Christ, his model, Bede's imprecision about the amount of time John spent as a bishop may have reflected a desire to show an even greater correspondence between them. Referring to the gospels of St Luke and St John, Bede calculated that Christ was a little over thirty-three years old when he died, seeing that his passion occurred some three and a half years after he was baptized at the age of thirty.³⁷ His claim that John was thirty-three years in the bishopric is slightly shorter than the time given by later commentators, including Folcard, who give a precise period of thirty-three years, eight months, and thirteen days. Furthermore, it is claimed that John retired from his bishopric before his death, consecrating his priest, Wilfrid, to the see of York while he retired to Beverley. Whether this occurred in 714, 718, or 720, a period of thirty-three years is an exaggeration of the time he spent as an active bishop. By giving an inexact amount of time for John's ministry, which accords with the length of Christ's life on earth, Bede forges an even greater link between them than is demonstrated by John's performance of miracles in imitation of his Lord.

All of the cures, with the single exception of the mute boy, relate to either ecclesiastics or the upper reaches of lay society – even the servant John healed was the favourite of a nobleman. However, the imbalance of miracles in favour of the noble and ecclesiastical communities should not be seen as an indication that these areas of society received preferential treatment by John at the expense of the poor. The pattern revealed in these accounts accords with that seen in other saints' *vitæ* and probably has more to do with the choices made as to which miracles to record to demonstrate specific 'truths', and with the author's sense that saints associated with those of elevated rank would carry both enhanced importance and credibility. Rollason argues that the exceptions to this tendency indicate that those who recorded the miracles considered that those

³⁷ Bede, 'De Temporum Ratione', XLVII, in *Bede Venerabilis Opera*, 4, ed. W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout, 1977).

events which involved lower-class lay people were not worthy of mention unless they served to illustrate a particular point they wished to make about the saint.³⁸ In John's case there are two exceptions: the dumb and scabby youth, and Addi's servant, who cannot be considered as being in the same class as the destitute mute because he clearly had status as his lord's favourite. Along with most other commentators, Rollason considers the former to have been a token pauper who was only admitted into the bishop's presence 'to assist in his pious exercises'.³⁹ Bede does make it clear that the destitute youth was sought out solely so that John and his followers could carry out a particular work of charity during Lent in accordance with their usual custom, and this certainly seems to indicate a single, symbolic act performed to inspire piety.⁴⁰

Although Bede claims to have had the authority of eye-witnesses and wrote most of the accounts as if told in the first person by them, nevertheless it was he who reshaped the material so that his narrative represented John as conforming to his own image of the perfect bishop. The glowing testimony of Herebald that he considered John to have been 'worthy of a bishop in every particular so far as it is lawful for a man to judge', encapsulates the main thrust of Bede's own argument. John is shown carrying out his various pastoral duties with piety and conscientious thoroughness as he travels around his diocese with his entourage, visiting a nunnery and dedicating churches, as well as withdrawing to a secluded spot for private prayer and meditation, where he performs a particularly charitable act for a pauper. By presenting John in the image of the ideal bishop who is able to perform miracles of healing, Bede not only offers a model for others, and other members of the clergy in particular, to follow, but demonstrates that such behaviour obtains the favour of God, who chose to demonstrate his recognition of John's virtue with miraculous signs.

Alcuin: *Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, ll. 1084-217

Alcuin refashioned the Bedan accounts about John and included them in his verse history of the kings, bishops, and saints of York. He validates his narrative on John by acknowledging that his source was Bede, whom he compliments by calling 'magister', thereby endowing the earlier work with the authority of historical accuracy.⁴¹ Alcuin's main concern was with his home region of Northumbria, and this verse history celebrates York as the spiritual centre of the area.⁴² His interest in John is that, as a saintly man who had a reputation for having performed miracles, he provided an example of a virtuous bishop of York.

³⁸ David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 97.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁰ *HE* v.2.

⁴¹ *Alcuin*, ll. 1207-09

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.

Some of the stylistic differences between Alcuin's and Bede's narratives arise from the fact that the former is written as verse, in which great use is made of poetic devices, especially hyperbole and metaphor.⁴³ All of the stories are told in the third person, and with the exception of a single sentence addressed to the sick servant when John is reported as saying, 'Now be restored to health and strength, my boy', the whole text is in indirect speech.⁴⁴ Further, whereas Bede grounds his stories in reality by giving people's names, and giving approximate locations for where the stories allegedly took place, Alcuin reveals no interest in such details, giving no personal or place names. Berthun, Bede's main source, is not mentioned and is given no part to play in any of the miraculous events, and Archbishop Theodore is also not referred to at all. Further, Alcuin describes the miracles without reference to the scriptures. His concern is solely with John's merits and with the miracles he performs, stating at the very beginning that John was 'renowned for his piety, faith, merits, and intellect', that he had a 'pure heart', that 'honour and virtue attended him'.⁴⁵ In contrast, although Bede does make a few, simple statements about John's holiness, he allows the bishop's merits to emerge from the narrative through his behaviour and by reference to biblical paradigms.

Bede locates the first story during Lent and intimates that retreating for private prayer was John's habitual practice, but Alcuin is not concerned to give the miracle any festive or liturgical importance and does not mention that this was taking place during a special period of Christian self-denial and religious introspection; rather he emphasizes the piety and religious devoutness of the bishop in his desire to pay his dues to God by fasting and suffering abstinence.⁴⁶

While Bede does represent John as a highly devout man who conducted himself in an appropriate manner, Alcuin magnifies these qualities by direct, hyperbolic statement. Similarly, while it may be inferred from Bede's simple assertion that John went to the monastery of nuns at Watton that the bishop was carrying out his normal duties, Alcuin affirms the pastoral nature of the visit by referring to John as a shepherd, 'visiting the folds in his charge'.⁴⁷

Although Alcuin retains the contours of the Bedan stories about John, he reshapes them in a way that makes them seem more sensational and wondrous: for him, the imaginative effect is preferable to circumstantial detail. For example, he dispenses with the description of the elaborate process through which the mute boy is taught to speak, stating that, as soon as the sign of the cross was made on his tongue, the boy immediately spoke fluently and eloquently. At the

⁴³ For a full discussion on Alcuin's style see *ibid.*, pp. ciii-cvii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 1169.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 1086, 1088, 1090.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 1092-119.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 1121-35.

same time, he claims that the boy's skin and head became instantly healthy, with no reference to the doctor whom Bede claims was called in to heal the boy's scabbiness. Similarly, the pain suffered by the sick nun is said to have fled at the very moment the bishop blessed her, although Alcuin retains Bede's notion that the disease itself was physically taken away by the bishop as he departed. With Puch's wife, whom Bede reports had suffered from a severe disease for forty days, Alcuin, who does not name her, describes her illness in greater detail: she had suffered 'for forty days from severe pains', was 'in a chill', 'a cold pallor had spread over her wan face' and 'from her nostrils came scarcely a faint breath'.⁴⁸ A similarly grim description is given of the dying servant, whom Alcuin movingly describes as heaving 'sigh upon sigh, chill and faint'.⁴⁹

The story that Alcuin tells about Herebald is a highly abbreviated version of that told by Bede, and the name of the cleric himself is not given. The accident is still said to have occurred after the clerk has disobeyed his bishop's command not to race his horse and, although the account retains Bede's statement that the stone on which he fell was the only one to be found on the entire field, thus implying that the clerk's misfortune was a miraculous phenomenon, the strong emphasis on divine intervention which is in the Bedan narrative is missing here.⁵⁰ The injuries suffered by Herebald are made to sound more severe by the claim that his brain was crushed when his skull was fractured, and there is no mention of the minor injury of a broken thumb. What is also absent from Alcuin's account is any discussion of Herebald's faulty baptism; instead the clerk is said to have recovered consciousness, and regained his health and strength as soon as the bishop placed his hand on his head, blessed him, and called out his name. Moreover, no mention is made of his being handed over to a physician to bind up his wounds. Again, the significance of this story for Alcuin lies in the miraculous physical cure, which is presented as a dramatic, and instantaneous event, dependent upon John's priestly actions.

Alcuin writes that John retired to a monastery in his old age having lived a life of godliness, and, on death, he returned to 'his heavenly homeland'. What matters most to Alcuin is that John was proven by 'undeniably miraculous signs' to have been a man of great honour and virtue, who had taken his place among the company of saints in heaven.⁵¹ As a former bishop of York, this made him an ideal representative of the city Alcuin sought to glorify in his poem. However, of major significance to John's cult is the proof, which this poem constitutes, that John's reputation as a miracle-working saint was well established within about seventy years of his death.

⁴⁸ Ibid., ll. 1136-53.

⁴⁹ Ibid., ll. 1154-78.

⁵⁰ Ibid., ll. 1179-1204.

⁵¹ Ibid., ll. 1090-91.

Folcard: *Vita Sancti Johannis*⁵²

The impetus for the writing of an official biography of John of Beverley came from the community that believed in his sanctity, and wished to promote his cult. Approximately thirty years after the ritual translation which had signalled John's official canonization by Archbishop Ælfric, Archbishop Ealdred of York commissioned Folcard to write his *Vita* as part of the process of his continuing sanctification. This work became the written proof of John's worthiness to be venerated as a saint, and itself became part of the fabric of the cult.

The *VSJ* is divided into a prologue and thirteen chapters, the last one recording John's death and burial. Five of the chapters were refashioned from the Bedan narrative and, although some of the other biographical details, with variable precision, were also taken from Bede, some information evidently came from other sources, most likely from the oral tradition maintained at Beverley. All of Folcard's material relates to events that were reported to have happened over three hundred years before, which means that the information had been transmitted over several generations by people who believed in John's sanctity. Folcard's task was to remodel the source material available to him in order to construct an image of John that complied with the expectations and perceptions of the community that venerated him as a saint. To this end, in some places he amplifies the text, supplying details that are not found in any other source; he alters names and places to reflect current usage; and he elaborates upon events and on John's virtues. In accordance with hagiographic tradition, he intersperses the text with references taken from the scriptures, which provide comparisons between John and his miraculous deeds, and similar acts that are chronicled in the Bible.

Although John did not receive the pallium, this honour not being accorded the bishops of York until 735, the text refers to him as 'archbishop'. This may reflect a widespread misconception about the early bishops of York as having been archbishops, or a mark of honour which it was felt that John deserved even if he had not officially received it from the pope, or perhaps that northern ecclesiastics considered their bishops of York to have been archbishops in the spirit of Pope Gregory's original intention when he despatched Augustine to convert the English people in 597.⁵³

Folcard begins his work by addressing his patron, Archbishop Ealdred, whom he praises for the efforts he has made to modernize the York clergy, his piety, and for the personal help that he

⁵² Appendices 1A/1B.

⁵³ See below, p. 142.

gave to the author when he was ejected from his monastery.⁵⁴ The first chapter opens with a brief account of God's creation from the fall of Adam to redemption through Jesus Christ, then the spread of the faith throughout the known world by his disciples, the conversion of Gaul, and finally the arrival of Christianity in Britain, where it began to flourish. Within this context, John is presented as a successor of Christ and his disciples, a link in the unbroken chain of apostolic succession. It was a convention of hagiography that a saint was recognized to have been holy and virtuous from childhood and, although nothing can be verified about John's early life, Folcard recreates his childhood by writing that he shone forth prominently amongst those who had been illuminated by the word of God. The imagery used is that of brightly lit lamps, compared with which John was like the morning star, a term which is applied to Christ, and to one who is regarded as a precursor. It also carries with it the two-fold connotation of conspicuous virtue, and spiritual enlightenment. This concept is extended by the metaphor of John as such a bright light that God placed him on a candelabrum in order to give light to others, a reference to him shedding light onto the darkened minds of the ignorant in the course of his preaching to the unconverted. This is, of course, an allusion to the words in St Matthew's gospel: 'Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it gives light to all that are in the house'.⁵⁵ Light was, and is, a universal symbol in the Christian Church, used to signify enlightenment, sanctity, knowledge, and Christ, and by the time of Pope Alexander III (1159-81), this particular verse had become a stock phrase in bulls of canonization.⁵⁶

Bede had provided just two pieces of information about John's life before he became a bishop: first, the intimation in the miracle story concerning the cure of the nun at Watton that John had studied under Theodore, and second, his assertion elsewhere in the *History* that John had spent some time at Whitby.⁵⁷ He gives no other details such as how old John was when he remained at these institutions, nor which one he attended first, nor what he did between completing his education and being appointed bishop of Hexham. Folcard, however, creates a chronological history for John, recording that he first of all went to study under Archbishop Theodore at Canterbury, where he excelled in philosophical thought, and was then summoned to Whitby by Abbess Hilda because of his excellence.⁵⁸ Then, because of his great 'light', God inspired him to go out into the world and preach to the unconverted people of England, in which he excelled in both deed and word.⁵⁹ It is possible that, in creating this history for John, Folcard was merely

⁵⁴ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the prologue to the *Vita*.

⁵⁵ Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 11.33.

⁵⁶ Eric Waldren Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), p. 100.

⁵⁷ *HE* v.3; iv.23.

⁵⁸ *VSJ*:1.

⁵⁹ *VSJ*:2.

reflecting the traditions relating to the saint that were maintained at Beverley, but the result was to construct a *vita* for him in areas where the earlier extant sources are silent. This is a major step forward in the history of the cult.

The second chapter is full of praise for John's holiness and his eloquent preaching abilities: although Folcard could have had no certain knowledge about John's character, he was nevertheless able to use the conventions of his genre to produce a eulogistic description of him which conformed to the perception of John's sanctity. The words attributed to Christ in the gospel of St John are paraphrased here, 'quæ ego facio et vos facietis, et maiora horum facietis' ('the works that I do you shall do also, and greater works than these shall you do'), and anticipate the future miracles which John will perform in imitation of Christ.⁶⁰ Exactly the same words are used in relation to John's cure of a seriously ill woman, and again regarding an inexhaustible supply of alcohol, thereby emphasizing that the deeds John performed were in emulation of those performed by the Lord.⁶¹ The claim by Folcard in chapter 4 that he could not recount all the works performed by John because there are so many of them, provides a further link with Christ, who is said to have performed so many great deeds that if they should all be written down, 'the world itself could not contain the books that should be written'.⁶²

Whereas Bede simply claimed that John, as bishop of Hexham, had ordained him as a deacon, and then as a priest, Folcard creates an intimate and affectionate relationship between them, alleging that Bede's great achievements were the result of John's superior abilities as a teacher, and that his pious life was in direct imitation of the saint whom he had chosen as his master.⁶³ Clearly this is completely unverifiable, but it is an illustration of the way in which the biographer reconstructs a situation about which few facts were known in order to reflect the merits of his subject as perceived by those who venerated him. The claim that John was a pupil of Theodore and a teacher of Bede not only enhances his reputation as a scholar, but at the same time creates a hierarchy of successive master-teachers, with Theodore passing on his knowledge and merit to John, and through him to Bede. This reflects glory on all three of them, and creates a highly significant tradition for the area.

The next chapter gives a brief account of John's election to the episcopate. As discussed in Chapter 2 above, the earliest surviving manuscript, BL, Cotton MS, Faustina B IV is flawed, several lines having been omitted, although it is possible to see what these might have been by

⁶⁰ John 14.12

⁶¹ *VSJ*:6, 9.

⁶² John 21:25.

⁶³ *HE* v.24; *VSJ*:2.

consulting the texts contained in other copies of *VSJ*.⁶⁴ It is a fairly straightforward account, with little embellishment apart from a declaration that it was truly God's will that his beloved John should succeed to the bishopric. Clearly, this is intended to indicate John's special relationship with God, that he had been specifically chosen, and directed, by him throughout his life and career.

The next five chapters are reworkings of the Bedan narratives, which exhibit not only differences in style, but also variations in detail. None of the accounts are narrated in the first person, and direct speech is used sparingly, but to great effect. At the beginning of the miracle stories Folcard echoes Bede by giving authority to his work by claiming that, of the many miracles told about John, he was going to report just a few of them which were related by truthful witnesses, and especially by Berthun. However, it is obvious that as all the miracle stories which Folcard relates occurred during John's lifetime he was clearly not in a position to have heard personally from the witnesses to the miracles, nor to ascertain the veracity of the storytellers. Although he does not acknowledge Bede as his source, Folcard follows his narratives fairly faithfully, but alters them in ways that emphasize John's virtues and make his deeds appear even more amazing.

Folcard's work reflects the changes in names that had taken place over the intervening years. In particular, he substitutes the name of Beverley, for what Bede calls *Inderauuda*, or *in Silva Derorum*, which has led to a great deal of discussion as to whether the monastery which John established was on the site of the present minster at Beverley. He also claims that John was buried 'in porticu Sancti Joannis Evangelistæ', but this may not necessarily mean that the two accounts are inconsistent, merely that the latter was referring to the current layout of the church, which had changed significantly from the time of Bede. Also, in describing the place to which John used to retreat in Lent, Folcard names the village as *Herneshou*, which implies that this place was known about in the eleventh century, and must have long been recognized as the site of John's retreat, but currently its identification is in doubt: both Warden and St John's Lee have been mooted as possible locations, with local tradition favouring the latter.⁶⁵

Other names of people and places are changed slightly, but much of this is probably due to changes in spelling, for example Bede writes that the nunnery John visited was at *Uetadun*, whereas Folcard calls it *Betendune*. However, Folcard gives the two nuns the same name, of Hereburgis, whereas Bede calls the mother Hereburg, and her daughter Quoenburg.

⁶⁴ See Appendix 1A, n.86; Appendix 2A, n.9.

⁶⁵ References to these places have been discussed more fully in Chapter 2 above.

The five stories told by Bede are related by Folcard in the same order as they appear in the *History*, starting with the cure of the mute. The Bedan narrative is taken forward by the amplification of the bishop's generosity: it is claimed that, rather than having sent for one person in need of his charity, it was his usual custom to console a whole crowd of paupers. Further, John's prestige is subtly enhanced by the assertion that, rather than just retreating to an oratory of St Michael the Archangel for prayer and fasting during Lent, John had actually dedicated it as a church.⁶⁶

The wondrous nature of the cure he performs is intensified by the transformation of the mute from a boy into a man, for the difference in age carries with it the notion that the longer one has suffered from an affliction, the greater must be the remedy. The mute's diseased head is described in grisly detail as being infested by worm, and having coarse, pig-like hairs that were so thinly spaced that he bristled. Although this description expands upon that given by Bede, and increases the ghastliness of the victim's condition and so the greater miraculousness of the cure to come, it loses the suggestion that the boy was a representative of Christ. Further, no mention is made of John making the sign of the cross on his tongue, instead he simply commands the man to speak and encourages him by speaking letters, words, and sentences for him to repeat. In addition, his diseased head was healed, and he acquired a curly black mop of hair, without resource to a physician. By changing the Bedan account in these dramatic ways, and conflating the events leading to the mute's cure, Folcard intensifies its amazing aspects, making it seem instantaneous and even more spectacular. Nevertheless, Folcard does not fail to assert that the miracle was due to God's mercy, which he illustrates with an apt epigrammatic contrast between the paupers who had been consoled by earthly food, and the mute who had been enriched through John's merit.

The account of the visit to the nunnery may reflect the changes that had taken place in religious houses over three centuries. Although Folcard refers to the abbess as a devout mother, and her nuns as daughters in Christ, he refers to the sick girl as merely one of her nuns, rather than as her natural daughter, and makes no mention of the abbess's intention that she should succeed her. This omission may have been deliberate, and may indicate that the notion of hereditary succession within religious houses was no longer acceptable in the mid-eleventh century, therefore the past was readjusted to reflect present standards. At the same time, if the abbess had been identified as having a natural daughter, then she could not have been a virgin and, although many of the women who entered convents had been married, a high value was set on chastity,

⁶⁶ *HE* v.2; *VSJ*:4.

most especially of nuns. It is possible, therefore, that by omitting this detail Folcard intended to present the ideal, rather than the actual, situation within the nunnery.⁶⁷

In John's admonition to the abbess for having bled the young nun during the wrong phase of the moon, he is reported as referring to the time 'when he was a boy and pupil' to his master, Archbishop Theodore. This is an exaggeration of words attributed to the bishop by Bede, but strengthens the reputed link between John and Theodore and so enhances the claim that he had a superior education directly from this distinguished archbishop. In the Bedan account, the cure of the nun came about in two stages, but Folcard conflates these into one, claiming that after John had ministered to the nun the 'swelling receded with the receding bishop', and she was completely cured by the time Berthun went to see her. Again, as with the mute, Folcard has accelerated the speed of the cure to make it more dramatic. However, perhaps the main feature about this miracle is the absolute faith that the abbess is shown to have had in the bishop's merits: she firmly believed that his intervention would lead to a cure for the girl, and her faith was seen to be rewarded. In this respect, the 'historical' character is showing the kind of response that Folcard is hoping to commend to contemporary observers of the cult.

Folcard uses the story of the cure of the wife of a *gesith* (who is called Puch in the Bedan text), as an opportunity to praise John as 'an enthusiastic executor of his duty' in agreeing to dedicate the church at the estate which he calls South Burton.⁶⁸ The name of the settlement does not feature in the Bedan narrative, and Folcard's reference may have been based on local traditions. The narrative expands upon the reason given in the Bedan account for John refusing to dine with the *gesith*, which was that he needed to return to his monastery. Instead, Folcard writes that John wished to go back to the monastery because it was more fitting that he should serve God through his poor, rather than accept invitations to indulge himself by feasting with the rich. By giving the explicit reason of self-denial and obligation towards the poor as appropriate means of serving God, Folcard turns John's initial refusal to dine with Puch, into an example of pious and virtuous behaviour, and so commends such behaviour to his contemporaries.

Moreover, although Bede specifically related the cured woman's actions to those of Peter's mother-in-law, highlighting the similarity in the behaviour of the two women, Folcard places more emphasis on John having performed the same deed as the Lord in carrying out the cure. He illustrates this with a quotation from John 14.12, 'the works that I do, you also will do', and develops the point by asserting that the bishop was a faithful and prudent servant who acted

⁶⁷ HE v.3; VSJ:5.

⁶⁸ HE v.4; VSJ:6.

through and with the Lord. This shift of emphasis from an incidental analogy of the behaviour of the women, to John's specific emulation of Christ, gives priority to the cultic promotion of the saint.

In this account Folcard calls John, 'a true physician of souls and bodies' ('*verus medicus animarum et corporum*'), and he again refers to the bishop as '*noster medicus*' when he is asked to cure the servant of another *gesith*, whom he calls Adam.⁶⁹ However, the 'powerful remedies' with which John fought the illness were prayers, rather than earthly medicines. Whereas the Bedan accounts show John handing over two of his charges to the care of a physician (the mute boy with the diseased head, and Herebald), Folcard's text eliminates any reference to earthly physicians, conforming instead to the assumption that divinely inspired cures were more efficient at curing illnesses than the medical practitioners of the day.⁷⁰ In this way he further promotes the efficacy of the local cultic centre for visitors seeking cures.

In his version of Herebald's story, Folcard exaggerates the former's connection with John by claiming that he had been the bishop's disciple from boyhood and had since remained an inseparable follower, so increasing John's esteem by implying that Herebald had a very great respect for him. Although this account retains much that is in the Bedan narrative, it is fundamentally different in that it relates solely to the physical downfall and cure of Herebald, and ignores the spiritual healing which is highlighted by Bede.⁷¹ Again, this indicates Folcard's focus on the primary objective of his work: that of promoting John, and thereby the cultic centre, as highly effective in obtaining physical cures.

Although he employs different words, Folcard uses direct speech for the first time when, like Bede, he apparently quotes the bishop verbatim when he gives permission to the young men to race their horses and at the same time forbids Herebald from joining in. In the Bedan account, John is shown to be saddened by the clerk's disobedience, but Folcard presents the bishop as having foreknowledge of the accident. The words Folcard attributes to John, 'Wickedly . . . you are riding away from me and you have to learn in this way', are followed immediately by the stumble of the horse and the fall of Herebald. Therefore, although the Bedan account certainly attributes the accident to divine intervention because of the clerk's disobedience, Folcard shifts the emphasis towards the bishop as the motivator, actively bringing the fall about. By showing John bringing about this act of chastisement, he firmly centres the focus of power on the saint.

⁶⁹ *HE* v.4; *VSJ*:7.

⁷⁰ See Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 59-82 for a discussion of the tensions between 'faith' healing and medicine.

⁷¹ *HE* v.2, 6; *VSJ*:6, 8.

Herebald's misfortune is also exaggerated by the addition of internal injuries and, rather than being carried home, Folcard writes that his companions erected a tent over the 'dying man' and pitched camp, the implication being that it was far too dangerous to move him. The compassion and kindness of the bishop are emphasized and, although the contours are similar to the Bedan account, the grief felt by the bishop is amplified by the addition of tears to his night vigil and prayers, and he said to have spoken to Herebald 'with sweet affection'.

In this text, the two stages of Herebald's recovery as set out in the Bedan account are conflated into one, revealing a further narrowing of the focus of the miracle. Although similar words are attributed to John and Herebald at their first, and in this text the only, meeting in the morning, nothing is said about the faulty baptism or recatechism. However, the ritual which the bishop is said to have performed over Herebald contains similar ceremonial elements: John laid his hands on Herebald's head, sprinkled him with holy water and, calling on God, breathed on him and then made the sign of the cross. This account omits any mention of a doctor being called to bind up Herebald's wounds, instead the clerk is said to have been cured instantaneously by the ministrations of the bishop alone, although it is stressed that it is God who performed the miracle through his saint.

Different reasons are implied as to why John disapproved of the horseracing. On the face of it, it appears innocent enough, and a suitable way for young men to indulge in a relatively harmless piece of physical activity (although in this instance it resulted in a serious, freak accident). In the Bedan and Alcuin accounts the bishop apparently considers their request to be frivolous, but eventually submits to the entreaties of the young men with the proviso that Herebald does not participate. The implication is that he feels such behaviour unbecoming, particularly in a member of the clergy, who should strive for dignity. Folcard, however, hints at a different reason for John's refusal by claiming that the young men want to try out their horses in accordance with military custom ('militari consuetudine'). It is possible that, in reworking the Bedan narrative, Folcard attached contemporary significance to the trying out of the horses in preparation for warfare, an activity of which an ecclesiastic should disapprove.⁷²

An alternative explanation is offered by Adair, who claims that horseracing 'had a religious significance in the pagan religions which Christianity replaced, and there may be an echo of an

⁷² On the training of mounted soldiers in the early Middle Ages see Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Caballus et Caballarius in Medieval Warfare' in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, eds Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (Michigan, 1988), pp. 173-211 (esp. p. 187).

ancient heathen custom in the story'.⁷³ If this is correct, and if the bishop were aware of such a custom, then his disapproval would not be remarkable.

The Bedan text was clearly well-known at Beverley, and although it represents John as a saintly man and a perfect bishop whose virtues enable him to intercede with God to perform miracles, Folcard's reworking of these narratives amplifies John's qualities and heightens the sense of the miraculous in all the cures. In the intervening three hundred years between the composition of these two texts, John's reputation as a saint had flourished and, as one who had been commissioned to write the *Vita* for the saint's community at Beverley, it was Folcard's obligation to set out the perceptions and beliefs of that community in the best way that he was able and, at the same time, promote the cultic centre as an effective venue for pilgrims seeking cures.

Whereas these five stories are based on written accounts, the remaining miracle stories most probably came from the oral tradition maintained at Beverley, for there is no evidence that any of them had been written down before. Two of them involve alcoholic beverages and are linked to John's steward, Brithred, who is named in both stories and plays a prominent role in them, and a third to the deacon named as Sigga. These miracles represent an extension of the spiritual powers attributed to John and significantly enhance his importance in a number of ways.

The presence of King Osred dates one of the stories to between 706 and the king's death in 716 at the age of about nineteen.⁷⁴ This story represents John as one who participated in discussions with the very highest in the land, helping to make decisions of great importance to both the secular and ecclesiastical worlds. As well as endowing him with high political status, the text bestows upon him high social status by presenting him as acting as host to the king and his nobles. During the dinner John is shown blessing jars of wine, mead, and beer, which renders them inexhaustible as well as particularly delicious. As Folcard points out, this recalls the wedding in Cana of Galilee where Jesus performed a similar miracle, and it is also analogous to the feeding of the five thousand from five loaves and two fishes.⁷⁵ The reference to Jesus's declaration that whoever believed in him should do the works that he did, pressed home the point that by performing this deed John was imitating his Lord.⁷⁶ Again, John is shown as a successor of Christ and one who, because of his intimate relationship with God, is the medium through which similar miracles to those of Christ are performed.

⁷³ John Adair, *The Pilgrims' Way: Shrines and Saints in Britain and Ireland* (London, 1978), p. 154.

⁷⁴ *VSJ*:9.

⁷⁵ John 2.1-10; Matthew 14.17-21. This is a common miracle in other saints' *vitæ*, see for example *The Life of St Æthelwold* ch. 12, for an edition and translation see Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991).

⁷⁶ John 14.12.

The second story about wine presents John as extremely elderly, but still carrying out his duties with conscientiousness, visiting his monastery to preach to the monks about their spiritual salvation and reassuring them of their material security. It is an odd little miracle, and the only one that is recorded as having occurred out of the bishop's presence and of which the bishop was totally ignorant. The naming of the steward, Brithred, and his witness, Plechelmus, is an attempt to validate the miracle by reference to these circumstantial details. Folcard turns the concept of wine being retained in a broken flask into an allegorical reference to John being a vessel of purity, in which God dwelt.⁷⁷

The miracle in which the Holy Ghost is said to have descended on John in the form of a dove is linked to John's deacon, whose face was burnt by the splendour of the vision and who was subsequently healed by the bishop.⁷⁸ This account also contains one of Folcard's rare use of the pun when he describes Sigga as, 'diaconus velut decoctus' (the deacon, or cooked one). Divine approval, as indicated by the appearance of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, is a fairly common topos in many saints' lives, imitating what is said to have happened to Jesus when he was baptized by John the Baptist in the river Jordan. It is an indication that the saint's merits and virtues are so great that God has granted him the same glory he had granted Christ.⁷⁹ Although this story is modelled on Christ's experience it, in turn, probably became the inspiration behind a similar claim relating to St William of York, many of whose miracle stories had John as their model.⁸⁰

Sigga's punishment for trying to share in the vision suggests that, not only was he considered unworthy of seeing such glory, which was reserved for John alone, but that the heavenly brilliance was so magnificent that it gave off great heat as well as light. However, although the deacon may have been the only one to actually see the dove, many others evidently saw the brilliant light shining in the church for the account claims that all who saw it were amazed. John's admonition to Sigga not to reveal the vision to any mortal whilst John was alive is clearly in imitation of Christ, who committed his disciples to silence after they had witnessed his transfiguration on the mountain.⁸¹ The major significance of this miracle is that it extends John's

⁷⁷ VSJ:10.

⁷⁸ VSJ:11.

⁷⁹ Matthew 3.16.

⁸⁰ See 'Iconography' in Chapter 5. James Fowler lists several examples of this phenomenon in 'On a Window representing the Life and Miracles of S. William of York, at the North End of the Eastern Transept, York Minster', *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, 3 (1875), 198-348, (pp. 229-231).

⁸¹ Matthew 17.1-9.

sanctity far beyond that of a miracle-worker, and reveals him to be one whose glory has been clearly demonstrated through the grace of God.⁸²

Finally, John is portrayed as performing the ultimate healing miracle: the bringing back to life of a youth by anointing him with chrism.⁸³ No details are given apart from the bare outlines of the story, but it is clearly an imitation of Christ's resurrection of Lazarus.⁸⁴ Similarly, the statements that John also expelled a demon, cured madmen and cripples, and had the power to calm storms are all deeds typical of the types of miracles saints were expected to perform in emulation of Christ. Further, the claim that anyone who touched his clothing 'with faith' was healed, recalls the biblical story of the woman whose confidence in the power of Jesus was so great that she was cured the moment she touched his cloak.⁸⁵ These stereotypical miracles are a reflection of John's reputation as a holy man who emulated Christ, and through whom God continued to perform the same miraculous deeds. These additional miracles also represent a major extension of the hagiographical resource on John, which came to be reflected in later sacred writings.

The final chapter records John's retirement, death and burial, which have been discussed in detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis. It concludes with a conventional list of the types of miracles that are said to have occurred through his merits, including the forgiveness of sins. This may be a reference to the right of sanctuary that John is said to have earned for Beverley, although no direct statement is made about this. The claim that miracles continued to be wrought linked the 'living and posthumous personalities' of the saint, by demonstrating that, despite his physical death, he lived on in heaven, and was connected to his supplicants through his continued presence on earth, in the form of his relics.⁸⁶

The *Vita Sancti Johannis* was John's first official biography, and claims to tell the true story of his entire life, representing him as a model bishop whose behaviour is commended for others to imitate. It was written specifically to glorify him and to proclaim his merits as a genuine saint with effective intercessionary powers, thereby drawing attention to the practical benefits of seeking his help at his cultic centre in Beverley. The *Vita* is a reflection of the saint's reputation, as perceived by the community who preserved his relics and memory, and its creation completed the formalization of the cult, which had commenced with the public translation of his relics in 1037. It is designed to provide written proof of John's sanctity, and as such it becomes a cult

⁸² A saint being bathed in heavenly light is a common motif. See for example, *Vita et Miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ch. 8: for an edition and translation see Rosalind C. Love, ed. and trans., *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996).

⁸³ *VSJ*:12.

⁸⁴ John 12.17-43

⁸⁵ Mark 5.25-34.

⁸⁶ Head, *Hagiography*, p. 132.

object itself, endowing itself with its own authority. It thus becomes the major resource, along with the Bedan text, for all subsequent *vitæ* of the saint.

*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensi*⁸⁷

The abridged *vita* of John contained in these twelfth-century annals is based on the Bedan and Folcardian texts, although these have been reinterpreted in accordance with the community's current beliefs concerning the saint, and combined with other information which possibly come from oral traditions maintained at Beverley.

The description of John as being of noble birth and of an English family is the earliest reference to his parentage that exists. Although he may have come from a noble family, it is equally likely that the writer chose this form of words in order to enhance his social standing. Further, the emphasis on his Englishness is a reference, in post-Conquest England, to his lineage as a native of England, and therefore establishes his pedigree as a native-born saint. Although the claim that he was sent to Canterbury to study under the auspices of Theodore while still a boy comes from Folcard, John's intimacy with him is further amplified by the assertion that his very name was given to him by the archbishop.⁸⁸ Praise is heaped on John for his skills and learning and, again following Folcard, he is elevated to the role of teacher of the very famous Bede.

According to this account, John became a hermit on the Tyne following his period of study at Whitby, preaching to the unconverted from a place called *Arneshaug* or *Mons Aquilæ*. As discussed in Chapter 2, this could be the place that Folcard calls *Herneshou* where John, as bishop of Hexham, used to go for solitary prayer and reading.⁸⁹ Although it would have formed part of his calling to spend some time preaching to the unconverted people of the countryside, there is no proof that John became a hermit, but such a claim adds to his reputation for piety and selfless devotion to spreading the word of God.

John's role as a teacher is emphasized by the listing of those considered to have been his disciples: Bede, Herebald, Berthun, Wilfrid Junior, and Sigga. Only two miracles are mentioned: the story of Herebald, and the vision of the Holy Ghost appearing to John in the form of a dove. Herebald's story is recounted in very few words, in which the cause for his fall is given as disobedience, and his cure is said to have been obtained through prayer. In contrast, however, the story of the vision of the Holy Ghost, Sigga's punishment and subsequent cure, is

⁸⁷ *HCY* II, 312-87.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 326.

⁸⁹ *VSA*:4.

related at some length. The account clearly comes from Folcard, and includes John asking Sigga not to repeat the vision whilst he was still alive. The priority given to this particular miracle may be explained by the fact that it is set in York and, as such, was more pertinent to the aims of the larger work of which it formed a small part, which was to demonstrate York's independence from Canterbury.

Other vitæ⁹⁰

Although Cotton, Faustina, B IV is the oldest extant manuscript containing the *VSJ*, it also survives in the fourteenth-century *Beverley Cartulary*, London, BL, MSS Harley 560 and Cotton Otho C XVI, which are both of the sixteenth/seventeenth century, and it is edited in the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, May II, which was published in the seventeenth century. Both the *Cartulary* and the *Acta Sanctorum* contain additional chapters to the version in the Cottonian manuscript, one of which gives a brief history of Archbishop Theodore and his reputed connection with John.⁹¹ This was clearly added in order to enhance John's reputation further by emphasizing that he had been taught by this extremely learned and highly illustrious theologian.

The remaining extant versions are unexceptional in that they are either abridged versions of the Bedan account or of the Folcardian *VSJ*, or contain text that has derived from each of them. Some of them are divided into smallish sections that were clearly designed for liturgical use, to be read out during services. The twelfth-century manuscript edited by Raine as *Lectiones de Vita Sancti Johannis, Episcopi et Confessoris* is divided into eight parts and, apart from the opening words, 'In principio regni Alfridi Nordanhimbrorum regis, fratris scilicet Egfridi, et in regno successoris, qui et ipse Oswi filius fuit', the entire work is a verbatim copy of the Bedan narratives.⁹² Also intended for liturgical use are the *Lectiones de Vita Sancti Johannis*, which are divided into nineteen sections. These survive in two twelfth-century manuscripts and comprise highly abridged adaptations of the Folcardian *VSJ*.⁹³ Some of the text in these latter manuscripts appears word for word in the *Lections* of the *Legendary of St Gildas des Bois*, which also contains some text that is identical to that in the *Beverley Cartulary*.⁹⁴

It is clear from these surviving manuscripts that the written cultus of John was fairly widespread in the twelfth century, necessitating the production of a number of *lectiones* for use in church services. The existence of such a work in the monastery of St Gildas des Bois confirms that John

⁹⁰ See Chapter 1 for details of these *vitæ*.

⁹¹ See Appendix 7, no. 3.

⁹² *HCYI*, 511-17; 'In the beginning of the reign of King Aldfrith of the Northumbrians, that is the brother and successor of Egfrith, and son of Oswiu'.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 519-26.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 527-29

was not only the object of veneration far from his cultic centre in the north of England, but was also revered in areas of Brittany other than the town that was named after him, Saint-Jean-Brévelay, which was the focus of the cult in France.⁹⁵

The fourteenth-century manuscript that belonged to Romsey, Hampshire (Landsdowne 436) contains a *vita* of John which is abridged from both Bede and Folcard, and contains verbatim extracts from both works. The opening words of this *vita* draw attention to the cultic centre by referring to the glorious relics of John which are honourably venerated at Beverley: ‘Beatus Johannes dictus de Beverlaco, eo forte quod ejus gloriosæ reliquiæ ibi cum debito honore venerantur’.⁹⁶ The *vita* edited by Capgrave is the only one that contains posthumous miracle stories, including an abridged version of the legend of Athelstan and the establishment of Beverley as a place of sanctuary.⁹⁷ All of the information is collated from earlier texts, and the fact that it was produced in this form in the fifteenth century may be a reflection of a resurgence of interest in the saint following the Battle of Agincourt.⁹⁸

The *vita* which Leland consulted is unknown, but it appears from his notes to be untypical of a sacred biography, but seems to represent an attempt at reconstructing the historical situation from the time of John’s birth. According to Leland, it was divided into three parts, the first part covering John’s lifetime, and the second and third parts dealing with the centuries after his death.⁹⁹

Conclusion

As the first written record, and the one that was produced closest to John’s lifetime by one who has a reputation as a comparatively reliable historian, the Bedan text clearly possesses great authority. His construct of John was as the perfect bishop, whose great merit was signalled by the miraculous signs given by God. By setting John up as an exemplary priestly figure of great spiritual power, Bede was primarily commending his behaviour to others, and especially to other bishops. However, in creating a written account of John’s virtue, Bede provided proof of his sanctity and therefore laid the foundation for the written cultus.

John’s reputation as a miracle-working saint was perpetuated in Alcuin’s verse history, in which the Bedan narrative was reworked and condensed in an exceptionally sensational manner. Again,

⁹⁵ This is discussed fully in Chapter 5.

⁹⁶ *HCY* I, 531-34.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 535-41.

⁹⁸ See ‘Patronage of kings’ in Chapter 5.

⁹⁹ *LC* IV, 101-04.

although it may not have been the author's primary intention to promote the cult specifically, his portrayal of John as an extremely virtuous bishop of York, whom God distinguished with miraculous signs, no doubt extended his fame even further.

The *VSJ* which Folcard composed incorporates a reworking of the Bedan narratives, plus additional claims regarding John's life, and the miracles he is deemed to have wrought, thereby claiming to be a complete biography of the saint. This *Vita* recreated John's image in conformity with the current perceptions and requirements of the community in control of the cult, thereby serving a number of purposes. As well as providing a model of behaviour of the saint himself, it put forward examples of how his adherents should strive to behave, not only in their own worship of God and conduct towards other people, but also in dutiful behaviour towards their own bishops. However, the primary aim of the *VSJ* was to promote the cult by supporting the official sanctioning of the veneration of John's relics, which was initiated by their translation in 1037. It became the written affirmation of John's sanctity, and the claims that miraculous cures were effected at his tomb focused devotion of the saint on his relics, which were thereby endowed with the same spiritual power with which John was blessed during his lifetime. As possessors of those relics, Beverley was confirmed as the sacred repository of holy power, which could be drawn upon to achieve miraculous works.

As the cult developed, more *vitæ* were produced, which drew upon the Bedan and/or Folcardian traditions, amending or adding details to enhance the saint's reputation in conformity with their own perceptions and requirements, or to enhance the standing of other people or places. Their production and/or ownership in various parts of England and beyond, through to the seventeenth century, illustrates a continued and widespread interest in John.

SECTION 2: THE MIRACULA

For any cult to flourish, there needed to be evidence of miracles connected with the saint's relics: reports of miracle stories encouraged petitioners hoping for similar assistance, and the more petitioners there were, the more likely it was that miracles would be reported. Thus the process of reporting and yielding more miracles became self-perpetuating. The development of written records of John's post-mortem miracles stories provided 'evidence' of the saint's effectiveness, thereby confirming the integrity of the shrine at Beverley and sustaining the continuation of his cult. John's *vitæ* demonstrated the subject's merits, and thus his worthiness for sainthood, by concentrating on the virtuous life he had led, which was glorified by the performance of miracles as signs of his sanctity. The posthumous miracles referred to at the end of the *VSJ* associated the

relics of the saint with his continued spiritual power. They were stereotypical claims representing the kinds of cures and other wondrous deeds which were supposedly performed after the saint's death, and which were connected with his remains. The subsequent miracle collections supply more detailed descriptions of the miracles themselves and the people to whom they allegedly happened.

The post-mortem miracles were designed to demonstrate how the spiritual power that John displayed during his lifetime continued after his death, revealing that, even though he had departed from the earthly world, he was still a living example of Christ, whose life he had endeavoured to emulate whilst alive. With their vision of life imbued by the gospels, the men who recorded John's miracles represent him as an honourable successor to the holy men of God depicted in the Bible, and especially Christ, the supreme model of the perfect life. At the same time, he was seen as an embodiment of the Lord, signifying the continued presence of the Lord amongst the living, through the medium of his saint.

There are several collections of John's post-mortem miracle stories, starting with the *Miracula Sancti Johannis* attributed to William Ketell, which was composed either at the very end of the eleventh, or at the beginning of the twelfth century, and ending with a set composed anonymously in the early thirteenth century. There are also a number of individual miracle stories that were recorded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰ Fundamentally, miracle stories are sacred vehicles, their historical reality being far less relevant than the truths they are meant to symbolize and the lessons they are intended to convey.¹⁰¹ At the same time, they are a reflection of the very real needs of the community within which they are said to have occurred, and embody the perceptions and attitudes of the people towards the saint to whom they appeal for help. Hence, as well as confirming that John is truly one of the heavenly company, the miracle stories represent a reconstruction of his abilities and characteristics as perceived and required by the community at a particular time in history. Therefore an examination of the shifts in emphasis which occur with each set of miracles, whether they were socially, culturally, or politically inspired, extending as they do over a period of some three hundred years, reveals the community's changing needs, as well as its self-perception.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ All of these miracles are reproduced in the appendices.

¹⁰¹ See Benedicta Ward, 'Miracles and History' in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 70-76 (pp. 71-72)

¹⁰² For detailed studies of these issues see especially Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); Stephen Wilson, *Saints and their Cults*; and Weinstein, *Saints and Society*.

Although it must be emphasized that these miracle stories are texts, and therefore are primary evidence only of how their authors saw or wished to see the cult and its social manifestations, nevertheless, they are clear indications of the growth of John's cult in the years after the production of the *VSJ*. They also contain significant details concerning various cultic practices, as well as providing information on the reality of people's lives in the time period that was contemporary with their production.

Miracle stories function in a variety of ways and, although many of them may appear on the surface to be simple tales of wondrous happenings, an analysis of their texts and sub-texts reveals a complexity of multi-layered narratives. It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss the genuineness or otherwise of such stories, nor is it to suggest possible explanations for the phenomena which were considered to be miracles. Their relevance for the purposes of this work is in the fact that they were recorded, not whether they were historically or scientifically factual. It was the clergy who controlled the development of John's cult, and it is they who made the decisions to record the miracles performed through him. It is clear that they used the recording of miracle stories, not only as a way of promoting the cult, but also as a crucial factor in the way in which the community defined itself and its relations with ecclesiastical and secular powers. At the same time, by setting forth exemplary actions, the stories are used as a teaching medium, both with regard to church customs and appropriate cultic practice, and to commend or warn against certain forms of behaviour.

As the miracle stories were all written in Latin, their initial audience would have been the educated elite, who either visited Beverley and read the works on display, or to whom copies of the miracle stores were supplied. The stories would then have been transmitted to the less educated by word of mouth in their own language, and some of them might have been incorporated into sermons, or read as part of the liturgy in the same way as were chapters from the *vitæ*.¹⁰³ As will be seen, the people who feature in the miracles differ in terms of class, gender, age, and nationality, and the methods of narration favoured by the different authors indicate different preferences vis-à-vis both the miraculous and the presentation of material: Alcuin chose to write in verse, some authors chose a simple, direct style of narration, and others clearly possessed great stylistic skills with which they created texts of literary merit. This resulted in works of widely differing content and style, which would clearly appeal to diverse groups of people. This suggests that different audiences may have been targeted by the authors, who designed their stories to promote the comprehensive expansion of the cult.

¹⁰³Baudouin de Gaiffier gives a lucid exposition of how *vitæ* formed part of the liturgy in *Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Brussels, 1967), esp. pp. 475-507.

William Ketell's *Miracula Sancti Johannis*¹⁰⁴

The set of miracles ascribed to William Ketell begins with a prologue which conforms to the conventions of hagiographic works: although the author has long wished to record the miracles of John in order to publicize the great honour of the saint as revealed by wondrous signs, he has delayed because of his unworthiness for such a task and his fear of being accused of presumption; now that his superiors have instructed him to undertake the task, he beseeches John to help him in carrying it out, despite all his deficiencies including, apparently, ill health in body and mind. He claims to have either seen the miracles personally, or knew they were genuine because of truthful witnesses. In this latter regard, every single one of them is witnessed by a large number of people. His highly rhetorical style is florid and powerful, such that his descriptive passages, such as the storm at sea, create vivid images of the events that are alleged to have taken place.¹⁰⁵ He uses language in an inventive way, employing a variety of literary devices to great effect in order to dramatize his narrative and make it more affective.

The figure of speech he uses most frequently is metaphor, as when he describes the commencement of his task in terms of taking a fragile boat in the waves of the sea, hugging the coastline lest he be destroyed by the whirlpool of Charybdis, and praying that John should steer his mind on an even course. The metaphorical address thus invokes the saint in the production of this literary piece of work as a kind of sacred muse.

With the exception of the first two stories in this collection, that of the Athelstan legend, and the story of Thurstan violating Beverley's sanctuary, all the stories Ketell writes follow a similar pattern: first he relates the event, giving a detailed account of the problem for which John's help is sought, and using emotive language to manipulate the responses of the audience to whatever is going on; this is followed by a change in mood as an equally detailed description is given of how the remedy comes about; and he then finishes with a commentary on what has occurred, which invariably includes references to biblical texts, and which is extravagant in its praise of God and John. Ketell uses these narratives as didactic devices, not only to describe the way suppliants appealed to John for assistance, but also to promote such behaviour. In a similar way, the concluding exposition of the wondrous event is used to impress upon the audience the lessons of the scriptures and the teachings of the Church.

¹⁰⁴ Appendices 2A/2B.

¹⁰⁵ MSJ:10

As suggested in Chapter 1 of this thesis, if the legend of Athelstan was interpolated by a later scribe, the first story in this miracle collection was that of King William I's soldier, Thurstan, who was punished for invading the sanctuary of Beverley. There is certainly nothing inconsistent in the relation of the Athelstan story at this point because the Anglo-Saxon king is referred to in the Thurstan episode as one during whose reign the church was especially cherished as a place of sanctuary. It was therefore entirely appropriate to introduce it here, whether this was done by Ketell or by a later scribe. As the legend has already been dealt with at some length, it will not be discussed here, apart from reiterating that it purports to explain the provenance of Beverley's rights by reference to ancient authority.

Ketell's writing may, in part, have been politically driven considering that one of William I's sons, either William II or Henry I, was in power at the time he was writing, and this work may have been directed towards validation of the cult under the new dynasty. This is suggested by Ketell's attitude towards William, whose conquest of England is described as decreed by divine will, and by the insinuation that the northern rebellion was inspired by the Devil. The king's behaviour is excused on the grounds that he had to destroy utterly those who would not accept his peace, in order to prevent the whole country from being corrupted by the wickedness of a few. At the same time, the unrelenting nature of William's attack, as he determines to wipe out whole areas of population, is contrasted with the calm that presided at Beverley, where it is claimed that its preservation of peace had always been conscientiously honoured. The fame of Beverley as a place of sanctuary is portrayed as having spread far afield, as illustrated by the large numbers of people who are said to have fled there from the devastation caused by William and his soldiers.

Despite his apparent understanding that William had been forced into attacking the people of the north, Ketell extends no such sympathy to the king's men who, through avarice, and with evil intent, entered Beverley to plunder the possessions of its unarmed citizens. Thurstan receives swift retribution for his violation of the sanctuary, and the grievous injuries he suffers as a result reveals the saint to be a powerful defender of the people of Beverley and guardian of their ancient rights which he, himself, had obtained for them.

Attention is drawn to the king's wisdom in recognizing John's power to protect Beverley's rights, and also to the enduring threat that John represented to any prospective violator of those rights. Ketell claims that the king confirmed all of Beverley's existing rights and made numerous gifts in order to equal the generosity of previous kings, to obtain forgiveness for his sins through John, and so that his munificence would be remembered. The flattering way in which William's liberality is described intimates a special relationship between John, and therefore Beverley, and

the king, which provides an exemplar for the latter's heirs to follow. Similarly, by showing the people of Beverley to be enthusiastic supporters of the new ruler, praying for his success after having previously feared him, the possessions and rights of the town and minster were likely to be more secure from the incursion of his royal successors. Therefore, the resolution of this story, centred on the particular locale of Beverley, supposedly heals the historical and political rupture of the Conquest at the same time as affirming the integrity of Beverley's right of sanctuary.

By naming the soldier, Ketell gives the account an air of authenticity. However, William's confirmation of Beverley's privileges had already been made before this incident is supposed to have taken place: this was effected in a writ which gave Archbishop Ealdred the authority to draw up a charter relating to the lands of St John.¹⁰⁶ Ealdred died on 11 September 1069, and it was not until the winter of that year that the king embarked upon his campaign to devastate the north.¹⁰⁷ However, regardless of its lack of historical accuracy, the significance of the story lies in its function as a symbolic narrative, which is intended to represent John as continuing to safeguard his people against tyrants and invaders, and those who threaten the rights which he, himself, had obtained for Beverley. At the same time, it demonstrates unbroken continuity of Beverley's rights from the rule of the great Anglo-Saxon king to the new regime of the Norman king.

Despite the possible apocryphal nature of this story, Beverley did achieve some sort of immunity from the worst excesses of William's campaign, in which large areas of the East Riding were devastated, either having been totally laid waste or much reduced in value. There appears to have been an apparent island of calm surrounding John's resting place because records show that it sustained only a relatively small drop in value between the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066 and the compilation of the Domesday Book which was initiated in 1085.¹⁰⁸ It is possible, therefore, that John's reputation as a protector and avenger, as exemplified in this story, may have made a very real contribution in helping to shield Beverley from incursion.

As well as the political aspect, the story does, of course, have a spiritual dimension: Thurstan was cast down as soon as the people called upon to John to help them, thereby demonstrating the saint's effectiveness as an intercessor, and God's compassion for his suffering people. As well as vengeance, however, God's great mercy is shown when the soldier is eventually cured, but only after he had sought forgiveness at John's tomb. Following his cure, the soldier is said to have

¹⁰⁶ David Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acts of William I (1077-1087)*, (Oxford, 1998), no. 31.

¹⁰⁷ Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England: 1042-1216*, 4th edn (Harlow, 1968), pp. 90-91.

¹⁰⁸ BAAS. 8 referring to F. W. Brooks, *Domesday Book and the East Riding*, East Riding Local History Society (York, 1966), 39; *VCH East Riding* vi, 5.

made a gift to John every year throughout the remainder of his life, thereby setting an example of the proper way to express gratitude to, and respect for, the great saint.

Validation of the cult, and hence its promotion, was the primary concern of anyone who chose to record miracles of John, and every wondrous event attributed to his intervention served this purpose. However, in addition to this basic objective, a major concern evinced by this collection was the need for Beverley's right of sanctuary to be acknowledged as sacrosanct. The two elements encompassed by this right were, that it was safeguarded by the spiritual power of John, who struck down those who violated it, and that the saint protected and delivered those who wished to benefit from it. The Thurstan story places its emphasis on the first of these aspects, and the second is highlighted by the delivery of a criminal who had been sentenced to execution.¹⁰⁹

On escaping from prison with John's assistance, the man travels twelve miles to Beverley, where he offers his chains to the saint's tomb in thanks for his delivery, and where his conversion is completed by his decision to remain in the service of the church. Ketell neatly transposes the crucifixion which the man had been bound to endure for his sins, with the cross of the Lord which he willingly embraces for his sins. This is surely a reference to him becoming a sanctuary-man, or grithman, which means that he would have had to swear allegiance to the minster and town authorities and remain in the service of the church for the rest of his life.¹¹⁰ Although Ketell does not say so, because he wishes to represent this as a true conversion from the very worst criminal to one who devoted his life to Christ, this would actually have been the man's only choice if he wished to escape execution. The story also reveals the overriding importance of true repentance, and the church's power as an institution to save, no matter how heinous the sin, or how late the repentance. This man is described as having been in the service of the devil, but his genuine contrition, shown through his prayers to John, which are dramatized by being reported as if they are a precise rendering of the man's words, enables him to be saved physically as well as spiritually.

As has been seen, the hand of God was perceived in William's victory over the English and, in a similar way, the hostile forces of nature were attributed to God's will. Ultimately, the natural world was considered to be under the control of divine providence, therefore when a severe drought is said to have afflicted the area, adversely affecting agricultural production and so threatening the people with starvation, Ketell claims that it was God's angry response to the 'sins

¹⁰⁹ *MSJ*:6.

¹¹⁰ On grithmen, see Martyn Kirby, *Sanctuary: Beverley – A Town of Refuge* (Beverley, 1982), pp. 12-14.

of the sons of men'.¹¹¹ For a society that genuinely believed that their misfortunes were a punishment for sin, the only remedy was to demonstrate remorse and beg forgiveness. As the drought extended over a wide geographical area, and therefore affected large numbers of people, the proper response was perceived to be the staging of an extravagant public demonstration of the great esteem in which John was held in the hope that he would intercede on their behalf.

The York clergy are shown to be resolute in their decision to apply to John for assistance, and it is clear that, in the absence of their own patron saint, they looked upon him, as a former bishop of York, to look after their interests.¹¹² It was apparently not the normal custom to process the saint's shrine around the church on his feast day which, in view of the drought, must have been his more important festival of 7th May. The intensity with which the York clergy pleaded for this to be done indicates the gravity of the crisis and the depth of their belief in the possibility that the saint could intercede on their behalf if only they could persuade him to do so. Moreover, it is also clear that they believed a request made to John on this day would be more effective than at any other time, confirming the belief that the saint was especially present on his special days. The procession must have been a splendid sight, for not only was the shrine a magnificent object in itself, being made of gold and silver and ornamented with precious stones, but the vestments of the clergy are described as being festively decorated with ornaments.¹¹³ When the downpour occurs, the ecclesiastical clothing is said not to have suffered any damage, which may be intended to suggest that it did not get wet.¹¹⁴

In his commentary on this miracle, Ketell asserts that the biblical parallel for the ending of a great drought is that of Elijah the Tishbite, who brought about a great rain, so ending a long period of famine which had afflicted Samaria.¹¹⁵ John is called a second Elijah for obtaining this miracle from God, so creating a direct correlation between him and the great biblical prophet. This shows him to be equal in merit, and enjoying equal favour with God, but it also emphasizes the eternal nature of God's presence: just as he responded to Elijah's appeal, so he responded to John's.

By causing rain to fall and so ending the threat of starvation, John is shown to exercise power over the elements of nature, controlling the weather to improve the harsh conditions that were

¹¹¹ *MSJ*:3.

¹¹² This role was later fulfilled by St William, an archbishop of York who died in 1154.

¹¹³ *HCV* II, 342-43.

¹¹⁴ Clothes or objects which remained dry after having been drenched with water is a fairly common topos in connection with saints' miracles: St Birinus is said to have shown no sign of having got wet after walking through the sea (*Vita Sancti Birini*, ch. 12: for an edition and translation see Love, *Saints' Lives*; and St Aubin is said to have remained completely dry during heavy rain (for this, and other examples see E. Cobham Brewer, *A Dictionary of Miracles* (London, 1897), pp. 443-45).

¹¹⁵ 1 Kings 18.

threatening the welfare of his people. It also shows his willingness to act on behalf of all those who call upon his name, not just the people of Beverley, but also those of York and the surrounding area. Hence, John's solicitude for the wellbeing of his suppliants is shown as extending to regions outside of the cultic centre, thereby encouraging his veneration far beyond the confines of Beverley.

As they always have and continue to do so, the uncontrollable forces of nature can produce the direst consequences for people who are powerless to control them, and the converse of producing rain is the ceasing of storms. The York merchants who found themselves in mortal peril during a raging thunderstorm placed their hopes of salvation in the ability of John to preserve their lives.¹¹⁶ After they called upon him for assistance, the storm abates and calm weather ensues, but in case anyone doubted that their deliverance had come about through their invocation of John, one of the sailors reports that he has had a vision which involved someone in gleaming white robes, who looked like a bishop, dispersing with his pastoral staff a swarm of demons who were intent upon destroying the boat and its company. The bishop could only have been the saint they had called upon in their distress: John of Beverley. The demons were clearly a personification of the raging tempest for, as the bishop drove them away, so the storm abated. Again, the writer's world view is seen to be dominated by the battle between good and evil: God and his saints versus the devil and his demons. The story also reveals a perception of supernatural forces as capable of taking on earthly form, and so strengthens the concept that they participate in, and influence, people's lives in a concrete way.

Although Ketell did not relate this miracle directly to any biblical instance, the obvious parallel act is Christ's calming of the storm after his terrified disciples had awakened him.¹¹⁷ Just as the story of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove appearing to John may have inspired a similar tale concerning William of York, this story may also have been the inspiration behind similar miracles attributed to other northern saints: in the William window in York minster, the archbishop is portrayed as physically present whilst relieving some merchants from a threatened shipwreck; and St John of Bridlington is said to have appeared, dressed in the habit of a canon regular, to sailors in peril.¹¹⁸

It is significant that, after having completed their business, these merchants are seen to return to the cultic centre to proclaim the miracle and fulfil the vows they had made when their lives were

¹¹⁶ MSJ:10.

¹¹⁷ Matthew 8.24-26; Mark 4.37-39; Luke 8.23-24.

¹¹⁸ Fowler, 'On a Window', p. 280. Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge 1988), p. 322 referring to *Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona*, in AASS, Octobris V, pp. 1327-44.

in danger. Presumably such a visit would have entailed votive offerings given in thanks for their salvation. By publicizing this dramatic rescue at sea, John is shown to have the ability to protect those who call upon him wherever they may be, even far away from where his relics lay. At the same time, for the saint to acquire a reputation as a protector of itinerant merchants would have been of great economic value to Beverley, as it would have encouraged such traders to take precautionary action by visiting the shrine, and possibly making offerings, before undertaking hazardous journeys. Therefore, although this story promotes the efficacy of John to a wider audience, the local interests of Beverley are simultaneously preserved as of central importance to the cult.

As well as demonstrating John's power to intercede with God in order to bring about great transformations in weather conditions, these two stories also teach the importance of faith, without which the saint would not have been appealed to for assistance. At the same time, as both these stories involve people of York, they serve the dual purpose of promoting the cult in this city, as well as suggesting that veneration of John was not just a local affair, but was more widespread.

Ketell further promotes the geographical extension of the cult by reporting that, because of John's fame, people travelled to the church at Beverley from far-flung places in the hope of receiving a cure. He demonstrates this by giving four accounts of the healing of physical ailments, in all of which the people involved are claimed to have travelled from outside of Beverley: one boy is said to have come from Hexham, another from York, one man is said to have travelled from Scotland, and another came all the way from Ireland.¹¹⁹ It is claimed that the reason why these people travelled to Beverley is that the fame of John had spread far and wide. The blind seven-year-old boy had been brought all the way from Hexham by his blind parents because they had heard about the cure of the mute boy with the diseased head, which was set in the Hexham area and was first recorded by Bede approximately four hundred years earlier.¹²⁰ It appears that this family made the long journey in company with 'non minima populi multitudine', a common *litotes* signifying the very opposite. Although all three were blind, and would therefore have needed some assistance to make such a long journey, the large number suggested by this phrase suggests that, rather than being accompanied by a few members of their family and/or friends, it is more likely that they travelled with a band of pilgrims. If this is so, it may well be evidence that by the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries John attracted to Beverley, not just individuals hoping for a cure, but organized groups of suppliants.

¹¹⁹ *MSJ*:4, 9, 5, 7.

¹²⁰ *HE* v.2; *VSJ*:4.

The behaviour of the suppliants appears to be a description of cultic practice and, at the same time, a commendation of the appropriate way to behave when seeking assistance of John: standing before the tomb calling upon the name of the saint, with much crying and fervent prayers to demonstrate a contrite heart. The symbolism of the clear light which bathed the boy's eyes is obvious: the light of God's grace bestowed the light of vision on the child. Moreover, the act was witnessed by a number of spectators, who gathered around the boy in a circle, gazing with wonder at the child who had received his sight for the very first time. This is a clear example of the necessity for a healing miracle to occur in public with witnesses present to testify to its authenticity. Furthermore, it is made clear that John's ability to effect this miracle, which was in direct emulation of a similar deed performed by the Lord, as told in the gospel of John 9.32, was evidence of his faithful obedience to God's will, and his place of honour in heaven. The implication is that such obedience is the route to sanctity and salvation, therefore, as well as being shown to have been an emulator of Christ, John's behaviour was, in turn, set up as a model for others to follow.

The other miracle cure involving a child is that of the son of a businessman who is staying in York.¹²¹ This miracle emphasizes the superior power of John over earthly doctors, a feature that was also evident in the *vitæ*. The father is said to have tried numerous physicians who tried to cure his son with a variety of medicines, all to no avail, whereas the boy very quickly acquires the power of speech after spending a night in St John's church. The text claims that no human physician could possibly cure this child because that honour had been reserved for divine dispensation, so implying that the whole situation had been preordained in order to glorify God and his saint by the bringing about of a miraculous cure. This testifies to the rivalry that existed between physicians and the guardians of the saint's relics who claimed the superior healing powers of their sacred charge. The miracle is, of course, reminiscent of the first miracle John is said to have carried out, which also recalls that performed by Christ, as related in the gospel of Mark 7.32-5.¹²²

The father is set up as an example of how true believers should behave: it is his steadfast devotion and faith which is said to have been instrumental in obtaining this cure, thereby confirming the importance of these virtues, which are required to be demonstrated through prayer and pilgrimage. At the same time, the father provides another model of behaviour by repeating the story of his son's miraculous cure throughout the neighbouring province when he returns to York. He, himself, had heard about John's wondrous powers from many other people, and it is

¹²¹ *MSJ*:9.

¹²² *HE* v.2; *VSJ*:4.

probable that many of these had either been pilgrims themselves, or had heard such stories from pilgrims. His behaviour therefore perpetuates this process of spreading the saint's fame, whose great renown and popularity are indicated by the very large number of people who are said to have gathered at the church for a festival, many of whom were able to witness the performance of this miracle.

Giles, who is the only person to be named in this collection, which suggests that Ketell might have become personally acquainted with him during his several days' stay in the minster, had come all the way from Scotland specifically to be there for John's feast day.¹²³ It is clear that he was not alone in the belief that a saint was especially potent on his special days for he had to find a secluded spot to avoid being crushed by the large number of visitors who always came at those times of the year. This poor man's mental and physical afflictions are described in great detail, revealing the pitiful and seemingly hopeless condition that he was in. The attitude of the people towards him is somewhat ambiguous: on the one hand they laughed at him and treated him as an object of amusement, but on the other hand, they were more willing to provide him with nourishment because he was a pauper and a stranger and, more importantly, they prayed for him because they wished to see him restored to normality.

As with the other healing miracles, his cure took place before a large audience of both pilgrims and clergy, who were drawn from the night service by the wild shouts of the suffering man. His physical restoration is recounted in as much detail as his infirmities had formerly been described as he is transformed from a pitiful wreck of a human being to a handsome, healthy young man. The contrast is stark and impressive, leaving no doubt but that a miraculous metamorphosis had taken place.

The account ends with a peroration explaining the lesson of this miracle. It is scattered with biblical references to the book of Job, the Psalms, and the gospel of St Luke, and asserts the belief that all human afflictions are visited upon human beings by God because of their sins. The theory is expounded that people's misfortunes cause them to repent and behave in a more moral fashion, and then they are made more receptive towards God when he restores them to health, so that they return to worshipping him, in spite of their inability to repent for all their immeasurable sins. Moreover, forgetful of eternal compassion, people are preoccupied with the transient world of matter instead of recognizing that it is only necessary to hear the word of God. The story thus explores the problem of sinful behaviour and guilt, and offers a resolution through faith and repentance.

¹²³ *MSJ*:5.

Whereas Giles had to come to Beverley from Scotland, the man who came hoping to be cured of apoplexy had to travel across the sea from Ireland.¹²⁴ He was so grievously crippled that he had to be brought by litter, his bearers either carrying or dragging it all the way. The sheer effort involved in undertaking such a long and undoubtedly hazardous journey under such conditions suggests that John had a remarkable reputation as a miracle-working saint. The day of the Irishman's arrival coincided with Ascension Day, a very special day in the calendar at Beverley, when it was the usual practice, following the mass, for the relics of John to be held aloft at the church entrance in order that the clergy and people could express their devotion to the saint as they passed by on their way out.¹²⁵

The sick man's highly eloquent, hearth-felt speech, which was addressed to John as if he saw the saint in front of him, physically alive, reflects the prevalent attitude that a saint was considered to be physically present in his relics. The man's miraculous transformation is a testament to his great faith in the actual presence of the living saint before him. John is then represented as a true successor of the great apostle on whom Christ founded his Church, by the likening of the cure to the story of how Peter restored health to a man in Jerusalem who had been lame since birth.¹²⁶

As well as physical ailments, John was shown to be effective in curing mental afflictions, which tended to be attributed to the evil machinations of demons. The schoolmaster underwent a dramatic physical and mental transformation because of his lustful attraction towards a young virgin.¹²⁷ His temptation, which is said to have been inspired by the devil, is described in passionate detail, and seriously affects the man's work as well as his physical health. He is so emotionally distraught, torn between his physical desires and the chastity he needs to maintain if he is to serve God, that his only hope is to turn to John. The saint is described as a powerful and trustworthy physician, implying that the schoolmaster's predicament is a sickness which requires the ministrations of spiritual healing. Nevertheless, the language used to describe his cure, which comes about after a period of intense prayer and weeping, is that of physical healing: his wounds are healed with the oil of mercy, and the fires of his heart are extinguished with health-giving dew. This story is undoubtedly a lesson directed at others who have taken a vow of chastity: rather than succumb to lechery and fornication, turn to God and John, who will free you from temptation. Ketell states that the man's fled towards John 'quasi ad asylum', extending the meaning of the saint's reputation for providing sanctuary to all those in need to cover mental as well as physical protection.

¹²⁴ *MSJ*:7.

¹²⁵ See below, p. 154.

¹²⁶ Acts 3.1-8.

¹²⁷ *MSJ*:8.

Ketell hints at his own mental affliction in his preamble and, given the characteristics of the story, it is tempting to speculate that this is an autobiographical account. It is made clear that those who saw the schoolmaster when he was cured, although amazed at the suddenness of the change in him, were unaware of the mental distress he had been in, for he appears to have kept the reason for his decline secret because he was ashamed of his lustful feelings. Further, there is no mention of him revealing publicly the truth behind his anguish, although Ketell does claim to have heard the story many times from the man's own lips.

There is an interesting mix of different types of miracles in this collection, with no particular category dominating: if one includes the legend of Athelstan, there are five miracles involving healing, and five involving non-healing. Little is said about the social status of those cured, apart from the schoolmaster, the father of the boy cured of dumbness, who is described as a businessman, and Giles, who was a pauper. However, it is extremely unlikely that any of them were of high status or this would undoubtedly have been remarked upon; nor did any of them, with the exception of the schoolmaster, belong to the ecclesiastical world. The people involved, who all come from different places, include two children and three adults, but it is noticeable that none of them are women. This gender imbalance may be indicative of the inferior position of women in society, which resulted in less attention being paid to the miracles connected with them. This is borne out to some extent by the fact that the only females mentioned are the mother of the blind child from Hexham, and the virgin whose beauty tempted the schoolmaster into the sin of lechery. It could be said that they represent the two poles of womanhood: one the loving mother whose entreaties bring about a cure for her son; the other the tool of the devil who tries to tempt a man to his ruin. However, there is no indication that women were banished from approaching John's shrine, as was the case at Cuthbert's shrine: the mother of the blind boy from Hexham, for example, accompanied her son into the church to petition John at his tomb.

Ketell records just one example each of the cure of different ailments: blindness, mental retardation and physical deformity, infirmity as a result of apoplexy, lechery, and dumbness. By making this choice, the author was conforming to an awareness that several accounts of the same sort of miracle with no distinguishing characteristics between them diminishes the impact which can be created by just one, well-told story. Further, his desire to show that John's grace was available to all, results in stories in which the people seeking cures are all shown to have come from different places: Hexham, Scotland, Ireland, Beverley, and York. On the basis of this strategy, therefore, the absence of a woman receiving a cure may have been purely incidental.

All the healing miracles take place in the church itself in the presence of many witnesses, and three of these take place on feast days: Giles is cured on John's feast day, the mute child is cured on a feast day, which might have been John's, and the Irishman is cured on Ascension Day in which John's shrine played a prominent part. The drought was also ended on John's feast day. This is clearly indicative of the belief that, although the saint could be appealed to at any time, he would be more likely to respond favourably on one of his special days. It is, of course, the case that, if greater numbers of people went to the church at those particular times of the year, then the possibility of participating in, or witnessing, a miraculous cure is that much greater than at times when fewer people are in the church. Conversely, because so many miracles are said to have occurred on these special occasions, this encourages pilgrims to visit the church at these times.

The non-healing miracles can be divided into two types: the ones which relate to the rights of Beverley, and those which are concerned with the physical and economic welfare of John's people. As with the healing miracles, all of the protagonists are male, but that is to be expected when one is talking about soldiers, merchants, clergy, and a serious criminal. Whether or not Ketell wrote the version of the Athelstan legend that has been included in his collection of miracles, it establishes the purported provenance of Beverley's privileges as attributable to John's intercession on the king's behalf. The saint is then shown as defending the rights of the church against violent incursion during the reign of William I, and then later releasing a penitent criminal to enjoy the benefits of those rights. These related stories affirm the ancient authority of the church and the continuity of its age-old rights despite changes in regnal power.

John's power over the elements shows an interesting parallelism between protecting people from the effects of drought on the one hand and excessive rain on the other: two directly contrary weather conditions. As well as safeguarding the lives of those affected by inclement weather conditions, the saint is shown as preserving the economic interests of the agricultural and trading communities.

This set of miracles was clearly well thought out and structured in an intelligent way, giving examples of John's thaumaturgical powers in relation to a variety of situations and under different conditions. The breadth of John's influence extends from powerful kings through to the most vulnerable members of society, and includes both the laity and ecclesiastics, paupers and merchants. Each story is an example of a different type of miracle, and they are described in great detail, as well as being witnessed by large numbers of people. The lack of superfluity in the type of miracle recorded is subtly persuasive, indicating a recognition that a few stories with the

ring of authenticity about them are more impressive than several which exhibit exactly the same elements, but lack sufficient description, or may not have been witnessed. Not only are the miracles distinct from each other, but the people involved come from different regions, having been drawn to John by his reputation, which claim simultaneously promotes that reputation. Finally, he is acclaimed as a true custodian of the rights and welfare of the people of Beverley, and a powerful intercessor on behalf of anyone who invokes his name, wherever they are, and wherever they come from.

These stories represent John primarily as a guardian of ordinary people, who is equally proficient at redeeming souls as he is at curing physical illnesses, and as capable of exercising power over the elements, changing weather conditions to benefit those in danger from the excesses of nature. As well as sea-faring travellers, this would have been a particularly attractive feature of his power for the ordinary people of rural communities whose livelihoods depended on a favourable climate.

*Alia Miracula I*¹²⁸

The author of this set of miracles praises the wisdom of Ketell in describing just a few, important miracles that he knew well, rather than choosing to record the very many that were performed at Beverley. The author claims that he, too, is being highly selective because there are so many miracles from which to choose. However, despite this claim, he repeats a number of stories which are the same in their essentials, clearly taking the view that the greater number of miracles claimed to have been performed, the more proof there is of the spiritual power of John. There are nearly twice as many miracles in this collection than in Ketell's, eighteen in all: thirteen are miraculous cures, and five are non-healing miracles. At the same time, he is not as concerned as Ketell to report only those miracles that are properly witnessed: a large number of the stories are told to him by the person to whom the miracle allegedly occurred long after the event itself, and many of them are said to have happened when that person was alone and therefore without corroboration.

His style is extremely straightforward and lacks embellishment for the most part. Apart from one or two brief metaphors, as when he describes his supposed selectivity in recording John's numerous miracles as him plucking tiny twigs from the trees of a great forest, it is almost completely devoid of figures of speech. He is clearly not interested in creating a work of literary merit, but is mainly concerned with recording as many miraculous happenings as possible.

¹²⁸ Appendices 3A/3B.

The first story he recounts is a version of the legend of Athelstan. Although he claims to have read widely, having studied the liberal arts and divine letters since he was a boy, he professes not to have seen anything at all written down about this king, which raises the doubt that the legend was originally included in Ketell's set of miracles.¹²⁹ As this legend has already been discussed at length, it will not be considered here.

The combined issues of Beverley's rights as a place of sanctuary, and the rights of the clergy to be free from harassment, are raised in two stories that involve the escape from imprisonment of clerks who were being held captive for ransom. These stories are very much grounded in reality: they are said to have taken place during a specific period of history, that is the reign of King Stephen (1135-54); the abductor is named as Robert de Stuteville; one captive is said to have been a citizen of Lincoln and the other is named Samson; and Alfred, the sacrist and historian, is said to have looked after one of the clerks after his escape.¹³⁰

In the first of these accounts a picture is painted of a land oppressed by misfortune, which the author saw as emanating not only from sin and avarice, but because most of the nobility and leading bishops were guilty of having broken their oath to support the succession of Mathilda, King Henry I's daughter.¹³¹ This oath was sworn on 1 January 1127 by the magnates of the realm, including Stephen himself, and the breaking of it was perceived as the cause of the subsequent troubles, not just because of the disputed succession, but because a sacred vow had been violated.¹³² The claim that 'the impious repressed the pious' reveals a world view dominated by the war between good and evil and, within this context, a successful appeal to John is seen as the triumph of virtue over wickedness. This is underscored by the likening of the vision of the bishop leading the clerk out of a locked cell passed the sleeping guards, to the angel who led the apostle Peter out of prison under similar circumstances.¹³³ The implication is that John, like the angel, is a member of the heavenly host and manifests himself to save a good man from evil.

The sense of reality given to this story is heightened by the number of circumstantial details given, such as the practical problem faced by the clerk when one of the rings binding his legs had broken and he therefore had to tie this to his leg with rags to enable him to walk more freely. Similarly, on the three-mile cross-country trip from Cottingham to Beverley, his feet were described as being painfully pricked by reeds and sharp shrubs, which indicates that he was

¹²⁹ See Chapter 1 for a full discussion on this point.

¹³⁰ *AMI*:4, 5.

¹³¹ *AMI*:4.

¹³² David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, 2000), p. 25

¹³³ Acts 12.7-10.

barefooted. Rather than go straight to the minster, as one might have expected, this man is said to have sought refuge at the first house he saw because he was so cold and exhausted. The practicality of the need to warm himself is shown taking precedence over other considerations, for although the man would not be safe from recapture until he gained the sanctuary of the church, a cold empty church might not have been conducive to his physical survival. The sense of authenticity of the account is supported by referring to a well-known figure, Alfred, a chronicler of Beverley, as having taken care of the man's injured feet.

The second escape is almost identical to the first in the means of rescue: the captive is visited by John in a vision, he is released from one of his iron rings, and he flees the prison whilst the man to whom he had been shackled sleeps on.¹³⁴ The comparison between the failure of the pursuing soldier to recognize the escapee, with the Sodomites who were unable to find the door to Lot's house, correlates the spiritual blindness of the sinful with their being made physically blind by divine judgement.¹³⁵ This is further illustrated when the fugitive passes by the entrance to the cemetery, unrecognized by the soldiers waiting to recapture him.

The author claims that there are far too many stories which could be told about people whom John had helped escape from various prisons. The reputation John attained in this regard would have been self-perpetuating: if people believed that he had special sympathy for those in captivity, then he would be the saint to whom these people would appeal in their times of distress; every successful appeal would, in turn, increase his fame. Thus the promotion of John's particular power in this regard extends his attractiveness to another class of possible suppliants. Both men donated their shackles to the shrine, where they were suspended along with many other such items, and these would serve as advertisements for the proven abilities of the saint to deliver those who were subject to persecution. Further publicity was forthcoming by the official celebration of the miracle by the clergy, which took the form of singing a hymn and praising God and John.

Related to the freeing of innocent prisoners from the clutches of evil men is the release of a self-confessed, but remorseful, criminal from his penance.¹³⁶ The story told about the French penitent relates to the practice of punishing murderers by sending them on pilgrimages into exile, and binding them with the very metal of the weapon they had used to commit the crime.¹³⁷ This man had murdered his brother, but whether this refers to blood kinship or to a colleague within a

¹³⁴ *AMI*:5.

¹³⁵ Genesis 19.9-11.

¹³⁶ *AMI*:7.

¹³⁷ See Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 42 for other instances of this practice. On penitential pilgrimages see also Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999), pp. 51-63.

religious fraternity is not made clear. Having come from France, the murderer had spent a whole year wandering around seeking the intercession of saints when, at last, he obtained release through John at Beverley. Taking into consideration Beverley's reputation as a place of sanctuary for criminals, it is appropriate that John should be seen to have been more effective in obtaining the forgiveness of God than the many other saints this man had petitioned over the previous twelve months.

A number of people are said to have witnessed the man's release and, as with the deliverance miracles, the celebration of the event was carried out by the singing of a hymn and the saying of prayers. In this case, however, an official acknowledgement of the miracle also took written form when a letter was sent to the man's bishop to explain how John had obtained his release. Sometimes those assigned penitential pilgrimages had to obtain certificates from the sacristans at each shrine they visited in order to prove that they had performed their penance.¹³⁸ In this particular case, the penitent required written proof that he had a valid reason for being free from his bonds in order to be able to return home. Apart from this consideration, however, the letter was also necessary to spread the word of John's glory. This story shows that John had the power to intercede for the guilty as well as for the innocent, and obtain divine forgiveness, but only within the context of true repentance.

The need to respect John's power, and his ability to protect his people, are the underlying messages of the cure of a deaf and dumb man belonging to the household of Gerard, archbishop of York.¹³⁹ Although the ostensible purpose of this story is to record the miraculous cure, the text hints that the archbishop's untimely death and subsequent treatment at his funeral was because he ignored the advice of the English noble ('quidam Anglicus . . . nobilis genere') about respecting John and his people. This is a reference to Gerard's sudden, and unexpected, death at Southwell. He was subsequently denied the usual honour of an archbishop of York in that he was buried outside the church, and only a very small retinue attended his funeral because the clerics and the citizens of York boycotted the ceremony; apparently his body also suffered the ignominy of his bier being pelted with stones by some boys.¹⁴⁰ Gerard, who had also been accused of dealing in magic,¹⁴¹ had made himself disliked by attempting to enforce the rule of celibacy amongst his canons at York, who widely disregarded the rule despite his remonstrations, and publicly lived with their wives or concubines.¹⁴² It is clear that the community at Beverley

¹³⁸ Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 42-43.

¹³⁹ *AMI*:2.

¹⁴⁰ William of Newburgh, *History of English Affairs: Book I*, ed. & trans. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (Warminster, 1988), pp. 48-49.

¹⁴¹ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 12.

¹⁴² See Gerard's letter to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining about his cathedral chapter in *HCY* III, 23-25.

also disliked the archbishop, possibly because he had tried to enforce the same unpopular rules there. This miracle story therefore promotes the reputation of John as a guardian of the community's interests, and also serves as a warning to anyone else who might be tempted to meddle in Beverley's affairs that they had a very powerful patron. The significance of the cult is thus extended to local ecclesiastical politics, with special reference to a named historical individual.

By referring to Gerard's unhappy demise, this story hints at the belief that misfortune was divine punishment for wrongdoing. However, some people appear to have suffered adversity despite their having led upright lives, such as the man of Cotham who, although he was said to have been of modest means, was a generous host.¹⁴³ Nevertheless he was struck blind for three years, and his wife was made insane for a similar period of time. The text quotes Solomon as having said that sometimes righteous men get what the wicked deserve, therefore it was clearly felt that some justification was needed as to why this couple suffered such affliction despite the husband's virtuous character.¹⁴⁴ He was directed to seek John's help through a vision in which the confessor personally instructed him to go to the minster and pray to him.

This is one of several ways in which John was chosen as the saint to whom a suppliant applied for assistance, the most common reason being his reputation as a miracle-worker. Sometimes, however, John was invoked because other saints had apparently failed to help, as in the cases of the French penitent, the Norwich peasant, and the pilgrims aboard the stricken vessel at sea.¹⁴⁵ It was a common claim in miracle stories that the particular saint being promoted had succeeded where other saints had failed, and was designed to demonstrate his or her greater effectiveness over his or her many rivals. Another common method of deciding on to whom the petitioner should appeal was that followed by the Lindsey peasant, who gave God the opportunity of choosing the saint through the agency of casting lots.¹⁴⁶

Because a saint was considered to be especially present on feast days, particularly his or her own, it is not surprising that several of the miracles occurred on special days: the blind woman from Lindsey was cured during a service on the middle Sunday in Lent, the disturbance caused by the insane man from Kesteven occurred during the celebration of John's feast day of 7 May, and the crippled woman of Beverley made great efforts to get to the church on the feast day of John's translation.¹⁴⁷

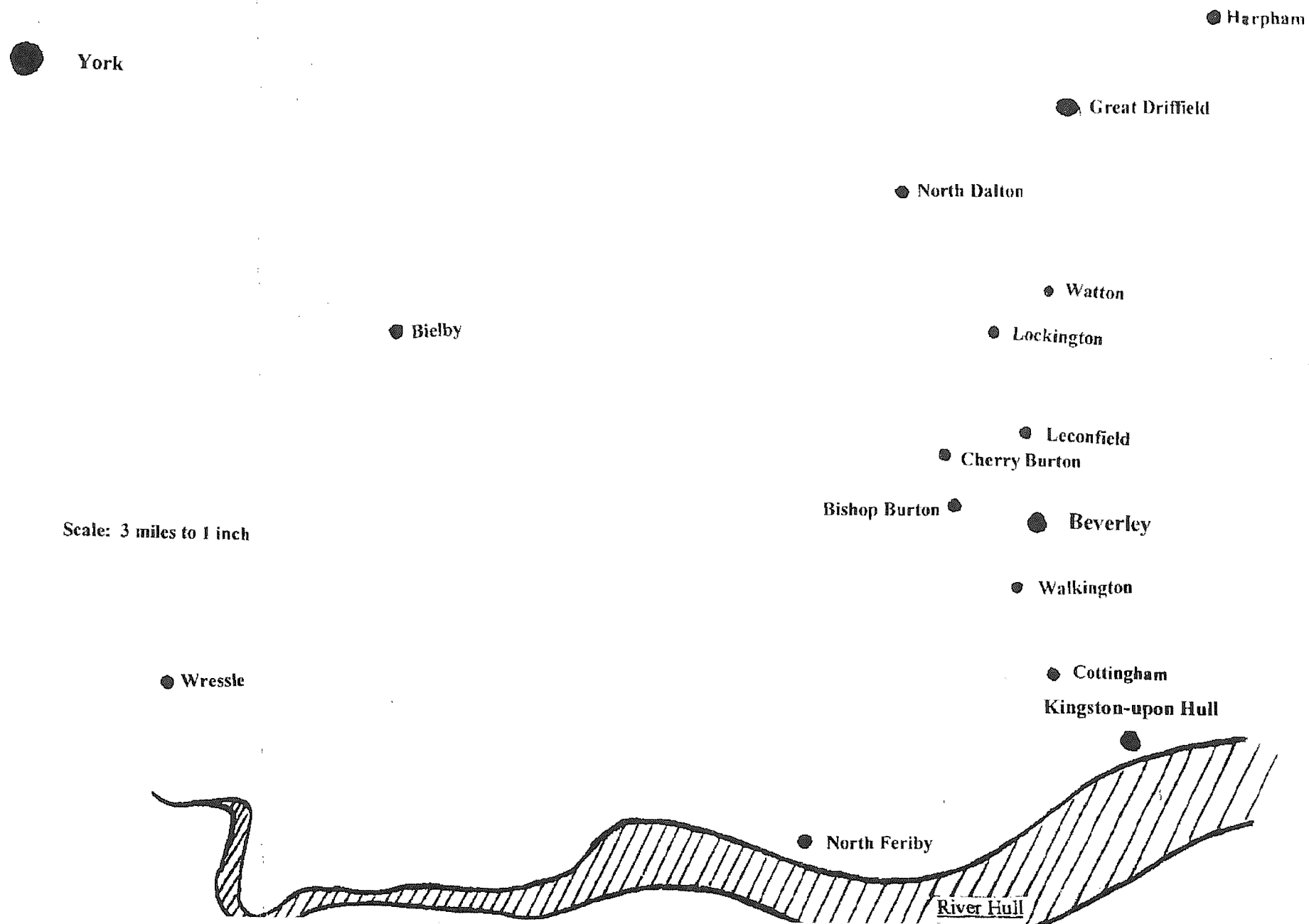
¹⁴³ *AMI*:16.

¹⁴⁴ Ecclesiastes 8.14.

¹⁴⁵ *AMI*:7, 8, 17.

¹⁴⁶ *AMI*:13.

¹⁴⁷ *AMI*:11, 12, 10.



The wealth of circumstantial information given in the latter narrative, as opposed to the lack of information given in the story concerning the crippled girl, lends it a greater sense of authenticity.¹⁴⁸ There are a number of clear differences between these two cures of crippled women, apart from the difference in their ages: the old woman is a local, and the girl is a stranger; the former is said to have been disabled for seven years, and although this is a conventional time period, nothing is said about the length of the girl's disability; the consequences of the old woman's disability and poverty are explained, as are the mechanics of her cure, which is partial, whereas no details are given about the complete cure the young girl apparently experienced. Further, the cure of the old woman takes place on John's feast day when the church is full of people, and it is formally celebrated by the clergy, whereas the cure of the girl appears to have had no witnesses at all, and is communicated to the author on the authority of his parents, who heard it from the girl herself. It is clear from these vastly different accounts that the single criterion for the recording of a miracle story by this author is that they were claimed to have happened.

It was not always possible for people seeking a cure to visit the church, therefore a vow would sometimes be made, contingent upon the success of the petition. If the request were granted, s/he would be obliged to fulfil the vow in every particular or risk the wrath of the saint, who was likely to punish the breach of faith by undoing the act or inflicting an even worse punishment. Conversely, if the saint did not perform the miracle as required, then the petitioner was under no obligation to fulfil the conditions set out in the promise.¹⁴⁹ This collection of miracles includes stories relating to vows and so enforces and educates its audience concerning this cultic practice. By promoting the proper fulfilment of vows, and thereby the donation of gifts and/or money, the stories also performed a useful function in augmenting the economy of the cultic centre.

The Lindsey peasant who had suffered from a tumour for twelve weeks began to improve as soon as he had made a vow of prayers and offerings to John, and he made a full recovery within a week. It was therefore incumbent upon him to fulfil the terms of his promise by undertaking a pilgrimage to Beverley and making his gifts.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, the pilgrims who were on the way to Jerusalem when their ship was assailed by adverse winds made vows to John in the event of their salvation.¹⁵¹ Apparently, they had already appealed to a number of other saints of different nationalities, but it was only when they promised offerings to John that they were delivered from danger, consequently, he was the saint to whom they were bound to fulfil their obligation. A

¹⁴⁸ *AMI*:6.

¹⁴⁹ See Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 92-94 on the subject of vows.

¹⁵⁰ *AMI*:13.

¹⁵¹ *AMI*:17.

reference is made to the similarity of the miracle with the way in which St Nicholas calmed a tempest, thereby portraying John as equally effective as this saint.

Gifts could take many forms, one of the most common being an offering of wax, either as a candle, or in the form of the body part afflicted which was then usually suspended above the shrine.¹⁵² The wax offered by the Norwich peasant who had been cured upon invoking John's name was said to be a very large candle. The texts in the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Beverley Cartulary* read that the wax was made 'ad modum et quantitatem tibiæ cum ipso pede', which can be translated as 'to the same length and size of his leg and foot'.¹⁵³ However, in editing the text from the *Acta Sanctorum* Raine amended 'quantitatem' to read 'qualitatem', which alters the translation to 'to the same size and shape of his leg and foot'.¹⁵⁴ Either could be correct, but as the offering is said to have been set alight, this suggests it was a conventionally shaped candle. The gratitude of this man is said to have resulted in an annual pilgrimage by him, when he brought not only his own offerings but also those of numerous other people.

His example is said to have inspired many others to make annual pilgrimages to the shrine, bearing their offerings to the saint in the hope that he would intercede for their benefit. This illustrates the assumed reciprocal nature of the social relationships between John and his petitioners: he was expected to fulfil his duties as a patron through his intercession with God on behalf of his petitioners in return for their submission, which may have taken the form of veneration, prayers and material gifts.¹⁵⁵ The accounts of how people demonstrated their gratitude to the saint acted as examples to other potential pilgrims on the proper way to petition John, or to show gratitude for his assistance.

A large number of the miracles in this collection involve local people from Beverley and the surrounding neighbourhood, where the reputation of the saint would have been the strongest (see map). At the same time, the author claims acquaintance with almost everyone who had acquired a cure, using his personal contact with them as a way of validating their stories. This is especially so when the only witnesses to a miraculous cure are the people actually involved, such as the five-year-old mute whose parents brought him to the shrine from Walkington.¹⁵⁶ The author claims to have known the parents personally, and to have heard the story from the boy himself when he had grown into a man, declaring that when he grew up he became a teacher of

¹⁵² On the practice of giving wax images and candles see Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 95-97.

¹⁵³ *AMI*:8.

¹⁵⁴ Wax boots, and a wax foot were among the gifts made to St William of Norwich: Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, ed. and trans. Augustus Jessopp and M. R. James (Cambridge 1896), IV.8, VI.3.

¹⁵⁵ Head, *Hagiography*, explores the concept of patronage vis-à-vis saints and their petitioners.

¹⁵⁶ *AMI*:3.

the liberal arts in Beverley. The addition of these biographical details are an attempt at validating the miracle by reference to an individual who was not only known personally by the author, but who had an ongoing history.

Similarly, the story of the miraculous cure of the boy from Bielby, which is fifteen miles to the west of Beverley, relies on the testimony of the child and his father.¹⁵⁷ This child was not born a mute, but was apparently struck dumb following a curious incident which was put down to a demonic illusion, the inference being that an evil spirit of some sort had toyed with the boy before making him mute. The only hint as to why he should have been chosen for such malevolent treatment is that he disregarded his parents' instructions not to play in the undergrowth with his girl friend so far away from other people. The boy apparently underwent another strange experience when he was left alone in Beverley minster: he reported that, whilst asleep, he felt that someone wearing a white robe was pressing very hard on his mouth and throat, and on awakening he caught sight of the man moving away, whereupon he recovered his power of speech. It is clear that the boy's 'vision' is meant to imply that John exorcised the work of the evil spirit.

There were no other witnesses to this cure, but validation of the story is once more provided by the author himself, who says that he had learned of it from the boy when he became a man. Again, this person is given a history by the claim that, as a child, he remained in Beverley to be educated, and later became the acquirer of alms for the hospital. He is also given a name: William Pater-noster. Similarly, a history is provided for the young man of Archbishop Gerard's household who had been cured of deafness and dumbness: he is said to have remained in Beverley and become a baker. Again, the author claims to have heard the story himself when he was just a child, because the elderly baker used to tell the tale to crowds of young boys. The author attested to the fact that the man could speak normally, just like anyone else and that, like William Pater-noster, he could speak French as well as English. It was not unusual to claim that a mute received the ability to speak other languages when cured, for such claims magnified the wondrous nature of the miracle.¹⁵⁸

The two miracles relating to the female pilgrims are similar in their essential elements: the women both happen to have been on pilgrimage, they both suffer from tumours, and they are both cured on their journeys home after calling upon John. In the first of these stories the ailing

¹⁵⁷ *AMI*:9.

¹⁵⁸ One priest who had his speech miraculously restored through the prayers of William of Ford complained bitterly to him that he could only speak low-class English rather than aristocratic French: John, Abbot of Ford, *Wulfric of Haselbury*, ed. Maurice Bell, Somerset Record Society 47 (1933), pp. 28-29.

woman was recommended to return home as quickly as possible in the hope that the climate of her native land this would help her to improve.¹⁵⁹ This suggests a recognition of the effects of climate on health, and a belief that the characteristic weather of one's own region was more beneficial to one's well-being than that of foreign parts.

The writer claims that one of these women was a close blood relation of his and that the other was her friend, whom he also knew. As with most of the other stories, he uses his personal acquaintance with the people involved as a method of authentication. His other method of authenticating his accounts is by giving the names of people, some of whom can be verified as historical figures such as Archbishop Gerard, Robert de Stuteville, and Alfred of Beverley. In addition, in almost every account, he gives the names of the villages, towns or provinces from where people came to seek help at Beverley.

There are six cures involving women and seven involving males, with ages ranging from five years to very elderly. It is difficult to assess the social rank of the people involved, but none of them were very high up the social scale. We know nothing about the two female pilgrims apart from that one of them was related to the author, and of the other women one was a beggar and one a pauper, one was married to a man of modest means, and one had been handed over to a man ('tradita erat viro').¹⁶⁰ Because this latter story is similar to many of those recorded at the shrine of St Frideswide, to whom many young girls appealed for relief from illnesses apparently triggered by sexual problems, it is likely that the girl in question had been handed over to this man in marriage, possibly without her consent.¹⁶¹ Amongst the men, there were two peasants, one son of a peasant, one of modest means struck blind, one in the household of Archbishop Gerard of unspecified status, but who became a baker, and two others whose status is unspecified, although it is not likely that either of these would have been of superior rank or this would no doubt have been remarked upon to enhance the saint's reputation. As in *MSJ*, therefore, the majority of miracles relate to very ordinary people, although this author extends the groups involved to include women.

There are three cures relating to dumbness, one of which also features deafness, three to tumours, there were two cripples and one lame person, two who were insane, and two who were blind. It is unusual for there to be such a significant proportion of cures involving dumbness because these

¹⁵⁹ *AMI*:14, 15.

¹⁶⁰ *AMI*:11.

¹⁶¹ Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: The Miracles of St Frideswide' in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, eds Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 193-206, (pp. 198-99)

were not particularly common types of cure in records of saints' *miracula*.¹⁶² However, the first written miracle attributed to John was the cure of a mute boy, and from Ketell's account it is clear that this was very well known.¹⁶³ It is possible, therefore, that the reputation John acquired for being able to cure mutes resulted in more people with this type of disability appealing to him for help, and it thus became a distinctive feature of the cult.

Nine of these miracles are said to have occurred in the church and one of them in sight of it, which underlines the assumption that it was advantageous to be close to John's relics, therefore promoting the advisability of visiting the shrine. The shrine was perceived as the focus of John's power, and being near it provided people with spiritual strength and assurance that the saint was watching over them. On a wider level, as the focal point for the devotion of both local and foreign pilgrims it functioned as a force for social cohesion and a symbol of Christian unity.

Only one of the non-healing miracles took place in the minster, but this is not unusual because, by the very nature of such miracles, the people involved would have had to invoke John wherever they were when the need arose, such as at sea or in prison. Although Athelstan is said to have visited the church to make a pact with John for his assistance, the intercession related to a battle that was to take place in Scotland. That the non-healing miracles were primarily concerned with men is also not unusual because the nature of the activities involved related principally to men rather than women. However, this does not mean that there were no women aboard the ships threatened by shipwreck because groups of people of mixed sex would have been referred to as if they were all male in line with the widespread practice of referring to all people as 'men'.

This set of miracles embraces both national and local concerns, although the latter dominate. It starts with a story that purports to give divine authority to English kings to rule over Scotland, and simultaneously explains the origins of Beverley's rights and the foundation of the college of canons by reference to the transaction between King Athelstan and John. It then goes on to show how the saint upheld the rights he had earned for Beverley through his protection and deliverance of those who called upon him.

There is a suggestion in the text that the author has chosen to describe and praise the merits of John in the hope that this will gain him the saint's favour so that, on death, he will receive indulgence for his sins. Despite having portrayed John as continuing the eternal battle against the forces of evil, thus giving hope and assurance to people in distress that he and God were

¹⁶² Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 107.

¹⁶³ *HE* v.2; *MSJ*:4.



watching over them, the author is a disillusioned man, seeing wickedness triumphing over righteousness; he therefore believes that the end of the world is nearing. However, whatever his personal motivation, this author has created a set of miracles which significantly increases the number of post-mortem miracles attributable to John, and in doing so it encompasses new groups who are said to have benefited from John's grace: women, including nuns, and captives. The collection also encourages a view of John as a national as well as a local patron: in the Athelstan legend he is referred to as 'the special patron of the English king', and one of the men on board the endangered ship asserts that John was England's particular patron saint. However, although he is portrayed as a national champion, and some of his miraculous deeds are set at a considerable geographic distance from Beverley, the vast majority is located at Beverley, involving people from the local area. Therefore, although the author may have sought to demonstrate that the cult had a broad, even national, appeal, it nevertheless remained firmly focused on Beverley as the site of the saint's relics.

*Alia Miracula II*¹⁶⁴

This set of miracles was apparently recorded by one of the priests at Beverley, and is basically a list of conventional healing miracles at the shrine followed by some wondrous, rather exotic happenings. There seems to be no particular purpose behind the recording of these stories beyond the author's stated intention in the short preamble that he wished to preserve a written record of the continuation of John's spiritual power. The number of healing and non-healing miracles is equally divided: there are five human cures, four mysterious phenomena, two of which are connected, and one reference to the healing of dumb animals.

Of the cures, one is of a crippled boy and four are of women, two of whom had useless arms, one woman had been struck blind, and another was insane.¹⁶⁵ They are conventional stories in which the unfortunate people, and/or those who sympathize with them, pray and beseech John to intercede on their behalf; they are all eventually restored through God's compassion and the merits of the saint.

Two of the non-healing miracles involve the symbolism of light. With a worldview suffused with a belief that the power of the Almighty was manifest in all of nature, any explanation for the miraculous illumination of the church at North Burton had to focus on the power of God.¹⁶⁶ As the phenomenon occurred on John's feast day, and centred on a church that had been dedicated in

¹⁶⁴ Appendices 4A/4B.

¹⁶⁵ *AMII*:1-5.

¹⁶⁶ *AMII*:6.

his honour, it is celebrated as a symbol of God's grace. Its great brilliance recalls the story in *VSJ* of a heavenly light that was seen shining in the church when John was glorified by the vision of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.¹⁶⁷ The description of the young people playing and laughing, and leading dances around the cemetery following the night service paints a picture of a joyful occasion, linking the miraculous event with popular festivity as well as providing many witnesses to the appearance of the bright light.

The incident involving the candle which is put into the hands of Ingulf has a related but slightly different connotation in that, this time, the bringer of light is not God, but a saint representing him.¹⁶⁸ At the same time, the light is both literal and metaphorical for, when his first candle is extinguished, the priest is prevented from his self-imposed task of playing the psalms on the cittern, therefore the lighted candle put in his hand by the saint not only enables him to see the truth of the psalms physically, but is also a symbol of their spiritual truth.

The message of the ghostly procession that Umfrid, the keeper of the inner crypt, claimed to have seen was that the souls of the saints whose relics rested in the minster came to visit their own remains, and that the mother of God had chosen to glorify that resting-place, thereby verifying that it was a sacred place. Umfrid disclosed his vision only after having heard one of the canons report his strange experience of bells ringing, and doors opening and closing of their own accord in a supposedly empty church.¹⁶⁹ It is significant that these events are said to have occurred on a feast night, but somewhat incompatible that the two men who claimed to have experienced strange phenomena that night underwent totally different experiences.

After describing these remarkable events, the author somewhat bathetically goes on to claim that John used his power to heal cattle plagues.¹⁷⁰ He was said to perform this service in return for the first stricken beast, again demonstrating the reciprocal nature of the saint's relationship with his community. This story may have represented an affirmation of ecclesiastical claims that the saint was a protector of their livelihood. This very short record of miracles then ends somewhat abruptly with a single closing sentence confirming that prayers to John had proved to be beneficial many times. It is an odd little collection, which places great emphasis on fantastic occurrences, but then demonstrates a concern for basic survival by referring to farming matters. Nevertheless, it testifies to a continued belief in the saint's spiritual power to give aid to his community, and bears witness to his favourable status as a member of the heavenly city.

¹⁶⁷ *VSJ*:11.

¹⁶⁸ *AMII*:7.

¹⁶⁹ *AMII*:8.

¹⁷⁰ *AMII*:9.

*Alia Miracula III*¹⁷¹

Unusually with respect to the dating of miracle stories, the events recorded in this collection can be precisely located within the ten-year period between 1211 and 1219.¹⁷² It is possible that the second story is set sometime after 2 May 1214 when Pope Innocent III lifted the interdict which had been placed on the English people, but before the sealing of the Great Charter by King John in June 1215. Like the set of miracles recorded by Ketell, this is well structured and carefully designed to fulfil precise objectives. In the prologue, in which the author follows convention by confessing his inadequacy to perform his elected task, he announces that his reason for recording these miracles is that they deserve and need to be publicized for the moral and spiritual benefit of the faithful.¹⁷³ Ostensibly, therefore, they are intended to illuminate the minds of the people so that they might recognize the truth of God's glory and the extent of John's merit and, indeed, each of the stories in this collection emphasizes this aspect of their function. However, the text reveals a variety of other emphases and, in particular, four major characteristics are evident in addition to the proclaimed objectives: the validation of John's cult and the integrity of his shrine, concern for the rights and privileges of the church, confirmation of the power of their patron saint to protect Beverley and its people from outside aggression, and reinforcement of the teachings and customs of the church.

In telling his stories, the writer conforms to an almost set pattern of exposition: he first of all describes the circumstances leading up to the miraculous event, he compares this with a situation or situations related in the Bible, he points out metaphorical parallels, and he draws a moral or a lesson from the miracle. He not only quotes directly from the Bible, but the narrative is sprinkled with biblical echoes and correspondences with specific biblical events. As with Ketell, this author not only appears to be highly selective in the type of story he records, but he uses language to great effect so that, despite his professed intention to report the simple truth without the embellishment of the 'pompous trappings of words', his text is suffused with an extensive range of literary devices. These create a wide variety of impressions and effects, dramatizing the narratives and thereby making them highly memorable.

He employs devices such as litotes, which results in ironic understatement and thereby emphasizes the reverse situation in a manner which is more effective than hyperbole, such as when he declares that the earl whose men have taken refuge in Beverley was 'aroused to not a

¹⁷¹ Appendices 5A/5B.

¹⁷² This is discussed fully in Chapter I.

¹⁷³ Although there is no clue in the text of this set of miracles as to the gender of its author, I have assumed that, as with the previous collections, it was a member of the clergy and was therefore a man, hence I have used the male personal pronoun throughout.

little fury' ('comes non modico furore accensus').¹⁷⁴ He also plays with words which contain similar phonemic elements but have diametrically different meanings such as 'ipsius ductor, immo seductor' ('this guide, or rather seducer'), and 'vidit, inquam, et invidit' ('He saw, I say, and he envied'), which lose their force in translation.¹⁷⁵

One of his most effective methods is the use of symmetry and parallelism in action and words, which recur with such frequency that they can be seen as a sort of leitmotif running through this work, making the stories very entertaining as well as producing lasting impressions. For example, the Lord is said to have cured the poor woman's crippled son because he wanted the day of 'memorable solemnity to be held more solemnly memorable' in future, and she who used to carry her crippled son on her back to church, is preceded by him on the return journey after he has been cured.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the labourer who ignores the custom of refraining from work on John's feast day is struck by retribution 'as much for reckless presumption as for presumptuous recklessness' and 'what he had publicly committed, he publicly confessed'.¹⁷⁷

Antithesis is likewise employed to great effect, such as when, referring to those who were lamenting the apparent death of the child who had fallen from a great height onto the stone floor of the minster, he declares that 'their sadness was going to be changed into joy, their weeping into laughter'.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, when the crippled boy was cured his face, which had previously been fixed on the ground, was now raised to heaven, and the restoration of his human appearance was contrasted with his former semblance of a monster.¹⁷⁹

This author realizes the events he narrates in such a vivid way, creating visual impressions for his audience, such that it appears as if he himself were witnessing the events, even when this is clearly impossible. For example, he could not have been present when the blind man from Ely was abandoned by his guide on the journey to Beverley, nor could he have been in the camp of the earl whose foot was burned the night before he intended to attack the town.¹⁸⁰ Yet he describes these events as if he were watching them unfold before his eyes, just as they unfold before the eyes of us, his audience. At the same time, he assumes the role of the omniscient narrator and ascribes motivations and emotions to the people who figure in these stories, making this a very self-consciously literary collection of miracles. It is clear that, as well as possessing a

¹⁷⁴ *AMIII*:5.

¹⁷⁵ *AMIII*:4.

¹⁷⁶ *AMIII*:2.

¹⁷⁷ *AMIII*:3.

¹⁷⁸ *AMIII*:1.

¹⁷⁹ *AMIII*:2.

¹⁸⁰ *AMIII*:4, 5.

firm belief that divine influence governs all aspects of people's lives, this writer had a profound interest in exploiting the possibilities of language as an effective medium of communicating truth.

The clearest demonstration of his technique can be seen in the first narrative, which relates how a boy who fell from a position high up in the roof of the church rose up from apparent death without a scratch on his body.¹⁸¹ A major concern of the author is to set up parallels between the dramatic performance of the resurrection play, the miraculous raising up of the child, and Christ's resurrection as portrayed in the Scriptures. At the same time, he establishes an analogy between different kinds of audiences: those watching the play outside the church, those watching the miraculous event inside the church, and us, the text's audience, who contemplate in our imaginations two types of representations of the original, defining event.

Whereas the characters in a play are visually present to the audience, and their motivations and emotions may be inferred from their words and actions, this is only possible in a narrative if the narrator provides it, and this is exactly what this particular writer does in this story. 'But, look!' he cries, as if he, and we are present and watching the scene and he is actually pointing out to us the watchmen chasing after the boys. He also puts himself inside the narrative by using the personal pronoun, 'with the intention, I suppose', he says, adding to the sense of the action unfolding before our eyes. By describing the reasons why the people in his story behave as they do, he creates real people who have purpose and direction and with whom we, as their audience can identify. With knowledge of the disaster to come one might have expected him to write that the boys find the half-open door 'by some unlucky chance', but instead he writes this from their viewpoint: it is a 'lucky chance' because they see this as an opportunity to get sight of the play, and their excitement is communicated as they run to the door 'with boyish recklessness'. As with all his stories, the author likens all actions to an event in the Bible: in this case the boys' attempt to see the play, which has Jesus as the central character, is compared with Zaccheus who, because he, too, was short and was unable to see Jesus, found a way to climb above the crowds to get a better view.

When the boy stands by the great cross above the altar of St Martin we are told that he is looking downwards. This small detail is superfluous to the actual event and serves no purpose in advancing the narrative, but what it does do is it visualizes the scene and helps us to visualize it. We get a vivid picture of a small child standing perilously high up in the church, looking down at the ground far below, so giving us a sense of perspective and increasing the tension as we, the onlookers, recognize the danger this boy is in.

¹⁸¹ *AMIII*:1.

The accident itself is described in a highly skilful way as the author creates a metonymic relationship between the fall of the stone and the fall of the boy. The description of the stone plummeting down and being smashed to smithereens on the hard stone floor of the minster, immediately echoed by the fall of the boy, creates a powerful image and has great emotional impact. The author describes the spectators groaning and sighing, and the boy's parents wailing and tearing their hair, and states that their mood will be changed to joy and laughter when the boy is raised up unharmed. It is possible that by providing us, the text's audience, with the responses of the audience within the text to the death and resurrection of the child, the author is giving us an example of the way in which we should respond to the death and resurrection of Christ. It is clear that this whole event is written as a dramatic performance: the scene is set in time and place, the events follow swiftly on each other as emotions and attitudes are manipulated, a crisis is reached, and a conclusion is arrived at. And we, the readers, or hearers, of the text, are the audience, and those standing around inside the church are both players in the drama set before us, and witnesses of the miracle performed in front of them. Further, in the same way that a play needs an audience in order to fulfil its function, so the performance of a miracle has to be witnessed in order for it to be recognized as an act of divine intervention, and together with the people in the church, we, too, are witnesses to this miraculous event via this incredible narrative.

The people outside in the churchyard are watching a play representing the resurrection of Christ, whereas those inside have been unable to be part of that audience, therefore God decided to put on an even more marvellous performance for them inside the church, using real people, not actors. Indeed, the correspondence between the boy and Christ is not limited to their respective resurrections: the watchmen are told about the child and his companions, who are punished when they are caught, and this can be seen as analogous to the betrayal of Christ and his followers who are pursued by the elders of the church. In addition, just before the child falls to his apparent death, he is depicted as standing before a great cross, thereby specifically linking him with Christ at his crucifixion.

The standard biblical analogy for a miracle in which someone is supposedly raised from the dead is that of Lazarus, thereby linking the saint with Christ as one who was able to perform a similar miracle. However, this author does not interpret this miracle in that conventional way. He gives three reasons for God's decision to perform this miracle, and the first two are linked with the promotion of the cult: firstly, to avoid John's church from being defiled by human death; and secondly, so that the church should possess greater authority in the future. The miracle is therefore interpreted as verifying the special status which John's church possessed as the guardians of the saint's relics, and as validating the claims of the church community vis-à-vis the

special relationship between John and God. It also gave them the authority to continue to promote the cult, with all the material and spiritual benefits which flow from that activity.

The third reason for God resurrecting the child, we are told, is to prove the truth of the play, that is, the truth of the defining event of Christ's crucifixion which the play claims to portray. At the same time, however, the raising up of a real child from death supersedes the dramatic representation of the raising up of Christ: the people inside the church are shown the reality of a resurrection, whereas those outside are merely being shown an imitation of a resurrection. This raises questions as to whether the miracle is also a comment on drama, which claims to imitate true feelings and true events, but which cannot match up to the truth of experience.

Furthermore, this author goes beyond these easily recognizable parallels between the three versions of a resurrection and creates a far more complex analogy. In detaching itself from the wall without human interference, the stone which led to the boy's fall is likened to the conception of Christ by the Virgin Mary, which is also said to have occurred without any human involvement. Further, the two falls - of the stone and of the boy - are interpreted as signifying Christ's passion as a man and as a God by likening the destruction of the stone and the resurrection of the boy to the ram which was sacrificed in place of Isaac, who rose up from the sacrificial bier unharmed. These events are thus imbued with truly providential significance and are elevated to the status of two of the most significant biblical events: the salvation of Isaac as told in Genesis, and the redemption of humankind through Christ's passion and resurrection as told in the New Testament, two episodes which are traditionally typologically linked.

The glossing of this particular miracle goes far beyond the normal hagiographic convention of glorifying the saint and has become a didactic discourse in its own right. The interpretation of the event ultimately takes precedence over its representation, and clerical meanings have taken precedence over the popularizing medium of play. Therefore, rather than merely demonstrating John's merits, this miracle is seen as illustrating the truth of the entire Christian message: that Christ endured suffering in accordance with his humanity, and was resurrected in accordance with his divinity. This not only presses home the message of the gospels, but also carries the underlying message that the truth of the scriptures is as valid and relevant today as it was when the events recorded first took place.

The location of this miracle story within John's church at Beverley endows the cultic centre with divine approval and therefore satisfies concerns regarding the efficacy of John's power at a local level. However, by moving beyond local issues to the theological concerns of the catholic

Church, it endows the saint with universal relevance as an intrinsic part of the divine superstructure.

This story also sheds valuable light on the public performance of vernacular drama at a remarkably early date. The use of the word ‘repraesentatio’ rather than ‘ludus’ or ‘spectaculum’ leaves no doubt that this is a play. However, it is not a liturgical play. The writer of this collection is very conscientious about locating his stories within the liturgical year whenever possible, for example one of the miracles he tells is said to have happened on the feast day of John’s translation, another on John’s main feast day, and another when Lent was imminent.¹⁸² With this particular miracle story, however, all he tells us is that it was in the summertime. The absence of any reference to Easter, or Corpus Christi, or any other feast day suggests that the author does not consider the liturgical date to be significant. Although the play is connected with the church, and has as its theme one of the most important scriptural events for the Christian Church, it is not inside the church, but outside in the churchyard. It is open to the public, and has attracted a great crowd of people of both sexes, adults and children alike. All these things taken together indicate that this is not a liturgical play, but a play designed to entertain the general populace. It would therefore have been in the vernacular, not Latin. This is borne out by the claim that the boys climbed the stairs in the church because they wanted to try to hear the speeches of the actors, something which would have been fruitless if they had been in Latin. As well as wanting to hear the speeches, we are told that the boys wanted to see the players’ costumes and gestures; this gives us valuable information from the audience’s point of view, explaining why they attended the play and what they wanted to get out of it.

The words ‘ut assolet’ – ‘as is usual’, or ‘customary’ – could be an indication that this was not a one-off performance, but that such plays formed a regular part of that society’s cultural activities. However, bearing in mind that the oldest manuscript we have containing this story is of the fourteenth century, it is also possible that the phrase refers to the time the text was written, not the time of the event. Nevertheless, what we have here is an extremely early reference, perhaps as early as 1211, to a type of drama, which is clearly popular in both senses of the word.

John’s significance as a holy representative of the catholic Church is furthered in this collection by an expansion of his representation as a symbol of spiritual enlightenment and as one who bore God’s grace. This is accomplished by the use of the metaphor of light, which is a feature of *V&S* as well as of many of the other post-mortem miracles. Like the stories of the Holy Spirit hovering above the bishop with fiery brilliance, and the miraculous illumination of the church of

¹⁸² *AMIII*:2, 3, 6.

North Burton, it is given physical expression in the account of a mysterious light which is said to have shone on John's tomb.¹⁸³ This is interpreted as emanating from the one true light, the light of Christ, therefore it was considered appropriate that this light should shine upon one who had been marked by the light of grace during his lifetime. In death, the brilliant light seen at his tomb symbolizes the saint's continuing efforts to illuminate the darkness by the performance of miraculous deeds for his people, thereby proving the truth of God's great compassion. The metaphor is extended by reference to light shining in man as much as in a clay vessel, that is, a clay lantern, but it also relates to the claim which Paul made that the light of the knowledge of God's glory is contained in clay vessels, that is, in people.¹⁸⁴

Light as a symbol of enlightenment is often linked with blindness as a symbol of ignorance, and the reason given for the inability of some people to see the miraculous light is that they lack pure faith and are not sufficiently devoted to God: their spiritual inability to see the truth is reflected in their physical inability to see the light. To support the contention that it is lack of sufficient faith that is causing their physical blindness, allusion is made to the Lamentations of Jeremiah: 'you have covered yourself with a cloud, that our prayer should not pass through';¹⁸⁵ similarly, it is likened to the incident related in Luke's Gospel when the disciples were prevented from recognizing the Lord when he appeared to them on the way to Emmaus.¹⁸⁶ The inference to be drawn from this is that the presence of John's light in the midst of those who are unable to recognize it for what it truly is, corresponds exactly with Christ being truly present in the flesh amongst his apostles, who were likewise unable to recognize him.

Two of the miracles in this collection involve giving physical light to blind men, and both of them are at the same time strongly associated with spiritual light. The blind man of Ely, who proves that he has spiritual vision by showing complete faith in God and John in his determination to reach the saint's shrine in the face of adversity, is rewarded by the total recovery of his physical sight.¹⁸⁷ This man, who already possessed enlightenment, contrasts with the labourer, who reveals his spiritual blindness by contravening the proper observance of John's feast day.¹⁸⁸ He has this lack of vision replicated in a physical way by being struck blind, his eyelids becoming stuck closed. In order to emphasize that his affliction is directly related to his offence, rather than coincidental with it, his infirmities are increased after he sins again before he has confessed it. His physical sight is only returned to him after he has proved publicly, through his act of repentance and penance, that he has achieved spiritual light.

¹⁸³ *VSJ*:11. *AMII*:6; *AMIII*:6.

¹⁸⁴ 2 Corinthians 4.7.

¹⁸⁵ Lamentations of Jeremiah 3.44.

¹⁸⁶ Luke. 24.16.

¹⁸⁷ *AMIII*:4.

This association between physical and spiritual sight is made specific when Christ, in giving sight to a man who had been born blind, is reported as saying, 'as long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world'.¹⁸⁹ The image of Christ bringing light to the world as a metaphor for bringing enlightenment to humankind is one of the motifs which dominate the Christian religion, and the emphasis placed on John also bringing such light unequivocally links him with Christ. At the same time, both of these blind men have visions of a bishop anointing their eyes: the labourer's with sweat, the man from Ely's as if with a goose feather dipped in honey. This is an allusion to the Lord making clay by spitting on the ground and anointing the eyes of a man who had been born blind and, in the story concerning the labourer, it is stated explicitly that John was following Christ's example in doing this.¹⁹⁰ The implication is that if the saint had learnt how to behave from the actions of the Lord, then ordinary people could also learn to follow his example.

The story of the labourer also serves as a warning to other people not to show similar disrespect to the saint on his feast day in case they receive comparable punishment. This, together with the restoration of the man's sight after due observance of the clergy's imposed penalty, suggests that the story is also intended to uphold the teachings of the Church vis-à-vis refraining from working on the saint's feast day, and to obey its instructions on confession, repentance and penance. Other stories also contain this element of supporting the Church's customs and teachings, such as when the crippled boy is provided with a coin to offer to the Lord in thanks for his cure.¹⁹¹ As the author points out, in spite of the fact that the psalms proclaim that God is perfectly satisfied with being praised with song, and receiving thanks rather than with any material gifts, nevertheless this provision of a coin confirms 'the laudable custom of giving'.¹⁹² Therefore by claiming that God approves the practice of making offerings to the church, this story encourages his worshippers to follow his example.

The importance of faith, which is a central element in a large number of miracle stories, is developed further in this collection by amplifying the difficulties faced by some petitioners and showing how their steadfastness overcomes the formidable obstacles they face. The blind man of Ely has already been referred to in this context: his complete faith in God, who is said to have inspired him to go to Beverley, though tested by the treachery of the young man who had been employed as his guide, is shown to be unshakeable. Another demonstration of faith in the face of what appear to be insuperable difficulties is that of the mother and her severely crippled son.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ *AMIII*:3.

¹⁸⁹ John 9.5.

¹⁹⁰ *John* 9.1-12.

¹⁹¹ *AMIII*:2. On the practice of coin-giving see Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁹² *Psalms* 68 32.

¹⁹³ *AMIII*:2.

The description of the child's deformities is extremely graphic, emphasizing the appalling nature of his affliction and the utter hopelessness of the case. It is clear that anyone with less than total faith must have given up all hope of recovery, but the mother continues to carry her son on her back to the tomb of John where she prays for a cure. The success of her petition is due to the constancy of her belief in God's mercy and John's merits.

This, and all the other healing miracles, take place inside the church and, more specifically, the crippled boy is said to have been laid at John's tomb, thereby promoting the cultic centre as the focus for miraculous cures. The stories all stress that God has performed these wonders to prove John's merits and to ensure that the saint's spiritual power is publicly recognized and acknowledged. It was vital to the continued prosperity of Beverley that healing miracles were understood to have been authentic, and for this reason they needed to be properly witnessed and authenticated. Unlike *AMI* and *AMII*, each of the miracles in this collection is said to have taken place in public, is announced publicly, and is officially celebrated in public. The meticulous care taken to verify each miracle may, in part, have been because of developments in the canonization procedure which, by the thirteenth century, the period in which these accounts were composed, required that miracle stories conformed to rigorous standards of authenticated eye-witness testimony before they were accepted as evidence of sanctity.¹⁹⁴ Although they did not form part of any campaign to have John formally canonized, it may have been felt that the recording of his miracles needed to conform to some extent with the formal requirements of such a process in order to be considered to be legitimate. In conformity with this, the public element is emphasized in all the accounts of the healing miracles: the resurrection of the boy who fell from the roof in the minster took place 'in the sight of everyone present'; the crippled boy was cured 'with everyone watching who had assembled at matins; the labourer who recovered his sight revealed what had happened 'with everyone standing around'; and the man from Ely related his story 'in the hearing of the clergy and all the people'.¹⁹⁵

The prestige and success of John's shrine were clearly of the utmost importance to the fortunes of Beverley: a successful cult attracted pilgrims to it, with all the material benefits that accrued from such visitors. It is evident, therefore, that the perception of John as one who could perform miracle cures was an important factor in the success of his cult, and consequently the material welfare of his religious community. However, as has been seen from the story of Thurstan in *MSJ*, as well as acquiring wealth and privileges for his community, John was also viewed as a powerful guardian and protector of the benefits he had obtained for the people of Beverley.

¹⁹⁴ See Kemp, *Canonization*.

¹⁹⁵ *AMIII*:1-4.

During the period of the baron's wars with King John, the country suffered considerable internal disorder, and this collection contains two stories that demonstrate a continued belief in John's power to defend Beverley from outside incursion and violation of its right of sanctuary.¹⁹⁶ The mercenaries hired by the king plainly struck terror into the hearts of the civilian population, who had no desire for war and were fearful of their safety. The text evokes a powerful image of men, women, and children abandoning their homes, discarding their possessions, as they flee to whatever refuge they can find. Beverley's reputation as a place of sanctuary attracted many of these people, including a number of soldiers, whose attempt to avoid fighting on behalf of their earl and king precipitated the crisis. In the face of dreadful threats, backed up by a tremendous armed force, the people of Beverley are shown to be resolute in refusing to violate their privilege of providing sanctuary to whomsoever fled there for refuge. They are shown to be confident that right is on their side, and that God and their patron saint would protect them now, just as they had many times before. They are reported as telling the earl that they would deserve to lose their ancient privileges if they presumed to abuse them, and this they refused to do. Indeed, it was vital that they should maintain the integrity of their right of sanctuary, for once such a privilege has been violated by those who are appointed to uphold it, it is lost forever, because no-one could place their trust in a sanctuary that can be overthrown by its guardians, even in the face of threatened destruction.

One of the accusations laid against Beverley is that of treason, because many of the refugees are people who are refusing to fight for the king against the rebellious barons. Certainly, the author seems to have sympathized with the rebels, suggesting that the barons' demands were reasonable, and that the king had followed evil advice in recruiting foreign mercenaries. However, the attitude attributed to the people of Beverley makes it clear that they would have refused to infringe their right of sanctuary regardless of who had sought its protection. The situation they have been put in could be interpreted as their being given the choice between submitting to their earthly king by evicting his enemies, or adhering to the ideals of their heavenly king by refusing to do so. Accordingly, their decision to remain steadfast reaffirms their loyalty to God and their patron saint above all earthly claims.

This conjecture is supported by the description of the earl as being a son of the devil because, in attacking the servants of John, 'he strove to attack God'. Further, his inability to attack from the east, therefore being forced to approach from the north, is interpreted as being entirely appropriate because it corresponded with the behaviour of the devil who set his seat in the north

¹⁹⁶ *AMIII*:5.

in order to challenge God.¹⁹⁷ Consequently, the earl is depicted not only as an aggressor threatening the lives and welfare of the people of Beverley, but also as attacking the spiritual foundation of their lives.

Although it does not seem to be beyond the realms of credibility that if men are tossing lighted torches about, one of them might get burnt, great play is made of the difficulty in removing the torch from the earl's foot, as it appears to have stuck to it: even 'quick-acting servants' could not remove it. The resultant serious burns suffered by the earl are therefore seen as a sign that he should desist from attacking Beverley in case he should receive even worse punishment. The notion of divine influence at work here is supported by a reference to what is called, 'a fairly similar miracle', that of the deacon Sigga whose face was burned when he rushed to share John's vision.¹⁹⁸ Clearly there is no similarity between the situations themselves: in the one an enemy of John is intent on attacking his church; and in the other a colleague of the bishop is excitedly trying to share his vision of the Holy Ghost. However, their correspondence lies in their symbolic significance: both of these events depict an attempt to invade holy, spiritual space which is under the protection of God, and in both cases the invader is punished by fire which is divinely inspired.

Although the original reason for the intended assault on Beverley had been the earl's anger at the refuge given to his deserting soldiers, another even stronger motive emerges: material gain. Beverley had acquired great riches and may have been a target for powerful men, especially in a time of near anarchy, and this earl is described as 'greedy for gain and prepared to plunder like a wolf'. In his study of the northern rebels, Holt draws a picture of a typical northern baron as 'an habitual litigant and speculative gambler' who had probably suffered some form of setback, failure or defeat in his endeavours.¹⁹⁹ This earl is not a rebel, but that he may have suffered financially is implied by his claim that the misfortunes that he and other earls had endured would seem more tolerable if others were made to suffer in a similar way: Beverley's security from financial loss made their own situation appear even worse.

The wickedness of the second nobleman who threatens Beverley is emphasized by the detailed description of the punishment he intends to inflict on the town, which he aims to raze to the ground, utterly destroying it and its people. Although these dire threats are shown to terrify the people of Beverley, some men are said to have hidden their fear so as not to give satisfaction to their enemies and because they believe that as God and their saint had already saved them once, they would be saved a second time. Their faith in divine intervention is shown to help keep up

¹⁹⁷ Isaiah 14.13.

¹⁹⁸ *VS*:11.

¹⁹⁹ J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (Oxford, 1961), p. 18.

their morale in the face of apparently insuperable odds. Quotations from the Psalms reinforce the notion of salvation and God's protection, provided the people put their complete trust in him. At the same time, their situation is compared favourably with that of the Ninevites, for if people who had sinned and then repented were reprieved at the last moment, it is even more likely that those who were innocent of the charges laid against them should be delivered from threatened destruction.²⁰⁰

The subsequent sudden death of the earl is acclaimed a miracle, and the faith of the people of Beverley is shown to have been rewarded. In times of near lawlessness, virtually the only protection a town might have was a saint with a reputation for wreaking vengeance on its enemies, and this story added to John's renown for administering such retribution. This reputation also vindicated the status of Beverley as a place of refuge that was above and beyond secular power.

As well as his reputation being a crucial means of defending the people of Beverley from outside aggression, John is also seen as protecting the church community itself. When the roof is being put on the church, despite clear evidence that it is in danger of imminent collapse, the clergy ignore the danger and continue to perform their offices because, it is said, they put their trust in God and their confessor. That they all escape injury when the tower eventually does collapse is attributed to the intervention of God, who, because he 'pities' his confessor, caused the tower to collapse in stages so that his people would have sufficient warning to escape the danger. The faith of the clergy and their consequent adherence to their duty in continuing their office all the way to the end is rewarded when they escape the final collapse of the tower, which takes place after they have left the church.

The erroneous attention given by the masons to the ornamentation of their work rather than to its substance can be contrasted with the writer's own declared intention to avoid ornamental language in favour of the 'simplicity of naked truth'. This is, of course, a common avowal of modesty, nevertheless, the linguistic devices the author employs are not used for purely decorative purposes, but are intended to enhance his message, not be a substitute for it. Given the self-consciously literary style of this writer, the collapse of the tower may have been intended as an analogy to overweening pride and a reminder of the story of the tower of Babel.²⁰¹ It is also reminiscent of the parable about the foolish man who built his house on sand, only to see it washed away when the rains came.²⁰² Much is made of the priority given by the masons to

²⁰⁰ Jonah 3.4.

²⁰¹ Genesis 11.4-9.

²⁰² Matthew 7.26-27.

ornamentation rather than to technical precision, and the comparison of their method of construction with the sewing of new patches onto old clothing alludes to one of the lessons of Jesus: 'no man also sews a piece of new cloth on an old garment; else the new piece that filled it up takes away from the old, and the rent is made worse'.²⁰³ The truth of this saying is amply demonstrated by the fall of the tower, and at the same time the builders are shown to be rash in ignoring the Lord's advice.

The destruction of the tower meant that the interior layout of the church had to be changed, resulting in the shrine being set up directly behind the middle of the tomb. The author explains that, with hindsight, the miraculous light that had appeared at the tomb earlier must have presaged these events and had signified that John's body was to be restored to its original location, that is, the tomb.

Fowler compares this miracle with similar acts that were attributed to St William of York, and John of Bridlington, showing how the acts of each successive saint are more elaborate and wonderful than the ones before. When the tower collapses at Beverley in the early thirteenth, no-one is hurt because, thanks to John, everyone has foreseen the danger and has escaped. Later in the thirteenth century, or after, York produces two miracles along similar lines, but rather more dramatic. Whereas no-one is actually struck by any of the masonry at Beverley, at York a stone falls on the head of a man, who is named as Roger de Ripun, during the translation ceremony of St William (1283), and he is completely uninjured; and in the second story a man falls down a ladder and is struck by a stone which stuns him but nothing more. In the fourteenth century, it is John of Bridlington himself who is stuck on the head by a stone but is unharmed by it; and in the second story a man is brought back to life after having fallen from the top of a house and dashed to death on the floor below.²⁰⁴

There are many examples of this sort of imitation and exaggeration, and from them it is possible to perceive the workings of the great rivalry that existed between neighbouring communities, anxious that their particular patron saint should outshine his predecessors in both the number and miraculousness of his acts in order to prove his glory and superior merit. As can be seen from the painted windows of York cathedral, several of the miracles attributed to St William were imitations of those performed by John of Beverley.²⁰⁵ With this knowledge, therefore, it may be recognized that, just as Christ and the earlier saints were universal prototypes for later saints, so John of Beverley could have been an exemplar for some of the saints who came after him.

²⁰³ Mark 2.21.

²⁰⁴ Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 295-99.

²⁰⁵ These are discussed in Chapter 5.

This is a particularly interesting set of miracles and demonstrates how the requirements of the community vis-à-vis their saint changed depending on the prevailing situation. During a period of relative peace and prosperity, the main concern of the community in possession of John's relics was to promote the cult through the promulgation of their saint's reputation for being able to heal physical ailments, with the complementary aim of promoting the teachings of the church. In accordance with these objectives, the first four miracles involve healing: a boy was resurrected from death, another boy was healed of his crippling disease, and two men were cured of blindness, one of whom had had his infirmity inflicted upon him for having disobeyed church law. The next two miracles are set during a time of civil unrest when the security of the town was threatened by outside forces. At that time the principal concern was the defence of the people, and John's function as the patron saint of Beverley changed from that of a kindly, heavenly physician, to that of an avenger who struck down the enemies threatening the town. When the community was again secure from outside incursion, the emphasis shifted once more to focus on the spiritual enlightenment inherent in John, and his role as guardian of the general welfare of the religious community who venerate him.

These stories are the most literary of the miracle collections, by an author who was clearly aware of the correlation between the way in which he narrated his stories and the messages he wished to get across. Their literary style makes them particularly memorable, with each miracle embodying a number of lessons or morals which the audience can apply to their own lives, whatever their station or calling. Some incidents may be seen as exemplars of how one should conduct one's life, and others are warnings of how not to behave, but they are all expressions of power. Beverley and its church were powerful because of the power of their patron saint to call upon the power of God. It seems clear that the author of these miracles must have been a local man, mindful of the welfare of the people of Beverley, jealous of Beverley's liberties and privileges and keen to protect them, keen on reinforcing the teachings of his Church, and, above all, a man of faith proud to proclaim the glory of his God and the excellent merits of his glorious confessor, John of Beverley.

Additional miracles²⁰⁶

Although several are found in different versions elsewhere, of the other surviving miracle stories recorded at Beverley, all but two are contained in the *Beverley Cartulary*, the exceptions being two of the four miracles recorded in the *Memorials of Beverley Minster*.

²⁰⁶ These miracles are numbered 1 through 16 in Appendices 6A/6B.

There are three miracles in the *Beverley Cartulary* which are also found in the *Acta Sanctorum* at the end of the *VSJ*, and they are almost exactly identical, which suggests that they may derive from the same source.²⁰⁷ They are linked together by connecting phrases: the second story commences with ‘sometime afterwards’, and the third starts, ‘also it happened’, giving the impression that they occurred consecutively within a short period of time. It is not possible to date the composition of these narratives any earlier than the fourteenth century.

The first story is a conventional miracle of someone who is cured of a fever, and it is told in an extremely abbreviated way without elaboration. The only intimation of its date is that it is claimed to be the first one to have happened after John’s death, which is borne out by the second story, which refers to Abbot Berthun as still presiding over the monastery. A strong attempt is made at authenticating this latter account because it is very detailed and several people are referred to by name: Berthun, Drichwald, Adde, and Wlverd (*sic*). However, the reference to the Abbot of Swine makes the whole account extremely suspect because the Cistercian nunnery at Swine was not founded until the twelfth century, some four hundred years after Berthun’s death.²⁰⁸ This story is therefore either a twelfth-, or post-twelfth-century fiction, or it contains some elements of an earlier miracle story which has had later material or details grafted on to it.

However, it is a useful narrative in that it provides an example of the stages of behaviour through which a suppliant might pass in seeking a cure at Beverley: following intense prayer at the high altar, above which John’s shrine may have been situated, the sick man then besought the assistance of the saint at his tomb before going into a side chapel to be marked with the sign of the cross on the forehead using relics.

The third story refers to a place called Esech, which is unknown. This is a very short, rather peculiar story, which deals, in a very perfunctory way, with the illness and cure of a nun. It then goes on to claim that, when she was cured, the nun ministered to many men that day by giving them drinks. This may have been an attempt to link the story with Peter’s mother-in-law, as Bede did with the curing of Puch’s wife, but it is done in a much less skilful way.²⁰⁹

The four stories in the *Memorials of Beverley Minster* take the form of letters patent, and are official records of miracles that have been endorsed by the Chapter of the Church of St John of

²⁰⁷ Additional Miracles:1-3.

²⁰⁸ *HCV* 1, p. lix.

²⁰⁹ *HE* v.4.

Beverley.²¹⁰ They are all dated at Beverley within a four-year period from 22 July 1318 to 12 June 1323, and represent formal recognition of the events as miraculous signs. An identical form of words is used to introduce and conclude the accounts, and their formality is emphasised by the naming of the people concerned and their places of abode, and in three of them, a precise date is given for when the miracle happened: Agnes of Sherborne was restored to sanity on the Friday following the translation of St Benedict Biscop in 1318; John, son of Robert Dandi of Melton was cured on Sunday, 22 February 1322; and Matilda of Settrington was healed on the Saturday before the day of St William of York (8 June) in 1323.

It is clear that a high level of formulaic phraseology was used in these accounts, for example, all the afflictions were attributed 'Dei iudicio'; the words used to describe the illnesses of Robert Dandi and of Matilda of Settrington are almost identical; and the cures of these two people are said to have come about 'per merita et suffragia . . . dicti sancti'. As the recording of these miracles coincided with periods of fund-raising activity in which money was sought for a new shrine and for the fabric of the minster, they were clearly designed to provide written proof that John continued to perform miraculous cures at his tomb.²¹¹ By validating the saint's spiritual power in a formalized way, this would have had the effect of attracting more pilgrims, and thus more donations, to the cultic centre.

Alternative versions of the stories of Agnes of Sherborne, and the boy of North Feriby appear in the *Beverley Cartulary* where they manifest certain differences, in particular, the absence in the latter of the formal preambles and endings found in the *Memorials*, and no indications of when they were supposed to have occurred.

The story about Agnes in the *Memorials* is very brief, serving to confirm that her affliction was genuine, that her raging for 'many days' in the church had been properly established by the clergy, and that her sanity was restored to her at the tomb of John.²¹² In the *Cartulary* this simple account is elaborated upon and extra details are added, which have the effect of creating a more dramatic and complete narrative.²¹³ A precise amount of time is given for the duration of Agnes's insanity: six days before going to the church and another six whilst there, the symmetry of this giving rise to the suspicion that this is an authorial creation designed to provide additional authentication for Agnes's affliction. It is also claimed that she was harshly bound to the tomb,

²¹⁰ Additional Miracles:13-16.

²¹¹ The issue of fund-raising is discussed in Chapter 5, pp. 145-45.

²¹² Additional miracles:13.

²¹³ Ibid., 12.

an addition to the narrative that conforms to a practice that was common in cases of madness.²¹⁴ Furthermore, a description is given of the disturbance she is said to have made with her shouts and cries and, following her cure, the miracle is said to have been celebrated in the normal public manner at John's tomb. By supplying these additional details, which conform to normal expectations with regard to the treatment and behaviour of someone considered to be insane, and the subsequent celebration of her cure, the author has created a more dramatic narrative than the account in the *Memorials*. A major departure from the official story is made when the *Cartulary* account claims that Agnes recovered her sanity following a vision in which John appeared to her and told her she was cured. This is a common topos, as has been seen in the earlier miracle collections, and places additional emphasis on the personal intervention of the saint.²¹⁵

The stories concerning the boy from North Feriby contain within them certain sections of text that are identical, which suggests that the account in the *Memorials* was the source for the *Cartulary* version.²¹⁶ There are few differences between them, the major departure being that the latter version adds a component lacking in the former: the blindness which afflicted the boy is said to have occurred after his parents had set off for Beverley. This implies some sort of failure on the part of the parents, suggesting that the vow to visit Beverley included the boy, and they were breaking their vow by setting off without him. This extra element adds little to the narrative, but is an example of the way in which a basic account is embellished on to demonstrate the various powers of the saint and the duties of the supplicants.

As with the earlier miracle collections, all of the additional miracle stories provide circumstantial details that point to the behaviour of ordinary people and the types of cultic practices carried out in the fourteenth century. In the latter case, descriptions of such practices may also have served an exemplary purpose in advising suppliants on the proper way to seek divine assistance and the appropriate donations to make, either in gratitude for a miracle received, or in the hope of divine intervention.

Apart from the first three stories, which are set shortly after John's death, and which refer to the 'sepulcrum' or 'tumulum', all the miracle cures, without exception, are said to have occurred at the 'tumba' of John. All of these words can be translated in the same way as 'tomb' or 'tomb-shrine', whereas the reliquary shrine was more likely to have been referred to as 'feretrum'. This is an indication that John's tomb had become the focus for popular devotion in the fourteenth

²¹⁴ The shrine of St Osmund in the nave of Salisbury cathedral is designed with inner and outer casings, the latter with large circular holes in the sides, which would have made it easier for people to be bound to it with ropes or chains.

²¹⁵ See for example *MSJ*:10; *AMI*:1, 4 5, 9, 16; *AMIII*: 3, 4; Additional miracles:8.

²¹⁶ Additional miracles:14, 6.

century, which supports the theory that it was more accessible to the general populace at that time than the reliquary shrine.²¹⁷ The suppliants are shown to pray, beg, and cry in seeking assistance, and some of them are said to have spend long periods of time in the church in the hope of relief from their ailments: Matilda of Settrington is said to have waited for three weeks before being cured.²¹⁸ Whilst there, some of them clearly had to rely on the generosity of others for their needs: Matilda was so ill that she had to be carried about by others, and Robert Dandi is said to have sought his living, presumably food and drink, from those coming into the church.²¹⁹

The giving of wax images or candles to the shrine has already been seen in the earlier collections, and the measuring of the boy of North Feriby is another example of this custom. In this case the boy's full height would have been measured and a candle of equivalent size would have been made and then donated to the shrine.²²⁰ Because this practice could result in candles of enormous size, once the wicks were measured to the required length, they were often folded, or twisted back upon themselves before being covered in wax.²²¹

The story of the youth of Goxhill who was struck dumb features the practice of bending a coin to confirm a vow.²²² Archaeological finds, which include swords and tools that have been destroyed deliberately, indicate that the ritual practice of bending metal objects dates back to before Roman times. The Christian custom apparently derives from this pagan practice of 'killing' the object by bending it in order to despatch it to the world of spirits.²²³ There are numerous well-documented examples throughout the middle ages of coins being bent for diverse calamities such as storms at sea, the curing of a blind horse, and the turning back of a fire, as well as the more usual serious human ailments. The bending reflects the attitude that the saint had to be offered that particular coin and no other, and the practice was so widespread in England that the commission investigating the canonization of Cantilupe in 1307 called coin-bending 'the English custom'.²²⁴ The most common procedure was that employed in the case of the adolescent, whose mother bent a coin over him whilst vowing to make an annual pilgrimage to the saint at Beverley.

The related issue of the practice of making a vow on the saint's relics is illustrated by the story of the woman of Kingston-upon-Hull whose insanity was viewed as punishment for false-

²¹⁷ For a discussion on the possible location of the shrine see below, pp. 152-53.

²¹⁸ Additional miracles:16.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 15.

²²⁰ This practice clearly goes back a long way for Gregory of Tours recorded that a woman who had burnt her hand made a candle as tall as herself, Van Dam, *Martyrs*, ch. 15.

²²¹ See Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 304-05; Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 97.

²²² Additional miracles:11.

²²³ Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London, 1987), p. 30.

²²⁴ Finucane, *Miracles*, pp. 94-95

swearing.²²⁵ It was commonly believed that the swearing of a false oath would be severely punished by the saint on whose relics it was made. Perhaps the most famous instance of this is the illustration in the Bayeux Tapestry of Harold swearing his oath of allegiance to the Duke of Normandy on holy relics, which suggested that his subsequent downfall was as a result of divine intervention for his treachery in breaking that oath.

As well as illustrating punishment for clear sinful behaviour, these stories also reveal a belief that people suffered misfortunes as a result of divine intervention, even when no specific sinful act is reported. The conventional phrase ‘dei iudicio’, used in the four accounts in the *Memorials* is also used of Annis of Nunkeeling, who lost the sight in her right eye.²²⁶ However, hand-in-hand with this belief, was that ailments could be caused by diabolic interference: evil spirits are said to have taken the form of young women, one dressed in red and the other in green, when they attacked the adolescent of Goxhill, and caused him to lose the ability to speak.²²⁷

Some of these stories also demonstrate a strongly held belief in the power of secondary relics: objects that had, in some way, had a connection with the saint. The concept behind this is that the saint’s spiritual power was transferred to anything that had been in contact with his relics. The adolescent of Goxhill was given water to drink in which a ring, which was believed to have belonged to John, had been washed. For good measure, the youth’s tongue was also pressed into the sign of the cross that featured on the ring. The symbol of Christ’s crucifixion was, of course, believed to be especially potent in all sorts of situations, and the boy of North Feriby was also marked with this sign in the hope that it would help to restore his power of speech.²²⁸

Another secondary relic which features in these stories is the holy oil which is reported to have sometimes seeped from John’s tomb.²²⁹ One of these occasions is precisely dated in the year 1312 on the feast day of the apostle St Barnabas, which is 11 June, when the oil is said to have flowed from the morning until the third hour of the following day.²³⁰ The account claims that two boys were given the ability to see more clearly after their eyes had been anointed with this oil. John of Droxford, who was Bishop of Bath and Wells from 9 November 1309 to 9 May 1329,²³¹ is said to have been present, and to have examined the boys to authenticate the miracle, after which a mass was said for John. Another account in the *Acta Sanctorum* claims that oil seeped

²²⁵ Additional miracles:4.

²²⁶ Ibid., 10.

²²⁷ Ibid., 9.

²²⁸ Bede wrote that John making the sign of the cross on the tongue of the mute boy preceded his cure, *HE* v.2.

²²⁹ This is a common phenomenon at saints’ tombs: Gregory of Tours recorded that fragrant oil seeped from the tomb of the apostle Andrew, Van Dam, *Martyrs*, ch. 30; and that oil from the tomb of St Martin of Tours was used for healing purposes, Van Dam, *Confessors*, ch. 9.

²³⁰ Additional miracles:7.

²³¹ A. B. Fryde and others, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn (London, 1986), p. 228.

from the tomb on the feast of St Bernard in 1312. It does not refer specifically to two boys receiving their sight, but claims that many blind people were cured after being anointed with the oil. It seems probable that this actually refers to the same occasion recorded in the *Cartulary*, and by Capgrave and that St Barnabas was confused with St Bernard.²³²

Two further accounts in the *Cartulary* claim that holy oil emanated from John's tomb. One of these claims that it occurred on the day of John's translation, but does not say in which year.²³³ Its position in the *Cartulary* suggests that it is not referring to the actual day of the ceremony in 1037, but to 25 October in a later year. The other account claims the day of the Lord's ascension as the occasion on which holy oil flowed forth from the tomb.²³⁴ The nun from the priory of Nunkeeling had evidently been lying on, or extremely close to the tomb, because her clothes were moistened by the flowing oil and she was rebuked by others for being so close to it. When she smeared the oil on one of her eyes that had been blind for nine years, the woman regained her sight. She appears to have been fortunate enough to have experienced two miraculous cures for she had been making an annual pilgrimage to the tomb for six years ever since she had been cured of madness by John.

There are several other accounts of holy oil seeping from John's tomb: it is said to have occurred in 1399 when Henry IV landed at Ravenspur, and on 25 October 1415 during the Battle of Agincourt.²³⁵ Moreover, in 1443 Archbishop Kempe granted an indulgence of 100 days to those who visited the tomb, 'which is now very famous, especially for the very healthful supply of sweet oil which is now observed to gush from the tomb more largely and abundantly than usual, for the healing of all faithful worshipers (*sic*)'.²³⁶ As a secondary relic with healing powers, this would have been cherished as undeniable proof of John's sanctity, and was also perhaps a valuable resource for the community. The Cistercian Abbey at Meaux still possesses a glass ampoule containing some of this oil, but it is not known how or when it was acquired.²³⁷

Visions are a special feature of the fourteenth-century stories, occurring in several of the accounts. They usually take one of two forms: either someone sees a vision of a bishop, identified as John, who tells them to go to his tomb where they will receive a cure; or a vision is experienced at the tomb and, on awaking, the person is found to have recovered their health. The former occurs in two of these accounts, the simpler being that experienced by the crippled pauper

²³² Fowler, 'On a Window', p. 263 referring to *AASS Maii* II, p. 194.

²³³ Additional miracles:9.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

²³⁵ See below, pp. 178-79.

²³⁶ *FE*, I, 90.

²³⁷ I. G. Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England' unpublished PhD thesis (University of London, 1974), pp. 417, 522.

who claims that, whilst he was asleep he saw a handsome bishop who told him to go to John's tomb.²³⁸ A similar instruction is given to a sick boy, but this account is more detailed in that a time is given for the occurrence of the vision (around the ninth hour, or three o'clock in the afternoon) and John, whom the boy seems to have recognized, was carrying a candle which dripped wax over the child's head. An air of authenticity is given to the account by the apparent quotation of the exact words the saint is reported to have said to the boy, and the boy's words to his mother when he asks her to carry him to the tomb.²³⁹

The woman who had falsely sworn an oath on John's shrine claims to have had a vision of the virgin Mary who asked John to forgive her.²⁴⁰ The saint complied and, having been released from her sin, the woman was also released from the ropes binding her and the insanity that had gripped her. Mary is said to have wiped the woman's mouth with a cloth. This may have been done in a spirit of compassion, or might imply that the woman was foaming at the mouth in her raving. Agnes, who also suffered from insanity, claims that she was cured and simultaneously released from her bonds after she had experienced a vision of the saint, who spoke to her, telling her that she had been cured.²⁴¹ A rather more complex vision was experienced by the adolescent who had been struck dumb, for he claims to have seen a bloodstained Christ carrying the cross, Mary adorned with a golden crown, and John in pontifical robes.²⁴² All of these visions were considered to be divinely inspired, and were confirmations to the afflicted that they had been cured.

These visions, like those in the earlier miracle stories in which John gives advice, fights off demons, or cures illnesses, indicate a perception of his role in earthly rather than spiritual terms. Like the apparent materialization of the female evil spirits, and the phenomena reported in *AMII* concerning the ghostly procession of saints in the church at Beverley, they confuse the boundaries between the corporeal and non-corporeal worlds. At the same time, the appearance of John, either to instruct someone to go to his tomb, or at the tomb itself, is a powerful assertion that he approved of this location as the focus for his own veneration.

Apart from the stories recorded at Beverley, there are other records of miracles attributed to John, such as that related by William of Malmesbury, who tells of how wild bulls which had been bound with ropes and led forcibly by very strong men became as docile as sheep once they had

²³⁸ Additional miracles:8.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.

entered the cemetery at Beverley'.²⁴³ The tameness of wild animals in the presence of a saint's relics is a fairly common claim, and a very similar story was told by Gregory of Tours about ferocious bulls which became as tame as lambs as soon as they entered the shrine of the martyr, St Julian.²⁴⁴ There are also numerous anecdotal accounts of miraculous happenings connected with John, such as the curative powers of wells dedicated to him.²⁴⁵ These supplementary miracle stories represent an accretion of John's miraculous powers, a phenomenon which attached itself to the reputations of virtually all saints once they had been recognized as being able to perform wondrous deeds.

All of these miracles are connected in some way with John's cult and they either represent a conventional amplification of the saint's powers, or exploit the cult as propaganda to serve some political purpose. There is, however, one miracle that does not appear to have been written with the purpose of either exploiting or promoting the cult, and as this is such an unusual account, I have decided to examine it separately from the rest.

Miracle story in *Historia Anglicana*, I, 261-62²⁴⁶

The *Historia Anglicana*, which comprises the *Chronicles of St Albans*, contains a particularly unusual story which has elements that are reminiscent of a fairytale. It is clearly not intended to promote the cult of John but is the purported experience of a particular unnamed person who subsequently became a priest at Thorpe Bassett, which used to form part of the land holdings of the monastery of St Albans.²⁴⁷

This story is grounded in actuality by the details which connect the youth with the household of John, Baron of Greystoke, and then with Thorpe Bassett. In contrast, the events which supposedly befell the young man are expressed in fantastical terms, the narrative resonating with fairytale elements. First is the little red man: whilst out riding, the young man is apparently confronted by a little red man who seems to grow in stature before him. Red men appear in a number of folk-tales, the colour red often seen as a magic, or 'otherworld' colour;²⁴⁸ there are

²⁴³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed N. S. A. Hamilton, RS 52 (1870), p. 245.

²⁴⁴ Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1993), p. 184.

²⁴⁵ See Chapter 5.

²⁴⁶ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols, RS 28 (1863-64), I, 261-62; Additional miracles:17.

²⁴⁷ Hugh, who was abbot of the monastery from 1308 to 1326, transferred Thorpe Bassett to Ralph, Baron of Greystoke, in exchange for his renouncing his claim to Consclive; G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom*, 6 vols (Gloucester, 1982), II, 116.

²⁴⁸ See 'The little Red Hairy Man' and 'The Little Red Man' in Katherine M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language, incorporating the F. J. Norton Collection*, 4 vols (London, 1970-71), Part A, I, 391-93, 393.

also tales where the devil, who is sometimes depicted with a red beard, grows in size.²⁴⁹ This mysterious creature then leads the youth to a beautiful lady who, with her equally lovely attendants, dwells in some secret place that is arrived at by travelling through the wheat field. This suggests a place not commonly accessible in the normal world and therefore implies that the beautiful women who inhabit it are supernatural, which in turn evokes the notion of fairies with their fairy queen. However, these are not benign creatures, for the 'queen' orders the young man to be tortured before she, herself, cuts open his head and removes his brain; he is then put back on his horse and sent on his way.

Not surprisingly, his experience causes the young man to behave in an insane way: the physical removal of his brain has led to him losing his mind mentally. Clearly, the surgical removal of his brain is the young man's explanation for his loss of sanity, just as the restoration of his mind six years later at the church of St John of Beverley is expressed in terms of a vision in which his brain is put back inside his head. The text implies that the very beautiful woman who restores his brain is not the same one who had removed it, and it is tempting to suggest that the restorer of his mind was meant to represent the Virgin Mary. However, this idea is not supported by the text, because the writer makes no reference to the mother of God, which he would almost certainly have done had she been the woman intended.

On having his sanity restored to him, the young man marries the girl who has loved and cared for him during his illness, and who has led him around numerous shrines in Europe hoping for a cure. She bears him fifteen children before her death, after which he takes holy orders and becomes a priest. The red man is said to have remained constantly visible to the youth during his entire period of insanity, that is for six years, but apparently disappears from sight when the young man is cured. This makes it all the more strange when, many years later when the man, who is now a priest at Thorpe Bassett, elevates the host during mass, the red man appears and confirms that Christ, whom the priest is holding in his hands, is a better guardian for him than he. This suggests, paradoxically, that the red man had remained by the young man's side throughout his illness in order to look after him, despite having been responsible for leading him forcibly to the lady who removed his brain.

This story bears no relationship to the conventional hagiographic narratives relating to John and, apart from his church at Beverley being named as the place where the man was cured, no other reference is made to the saint at all. Clearly, therefore, John's part in obtaining divine

²⁴⁹ Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols (Indiana, 1975), II, D1293.1, III, F178.1, G303.3.5.1, G303.4.1.3.1.

intervention is not viewed as the most significant factor in the story, rather the significance of the story for the compiler of the *Chronicles* is that the main protagonist is said to have become a priest at Thorpe Bassett, which made it relevant to the records of the monastery of St Albans. It is because there is no clear motive for attributing the miracle to John, and no interest in promoting him as the saint responsible for restoring the young man's sanity, that the notion arises that some sort of genuine experience did befall this priest in his youth. Therefore, despite the incredibility of the tale, the idea remains that this is a story about a real person who underwent a psychological disturbance of some sort, which involved hallucinatory experiences. Despite its lack of direct relevance to the promotion of John's cult, the recording of this story and its claim that the young man was cured at Beverley after six years of wandering overseas, is additional evidence of a widespread belief in the saint's thaumaturgical powers.

Conclusion

The development of John's written cultus reveals successive re-creations of the saint and his powers, depending upon the requirements of his chroniclers and/or the community for which they were written. Bede's account of John's life created the image of an ideal bishop who was devout, conscientious, kindly, and well educated in the medicinal practices of the day, as well as being a pious emulator of Christ and his deeds. Alcuin's poem refashioned John as a saintly bishop of York, whose merits were revealed by the performance of miraculous deeds. Folcard then re-created John, supplementing Bede's representation of the perfect bishop by producing an account of John's early life, embellishing his reputation in a number of ways, and adding further miraculous deeds. The *VSJ* created a saint worthy of reverence and thereby affirmed the integrity of his relics as the focus for his spiritual power. This endowed the community who possessed his remains with divine authority, enabling them to exploit the cult for both material and spiritual benefits. Subsequent writers used Bede's and Folcard's accounts as the basis for their *vitæ*, both abridging them, and embellishing them according to their current perceptions of John.

The successive sets of miracle collections reaffirmed the integrity of the cultic centre and created a saint who was not only a healer of the sick, but also the acquirer and guardian of Beverley's rights and privileges. *MSJ* and *AMI* extended the scope of the cult and widened the range of votive groups which the cult was designed to attract, by increasing the geographical spread of the pilgrims and the classes involved from paupers to merchants and religious, as well as embracing both males and females. At the same time, the significance of the cult was extended to encompass national as well as local issues. Apart from the conventional healing miracles, the stories in *AMII* entered the world of fantasy in a more obvious way, perhaps indicating an

attraction for strange and mysterious events. In contrast, the author of *AMIII* thoroughly grounded his stories in reality. He created a complex work of genuine literary merit, as well as fulfilling the primary functions of a work of hagiography: promotion of the cult, edification, teaching, and inspiration to devotion. The individual miracles recorded in the fourteenth century are conventional miracle cures designed to testify to John's continuing power and worthiness for veneration.

Altogether there were sixty separate miracles which were recorded at Beverley: forty-one, that is approximately 68%, were cures of human illnesses, which covered a wide range of ailments: lameness, tumours, insanity, lechery, dumbness, fever, blindness, and deafness; the high number of mutes cured has already been noted. Nineteen, or about 32%, were other sorts of miracles (although there was clearly more than one instance of the seeping of holy oil, and the cure of dumb animals, in the absence of a precise number this calculation includes just one count of each). This is a remarkable statistic when one considers that within the same time period, that is the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, reported miracles from English and European shrines indicated that human healing miracles formed 90% of the total, with only 10% relating to other types of miracle.²⁵⁰

The relatively high proportion of non-healing miracles reveals that John's significance to Beverley went far beyond fulfilling the community's needs with regard to miracle cures, although these were essential to the continuance of the cult in that they attracted pilgrims and donations from far afield. It is clear that not only were the saint's character and behaviour defined by his community, but that the community also defined its own identity, and consequently guided its own behaviour, both internally and with the outside world, according to its perception of John and its relationship with him.

²⁵⁰ Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 59.

5: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULT

This chapter charts the progress of John's cult from its beginnings as a local cult through to its apogee as a cult of national status, and the migration of the cult to northern France, perhaps as early as the tenth century. It also examines the possibility that alongside the predominate tradition that John had been a pious, saintly bishop, there existed a tradition that he had been a reformed sinner.

The success of any cult depended upon both 'popular acclaim and clerical approval'.¹ Without the former no cult could flourish for there would be no petitioners calling upon the saint to intercede on their behalf, with the result that no miracles would be attributed to him/her.²

Moreover, for a cult to thrive it needed to be actively promoted by the local religious or ecclesiastic community: it was they who preserved the memory of the saint's life and works, both while s/he was alive and in the miracles performed after his/her death, initially within the oral tradition, and subsequently in hagiographic writings. They worshipped at the tomb, took care of the relics, performed ritual celebrations of his/her feast days, and organized and carried out other public rituals in which his/her shrine played a prominent part. It was the community who determined the form of the traditions relating to their local saint by manipulating the kind of publicity promulgated about him or her. Official promotion of the cult encouraged pilgrims to visit the church, and the more pilgrims there were the more miraculous cures were likely to occur, consequently more income was likely to be generated.³

As well as generating income directly from shrine offerings, a reputation as a powerful saint contributed to the wealth of the church by attracting gifts of lands and exemptions from taxes. Equally important to the community was that his/her reputation remained sufficiently strong to protect such acquisitions.

An important impetus in the development of John's cult came from two archbishops of York who promoted the cult vigorously: Ælfric (1023-51) who, in 1037, arranged for the translation of the saint's relics to a magnificent new shrine; and Ealdred (1061-69) who commissioned the monk, Folcard, to write the *Vita Sancti Johannis* and responsaries in John's honour. The success of these initiatives is verified by the fact that the church attracted pilgrims from places far distant from Beverley, including East Anglia, Scotland, Ireland, and France. It will also be shown that a significant impulse in the development of the cult came from the patronage of rich

¹ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), p. 142.

² Even Christ could not perform many miracles in his home town because the people there had no faith in him Matthew 13.58.

³ However, see Barbara Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 17, who raises the question as to whether it was the audience who generated the cults, rather than the cults which generated the audience.

people, especially royalty. The support of a succession of English kings ensured the continuation and promotion of John's cult at both local and national level, which gave recognition to the vital role that the saint played in defence of the realm. It will also be argued that the patronage of King Athelstan was an essential element in the migration of the cult to Brittany in northern France where the town of St-Jean-Brévelay memorializes the saint's name.

During 'critical junctures' in the history of a community a cult would be 're-formed', perhaps entailing the production of extravagant artworks and architecture.⁴ The production of hagiographic works formed part of this process, which was orchestrated by those in possession of the saint's relics, which possession gave them their authority and influence in society.

HAGIOGRAPHY

As was shown in Chapter 4, the production of the *vite* and *miracula* of John fulfilled a number of different functions apart from their overt purpose of extending the cult and promoting the cultic centre as the site of spiritual power. This section discusses the social and political contexts within which the major texts relating to the cult were produced, with the aim of identifying the impetus behind their creation at particular times in Beverley's history.

The recording by Bede in *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, which was completed in 731, of several miracles supposedly performed by John during his lifetime, is a clear indication that those who knew him already considered him to have the requisite virtues to be considered a saint.⁵ Bede's major aim in writing his *History* was to show how God's great plan for converting the English people came to fruition, and how the English Church finally achieved unity.⁶ At the same time, based on his strong views on how people in positions of authority should behave, he used his work to present moral exemplars for good men to follow in line with his stated intention in the preface to his work that, 'should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good'.⁷ In conformity with this, and with the views he expresses in his letter to Egbert on the proper way in which a prelate should conduct himself, Bede represents John as an ideal type of bishop.⁸ In doing so, he makes it clear that, by fulfilling his episcopal duties conscientiously and with great piety, John found such favour with God that his virtues were signalled by the performance of miraculous cures.

⁴ Abou-el-Haj, *Medieval Cult*, p. 3.

⁵ *HE* v.2-6.

⁶ *HE*, p. xxx.

⁷ Judith McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament Kings' in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. Patrick Wormald (Oxford, 1983), pp. 76-98 (pp. 76, 98); Alan Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal of Reform' in Wormald, *Ideal and Reality*, pp. 130-53; Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), p. 72.

⁸ For a recent translation see Judith McClure and Roger Collins, eds, *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People: The Greater Chronicle: Bede's Letter to Egbert*, (Oxford, 1994).

Within a generation Alcuin (c.735-804), at one time the librarian of the cathedral church of York, was writing a long poem in which he included a section on John.⁹ Praising John for his 'pietate, fide, meritis et mente', Alcuin claims that his possession of honour and virtue were attested to by 'signis . . . apertis', a clear reference to indications of God's favour as revealed through miraculous deeds.¹⁰ This narrative is a reworking of Bede's account of John's life as a bishop, although vastly different in style, and clearly demonstrates Alcuin's belief in John's sanctity. Alcuin was, however, primarily interested in demonstrating that bishops, and bishops of York in particular, were the leaders of the Christian community and, as such, were responsible for social and moral cohesion, obliged to behave in an exemplary fashion for the good of society.¹¹ John's holy state and powers of intercession with God contributed to this ideal and at the same time enhanced the status of York as a centre for moral guidance. He was, therefore, an ideal person for Alcuin to include in his poem.

The commissioning of *Vita Sancti Johannis* around 1066 underpinned the impetus given to the development of the cult by the ritual translation of John's relics in 1037. This task was entrusted to the monk, Folcard, who drew heavily on Bede for most of his composition, incorporating additional material which most likely came from oral traditions maintained at Beverley. Whereas both Bede and Alcuin chose to include accounts of the bishop's life as part of their larger works, the writing of *VSJ* was an undertaking entered upon solely to glorify John and promote his cult. This work was endowed with formal ecclesiastical status by having been commissioned by the Archbishop of York, and as such represents written proof that John was officially considered to be a saint by the Church in the north of England.

In the prologue Folcard claims that when he was asked to write the *Vita* he had already written responsories in honour of the saint; these two work would have occupied an important place in the liturgical year at Beverley minster. The division of the *VSJ* into discrete chapters implies that each one was intended as a *lection*, to be read on certain days. Although they were written in Latin, the practice of reading and simultaneously translating the texts by the clergy would have had enabled the laity to participate in the ceremony, and thereby learn about the miraculous works of John.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is uncertainty as to whether the *VSJ* was commissioned before or after 1066, and although the evidence pointing to a pre-Conquest date is highly persuasive, the possibility remains that Folcard was charged with writing it after the Conquest. Its production coincided with a European-wide expansion in the cult of the saints that had

⁹ Alcuin, ll. 1084-215.

¹⁰ Ibid. ll. 1086, 1090.

¹¹ On Alcuin's conception of the role of a bishop, and status of York, see Simon Coates, 'The Bishop as Benefactor and Civic Patron: Alcuin, York, and Episcopal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 529-58.

commenced in the late tenth century, and which intensified during the next two centuries.¹² Much has been written about the supposed scepticism of the Normans towards Anglo-Saxon saints, and the increase in hagiographic production after the Conquest has usually been seen as a tactic in the battle to defend native saints and prove them worthy of veneration.¹³ Ridyard, however, proposes an alternative hypothesis that Norman churchmen encouraged such documentation so that, once they were aware of the history and function of the English saints, they could better utilize these saints for their own purposes.¹⁴ However, regardless of whether the *VSJ* was commissioned to fulfil the objectives of Anglo-Saxon apologists and justify John's veneration, or to serve the aims of the new masters, there can be little doubt that its primary purpose was to advertise and promote the cult.

The main reason behind the composition of the *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, however, was to record the lives of the various bishops of York. The section on John was compiled from a number of sources, including Folcard and Bede. This series of annals was written 'for a special object, and with a direct legal bearing', namely to demonstrate the independence of the see of York from the see of Canterbury.¹⁵ The original intention of Pope Gregory, as set out in his letter to Augustine soon after the latter's arrival in England in 597, had been to establish two, equal and wholly independent metropolitan sees: one at London and one at York, each with an archbishop and twelve diocesan bishops. After Augustine's death, whichever of the two archbishops had seniority of consecration was to have had precedence over the other, although they were to act in harmony in all matters concerning the faith.¹⁶ However, Augustine was settled at Canterbury, from where the see was never moved, and the complex political situation in the north meant that York was not raised to metropolitan status until 735 when Bishop Egbert received the pallium from Pope Gregory III.¹⁷

When Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury in August 1070 he demanded a profession of obedience from Thomas of Bayeux, who had been appointed to the see of York in May of that year; the dispute which followed lasted well into the twelfth century.¹⁸ The composition of

¹² Abou-el-Haj, *Medieval Cult* p. 13.

¹³ See in particular David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 118-19, and F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), p. 672.

¹⁴ S. J. Ridyard, 'Condigna Veneratio: Post Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies 9, proceedings of the Battle Conference 1987*, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 179-206 (pp. 205-06). See also Richard W. Pfaff, 'Lanfranc's Supposed Purge of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar' in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 95-108; and Jay Rubenstein's review of the main arguments in 'Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum* 74 (1999), 279-309.

¹⁵ *HCY* II, p. xxi.

¹⁶ *HE* I.30.

¹⁷ *HE* IV.29; Nicolas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597-1077* (Leicester, 1984), p. 83.

¹⁸ *HCY* II, 312-87 (pp. 355-58); Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066-1127*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson (Oxford, 1990). For a resumé of this dispute in comparison with alternative versions see *ibid.* pp. xxx-xlv. See also John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church of England* (London, 1963), p. 62; W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), p. 121.

these annals was undertaken in order to demonstrate that the see of York was autonomous and had no obligation to submit to the rule of Canterbury. Therefore the inclusion of an account of John's life which demonstrated that this former bishop of York had been specially chosen by God was an indispensable part of the work.

VSJ gives only a brief list of conventional types of miracles said to have occurred at John's tomb, its main concern being to show that John had led a virtuous and meritorious life. However, the criteria for sainthood require that there be miracles connected with the subject's relics, and Ketell's *MSJ*, written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century fulfilled this requirement. Nevertheless, apart from this consideration, it is possible that an important factor in the initiation of this work at this time was the need to protect the rights and property of Beverley following the Norman Conquest. It has been argued in Chapter 1 that the legend of Athelstan, which in surviving manuscripts comprises the first chapter of *MSJ*, was a later interpolation. If this is correct, then *MSJ* begins with the story of Thurstan, one of the Conqueror's men, who is struck down and deformed for having violated the sanctuary of the church of St John.¹⁹ The narrative claims that the divine punishment which was visited upon Thurstan so disturbed the king that, fearful of such a powerful saint, he immediately confirmed all the liberties previously given to the minster by former princes, and bestowed upon it many generous gifts.

Unhappily for the credibility of this story, however, William had already confirmed Beverley's privileges before this purported incident took place.²⁰ I believe, therefore, that the significance of the story lies not in its claim to historical accuracy, which in any event can be disproved, but in its symbolic function. Ketell refers to the ancient rights which Beverley had enjoyed since the time of Athelstan, and then shows these to have been endorsed under the new Norman regime. This narrative therefore demonstrates unbroken continuity in Beverley's liberties and privileges so that they would seem to have spanned the divisions created by the usurpation of the Anglo-Saxon reign by the Norman invaders.

Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* is a chronicle concerning the kings of England, and his version of the legend of Athelstan, which is identical to that ascribed to Ketell, is a contributory element in that king's history rather than a conscious promotion of John.²¹ In contrast, the version of the legend in *AMI* is given pride of place by being put at the very beginning of this collection of miracles.²² The legend's importance lies in its linking of John with the great Anglo-Saxon king who was traditionally held to be the originator of all of

¹⁹ *MSJ*:2.

²⁰ See above, p. 91.

²¹ Aelred of Rievaulx: *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, in *PL* 195 (1855), cols 724-25.

²² *AMI*:1.

Beverley's privileges. By harking back to the far distant past in this way, this set of miracles opens by stressing the continuity of the minster's history, so validating its possessions by reference to ancient rights.

AMII gives no hint as to when or why it might have been produced, and the work may have been prompted simply by the wish to augment the existing collection of miracle stories with even more wonders: the more miracles a saint was able to perform, the greater his glory, and thus greater would be the glory reflected on the minster and the guardians of the saint's relics. Nevertheless, the recording of these stories indicates continued interest in the acts of the saint, as do the three *Lectons* edited by Raine, all of which were taken from either Bede, or were a mixture of Bede and Folcard.²³ The *Lectons* are all found in twelfth-century manuscripts, but the significance of the set that was in the legendary of the monastery of St-Gildas-des-Bois lies less in its date than in its ownership. The monastery is located in Brittany, approximately forty miles south-east of Saint-Jean-Brévelay where, it is argued later in this chapter, John's cult was established as early as the tenth century. The presence in this location of a twelfth-century manuscript containing a *vita* of John reflects the depth of the interest in this English saint in Brittany, with the written work underpinning the cultic practices in this area.

The collection of stories in *AMIII* are located in a particular time period, between 1211 and 1219, and during a particular political conflict: the rebellion of the barons against King John. Although this collection comprises primarily healing miracles, a significant portion of the work relates to John's ability to protect Beverley from invasion and ruin by marauding armies. It is notable that John should be shown protecting his people and the ancient right of sanctuary possessed by Beverley during, or shortly after, a period of civil war when rival armies were committing atrocious acts of violence, looting, and general destruction. The decision to produce this work at this time may well have been partially motivated by a desire to demonstrate that, even five hundred years after his death, John was as powerful a protector as ever. It is clear that these miracles are specifically tied to, and are in response to, the political conditions prevailing at the time they were written.

Four individual miracles are recorded in the *Chapter Act Book*, and dated in the fourteenth century: one on 22 July, 1318, another on 29 January 1321/2, another on 22 February 1322, and a fourth on 12 June 1323.²⁴ These are all healing miracles and, as they were formally recorded by the Chapter during a prolonged period of fund-raising activities for the fabric of the minster, it is possible that they were designed to provide a much needed boost to the collection of alms.²⁵

²³ *HCYI*, 511-17, 519-26, 527-29.

²⁴ *MBM I*, 362, 400-1; *MBM II*, 26, 32-3. Additional miracles: 13-16.

²⁵ See below, pp. 151-52.

The publicity generated by an officially recognized miracle would no doubt have encouraged more pilgrims and hence more donations.

The last major piece of work relating to John is the *Beverley Cartulary*, which draws together into one volume most of the hagiographical works referred to above, as well as a number of other miracle stories.²⁶ It also includes two accounts (one corrupted) of the translation of John's relics, a version of the rhyming charter of Athelstan, and a number of charters relating to the rights of the minster down to 1380. This manuscript has been dated to either the late fourteenth, or very early fifteenth century, and provides a record of the official documentation relating to the history of Beverley minster, including accounts of the translation of John's relics and almost all the recorded miracles performed through their patron saint. There are three inscriptions of ownership by William Wraye of Ripon, 1586, on folios 1^r, 61^r, and 69^r, indicating that the *Cartulary* was in private ownership in the sixteenth century. However, this does not prove that the volume was not originally produced for the minster and was transferred to private ownership some time later, possibly during the period of the Reformation.

The manuscript must have been expensive to produce as it is beautifully illuminated, including several portrait heads, which suggests that it may have been originally intended for public display, perhaps on the altar. The most likely explanation for its production is that it was commissioned for the minster itself to fulfil two complementary roles: to provide a historical record of the minster and its rights, and to beautify the minster itself.

By locating the creation of John's major hagiographic texts in their own individual political and social contexts, it can be seen that the written cultus was partially directed to achieve specific political objectives. For the most part these objectives related to the rights and privileges of Beverley, but in a broader context, they were also used to add weight to the claims of the see of York.

CANONIZATION

Some confusion has surrounded the question of whether or not John was formally canonized with papal approval at the time of the translation of his relics in 1037. A sixteenth-century manuscript claims that he was canonized in that year in the time of Pope John XX, and both Oliver and Poulson state that this pope publicly canonized him at Rome in that year.²⁷

²⁶ BL, MS, Add 61901.

²⁷ MBM II, 344 referring to Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 298G; George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley in the County of York* (Beverley, 1829), p. 62; George Poulson, *Beverlac: or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley*, 2 vols (Beverley, 1829), II, 595.

However, the pope at the time of John's translation was Benedict IX, who had occupied the Roman see since 1032, and held it until 1045.²⁸

Toynbee argues that although five modern accounts state that Benedict IX officially added John to the canon, there is no contemporary evidence that this happened.²⁹ She considers it extremely unlikely that John was canonized by Benedict IX, and cites as evidence the fact that there was no motive for such a retrospective canonization, which was in any case an extremely rare procedure. Further, neither Folcard nor the Bollandists mention it, and there is no documentary proof of it as there is no Bull or letter concerning such a canonization in the *Epistolæ et Diplomata* of Benedict IX.³⁰ She is of the view that Raine was the originator of the error, having assumed that because Ælfric organized John's translation, he must also have petitioned Benedict IX for a Bull of canonization, and later commentators followed Raine without recognizing that, although he had references for the translation, he had none for the canonization.³¹

Although Raine may have been mistaken about John having been canonized by Benedict IX, there are indications that the significant error leading to this misconception occurred much earlier. The brief twelfth-century account of the translation contained in *Chronica Pontificum* states that Ælfric went to Rome in the third year of his episcopacy and received the pallium from Pope John.³² As Ælfric was first appointed to the see of York in 1023, this means that he went to Rome in 1026 when the pope was John XIX, who held office from 1024 to 1032. Benedict IX succeeded him. A later account of the translation in the *Beverley Cartulary* contains a section of text, which is identical to that in the *Chronicles*, except that it gives additional information. It states that Ælfric received the pallium from Pope John and points out, correctly, that he was the seventeenth archbishop since John of Beverley. It also states that Ælfric carried out the translation in the three hundred and sixteenth year of John's burial, on 25 October 1037, 'tempore iohannis papæ et edwardi regis anglîæ', that is, in the time of Pope John and King Edward of the English.³³

The confusion over the supposed official canonization of John may have arisen from the scribe who either wrote or copied this account who, unaware of the dates the successive popes held office, made the incorrect assumption that, as Ælfric had received the pallium from Pope John,

²⁸ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986).

²⁹ Margaret R. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), pp. 140-41, 240-41.

³⁰ Although Folcard also failed to mention the ceremony of translation, which had occurred just a few years before he wrote the *VSJ*.

³¹ Toynbee, pp. 240-41. Raine refers to *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiæ Eboraci* (*HCY* II, 343), and to Leland, *LC* IV, 102; *FE*, I, 89, 136.

³² *HCY* II, 342-43.

³³ MS, Add 61901, fols 28^{r-v}; Appendix 7, no. 2.

this same pope was still in office at the time the Archbishop performed the translation ceremony. Later commentators duplicated the error, but styled the pope John XX, a designation which arose in the thirteenth century when a corrupt text resulted in the pontificate of John XIV (983-4) being assigned to two popes, John XIV and John XV. As a result, the real John XV was entitled John XVI, and so on up to John XIX, who was called John XX in later lists.³⁴ Other commentators, realizing that it was Benedict IX who held the papacy at the time of John's translation, substituted him for John XX in their accounts, but sustained the error that there had been a papal canonization.

Had John been canonized by a pope, he would have been the very first English saint to have been honoured in this way.³⁵ By the latter half of the eighth century, formal recognition of canonization was signalled by ritual translation, usually presided over by a bishop or an abbot, and there is abundant evidence to show that ecclesiastical canonization by translation continued throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was not until Pope Gregory IX claimed the sole right to approve canonizations in the Decretals of 1234 that papal approval became a requirement.³⁶ That he may not have been formally entered into the canon by a pope did not in any way lessen John's status as a recognized saint: Cuthbert, whose cult, like John's, had been firmly established since his death, his sanctity totally unquestionable, also never received papal canonization. Successive popes certainly regarded John as a saint, as indicated by the confirmations of the church's liberties made by several of them, including Lucius III, 1182-5, Honorius II, 1125-30, and Adrian IV March 1154[-5].³⁷ A very large number of them are also listed in the *Beverley Cartulary* as having granted indulgences in return for donations for the fabric and shrine of the church of St John.³⁸

TRANSLATION, SHRINE, AND RELICS

The ritual translation of a saint's relics involved removing them from their original burial site below ground to a new shrine in an elevated position. The establishment of a shrine and ritual preservation of the relics would have been attended by a substantial amount of publicity, and such a step would have served as an advertisement to the glory of the saint and effectively revitalized the cult. At the same time, the normal sumptuous nature of the shrine itself, and its placing in a prominent location provided a visible focus of conspicuous magnificence for veneration by suppliants. On a more basic level, the ceremonial translation 'proved' that the remains of the saint were still present in the church and established beyond doubt that the

³⁴ C. R. Cheney, ed., *Handbook of Dates*, Royal Historical Society (Cambridge, 1995), p. 36n.

³⁵ Toynbee, *S. Louis*, p. 140.

³⁶ For the evolution of canonization procedures see Eric Waldren Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948).

³⁷ W. Farrer, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1914-16), I, 104-07.

³⁸ MS, Add. 61901, fol. 82^{r-v}.

religious community had 'undisputed possession of the relics and their miraculous power'.³⁹ This enabled them to exercise full control over the cult: they alone had the power to allow or refuse access to their holy saint; they alone had the power to authorize the utilization of the relics for the purposes of appealing for assistance in times of great crisis.

All the evidence points to Beverley as having had unbroken possession of John's remains.⁴⁰ Bede claims that he was buried 'in porticu sancti Petri' in his own monastery, and this has given rise to much discussion as to where exactly John's tomb was originally located.⁴¹ Eric Cambridge, using the evidence of the miracle stories, combined with archaeological and architectural information relating to the minster's development, discusses the likely position of John's tomb in great detail. Bearing in mind that the burial site could not have been moved, he comes to the conclusion that it was originally to the east of the high altar, and hence behind it.⁴²

John's relics, or some of them, had already been transferred from the tomb to a shrine of intricately carved wood before archbishop Ælfric oversaw the ritual translation of his remains to a new shrine on 25 October 1037.⁴³ This suggests that a ceremony of translation had taken place much earlier than the eleventh-century ceremony for which records are extant. In a considered act of cultic promotion, Ælfric arranged for a magnificent new shrine to be made, the order for which specified that it should be of gold and silver, marvellously adorned with precious stones.⁴⁴

The only surviving record of the ceremony of translation itself is in the *Beverley Cartulary*, and unfortunately it is only a partial account because the beginning has been lost. It starts at the point where the clergy place the casket on their shoulders and, whilst singing litanies, carry it all the way to the main altar of the church. The only other information given is that the casket was securely sealed. According to this account, God performed many miracles that day to honour the translation of the saint, and to demonstrate his great worthiness.⁴⁵ This is, of course, a literary topos, for it was a traditional part of hagiographic accounts to claim that a number of unspecified cures took place following, or during, a saint's ritual translation. It appears that major translations were extremely uncommon between 1030 and 1070, therefore, John's ceremony, as a comparative rarity in this period, would probably have had an enormous impact and attracted a great deal of publicity.⁴⁶

³⁹ David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 42.

⁴⁰ But see 'The Cult in Brittany' below regarding the claims of Saint-Jean-Brévelay.

⁴¹ See for example, Oliver, *History*, p. 52, n.57; and Poulson, *Beverlac*, pp. 667-68.

⁴² For Cambridge's complete argument see Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge with an appendix by Richard Doyle, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century' in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, BAACT 9 (1983), pp. 9-32 (pp. 16-19).

⁴³ *HCY* II, 342-43.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ London, BL, MS Add. 61909, fol. 28^r; Appendix 7, no. 1.

⁴⁶ Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe, eds, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1995), p. 8.

Two late references, one in Leland and another in the *Chapter Act Book* of Beverley minster, claim that a ring with the remains of a Book of Gospels is said to have been found in the old tomb when John's body was translated: 'annulus cum fragmentis libri evangeliorum inventus in sarcophago S. Johannis'.⁴⁷ The ring might be the Anglo-Saxon silver ring, which is currently held at the Moyse's Hall Museum, which is engraved with the names of Athelstan and John.⁴⁸ It is perfectly feasible that such a ring, linking these two major historical figures should have been placed in the saint's tomb.

Although all of John's remains may have been placed in the shrine, it is also possible that at the time of his translation the relics were divided between the shrine and the tomb. In 1188 there was a serious fire in Beverley, which damaged much of the town and also the minster,⁴⁹ and centuries later written evidence of this fire was found. Leland records that some writing ('scriptura') was discovered in the reliquary ('theca reliquiarum') of John, which stated, 'Anno Domini 1188, mense Septembri: combusta fuit ecclesia Sancti Johannis in sequenti nocte post festivum Mathæi apostoli', that is, the church of St John had burned in a fire the night after the feast of St Matthew (i.e. 22 September).⁵⁰

A second discovery was made in 1664. Dugdale records that on taking up a large slab of marble near the entrance to the choir, a vault, five feet long, two feet wide at the head, and a foot and a half wide at the foot was found. In this was a 'sheet of lead', four feet long, containing the dust of John of Beverley and six beads, three of which were cornelian, and three of which had crumbled to dust, three large brass pins and four iron nails. On this sheet of lead was affixed a lead plate with an inscription saying that the church had burned in 1188, that in 1197 a search had been made for the relics of St John in this place, and that these bones had been found in the eastern part of the church near the entrance to the choir. Lying across the sheet of lead was a box of lead about seven inches long, six inches wide, and five inches high which contained various pieces of bones mixed with dust, and yielding a sweet smell. This latter is a typical claim made in relation to a saint's remains, and is often referred to as the odour of sanctity.⁵¹ The inscription read, 'Anno ab incarnationem domini M°C°LXXX°VIII combusta fuit hæc ecclesia in mense Septembri in sequenti nocte post festivum sancti Mathæi apostoli: et in anno M°C°XCVII VI idus martii facta fuit inquisitio reliquiarum Beati Johannis in hoc loco et

⁴⁷ *MBM* II, 350; *LC* IV, 102.

⁴⁸ See above, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁹ Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1868-71), II, 354.

⁵⁰ *LC* IV, 102.

⁵¹ This is a typical claim made in relation to many saints' tombs, such as St Osmund's, see A. R. Malden, *The Canonization of Saint Osmund* (Salisbury, 1901), p. 37; and St Wulfstan's, see R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), p. 131. It was believed that the odours of sanctity also differed in quality and degree, see E. Cobham Brewer, *A Dictionary of Miracles* (London, 1897), pp. 510-512.

inventia sunt hæc ossa in orientali parte sepulchri et hic recondita et pulvis cemento mixto ibidem inventus est et reconditus'.⁵²

It can be seen that Dugdale's statement about the date of the fire is made in substantially the same terms as Leland's, but the former gives a much longer, more detailed rendering. This could mean that both men were referring to the same piece of writing or, as Cambridge hypothesizes, they were referring to two different inscriptions, found in different places: Leland found his in 'theca reliquiarum S. Johannis', and described the writing as 'scriptura', which could (although not necessarily) mean that it was written on parchment, and Dugdale appears to have found his at the site of the tomb, inscribed in lead. If Cambridge is correct, then it must mean that John's relics were divided between the tomb and the reliquary.⁵³ This view is supported by Wilson's suggestion that the delay between the fire occurring in 1188, and the search for the relics in the tomb in 1197, reflected the lesser importance of these relics when compared with those in the main shrine.⁵⁴

Later in this chapter it is proposed that Athelstan may have acquired some of John's bones as relics and given them to Breton refugees when they returned to their homeland; these bones are in the possession of the church of Saint-Jean-Bréveley.⁵⁵ Further, Thomas's study of saint's relics lists the Benedictine monastery at Glastonbury as having relics which are most probably those of John and Berthun. The relics are unspecified, but as they are in caskets it is likely that they are bones.⁵⁶ It is possible therefore, that although Beverley was the primary location for John's remains, his skeleton was not intact and various parts of it had been dispensed as holy relics.

Both Oliver and Poulson claim that additional items were found in the grave apart from those described by Dugdale. On the authority of a Mr Warburton, Somerset Herald, Oliver claims that there was also a knife and a pair of silver slippers in the grave. Moreover, he believed that Warburton's somewhat fanciful suggestion that 'this was the identical knife which Athelstan pledged upon his altar' had some validity because the intervening time between Athelstan's supposed visit in 934, and the enshrinement of the relics in 1037, 'was not a very long period'.⁵⁷ Although this is highly unlikely, it does reveal a continued desire to validate the link between Athelstan and John.

⁵² William Dugdale, *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire*, SS 36 (1859), 22.

⁵³ Morris, 'Beverley Minster', p. 15.

⁵⁴ Christopher Wilson, 'The Early Thirteenth-Century Architecture of Beverley Minster Cathedral: Splendours and Cistercian Austerities', in *Thirteenth Century England*, eds P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 181-95 (p. 183n.).

⁵⁵ See 'The Cult in Brittany' below.

⁵⁶ I. G. Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England', unpublished PhD thesis (University of London, 1974), pp. 178, 417.

⁵⁷ Oliver, *History*, p. 233n

Poulson, referring to Gough, also claims that there was a knife in the tomb, which was said to have been reinterred along with the rest of the contents of the lead box, except for a seal, which was apparently taken into the possession of Marmaduke Nelson.⁵⁸ Gent reproduced a sketch of what he believed to be this seal: a pointed oval containing the robed figure of a man holding a heart, with cross-keys on his breast.⁵⁹ The authenticity of these claims must be viewed as dubious in view of the failure of Dugdale to record such conspicuous objects. However, it is possible that additional items were placed in the tomb when John's remains were reinterred after their disturbance in 1664, and then rediscovered in 1726 when the relics were again disturbed. This was at the time a new floor was being laid in the minster, and the relics were replaced 'in an arched vault, immediately beneath the second rose in the groining of the roof at the east end of the nave'. An inscription was added to that described by Dugdale, which read as follows, 'Reliquiæ eadem effossæ et ibidem recompositæ Fornice Lateritio dignabantur XXV. Die Mensis Martii Anno Domini MDCCXXVI. Quando et tessellatum Ecclesiæ hujus Pavimentum primo fuit instratum.'⁶⁰

The importance given to the casket which contained the saint's relics is reflected in the progressively more elaborate shrines created to contain them. The wonderfully carved early wooden shrine was replaced in the eleventh century by a jewel-encrusted gilt and silvered shrine, and then in the thirteenth century an order was given for the construction of an even more magnificent, new shrine. On 14 September 1292, a contract was made between the Chapter and a goldsmith, Roger of Farringdon, for the construction of a silver and gold shrine, five and a half feet long by one and a half feet broad, and of proportionate height. It was to be 'beautiful and fit with plates (platis) and columns of mason's work and figures (imaginibus) of cunning (subtilis) and beautiful (decori) work, the number and size being at the Chapter's discretion, to be placed all over the shrine with canopies (tabernaculis) and pinnacles in front and rear, and other devices appropriate for a shrine of this sort and beauty, such as belongs to goldsmiths' work'.⁶¹

A major effort to raise funds for this had been set in motion on 24 March 1290 when Archbishop Romanus sent a letter granting an indulgence of forty days to those who contributed towards the 'sumptuous work' of repairing the fabric of the minster.⁶² The campaign continued through successive episcopates for many years, and twelve years later the work was still in

⁵⁸ Poulson, *Beverlac*, pp. 666-67; William Camden, *Britannia, or a chorographical description of Great Britain* . . ., trans. from the 1607 edn, enlarged by Richard Gough, 2nd edn, 4 vols (London, 1806), III, 315.

⁵⁹ Thomas Gent, *The Ancient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon* (York, 1733), p. 77.

⁶⁰ 'The same relics having been dug up, were replaced and honoured with an arched vault of brickwork, the 25th March 1726, when the tessellated pavement of this church was first laid'; Oliver, *History*, p. 241 and n.

⁶¹ *MBM* II, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

⁶² *MBM* I, 2-3.

progress when, on 11 April 1302, Archbishop Thomas (Corbridge) repeated the grant of indulgences in return for contributions: he specifically mentioned the need for funds to construct a new shrine for John's relics.⁶³

Collecting money for the fabric and shrine was obviously a specialist occupation, for on 8 December 1305 the Chapter appointed John of Fitling for a period of three years to collect alms in the dioceses of York and Lincoln, and on 18 February 1306 he, in turn, appointed a deputy called Elias of Lumby.⁶⁴ On 11 June that year Fitling was appointed collector of alms for the minster throughout the whole of England, and in this regard letters were sent to the diocese of requesting that he be granted a licence to collect in that area.⁶⁵ There were the usual problems connected with fund-raising, including the reticence of some people to hand over to the proper authorities the money or other goods collected for the fabric and shrine. Letters patent were issued to arrest anyone collecting for the church who did not possess the proper written authority to do so. The mandate covered all fraudulent collections in England, Wales, and Ireland, indicating that the fund-raising drive was extensive.⁶⁶

The completion of the shrine in 1308 was marked by a letter dated 21 June, written by Archbishop Greenfield, in which he stated that he had dedicated the high altar in honour of John, and granted the usual forty days indulgence to those who visited the church and made donations for ornamental lights for the adornment of the saint's shrine and the fabric of the church.⁶⁷ The accounts of the Master of Works revealed that an amount of £21 14s 10d remained in hand on the shrine account; this sum was to be allocated to the fabric account, on which there was a deficit of £9 3s 6d. The splendour of the shrine would have been further embellished by some of the gifts made to John, such as the gold ornament donated in July 1312 by Lady Margaret, widow of Edward I, which the scribe reports was immediately affixed to the shrine.⁶⁸

The location of the shrine has been the subject of some discussion, the prevalent view being that it was situated in the conventional place behind the high altar. One of the twelfth-century miracle collections, *AMI*, contains a story in which a man from Norwich offers a very large candle 'in præsencia reliquiarum viri Dei super altare', that is 'in the presence of the relics of the man of God above the altar'.⁶⁹ This supports the notion that, at that time, the shrine was in an elevated position in relation to the altar. This was the normal position for a shrine by the end of

⁶³ Ibid. 3-4.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 102, 112.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 135, 148, 157, 203.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 171, 203-4; *CPR, Edward I, 1301-1307*, p. 546.

⁶⁷ *MBM* I, 218-19.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 294.

⁶⁹ *AMI*:8.

the thirteenth century; it was usually elevated on a base made of stone or marble at least eight feet high so that it could be seen from the main body of the church.⁷⁰ John's shrine appears to have been similarly elevated, for a story in an early thirteenth-century miracle collection, *AMIII*, describes it as being supported on marble pillars.⁷¹ Another story in the same collection describes how the altar was erected over John's tomb, with the shrine set up immediately behind it, following reorganization of the interior of the church after the collapse of the crossing tower.⁷² This suggests that the clergy were intent upon keeping the shrine and altar in the same relative positions that they held before the accident.

It is believed that when the magnificent reredos was constructed sometime after 1330 its platform became the bearer of the holy relics.⁷³ This intricately carved screen of stone and marble, which was commissioned by the Percy family as an extension to their family tomb, was believed to have been designed specifically to carry the shrine, and was a potent reminder that this powerful family had embraced John as their patron saint.⁷⁴ There is no definitive proof either for or against this proposition, except for the circumstantial evidence that the size of the shrine meant that it could have fitted onto the platform, and that the contract for the shrine's construction did not specify a shrine base, although there is no compelling reason why a base should have been commissioned at the same time as the shrine. It must be acknowledged that it was rare for shrines to be placed on the reredos, the only other instances where this might have occurred being at York and Lincoln.⁷⁵

However, when the reredos at Beverley was built, a stair was constructed at the north end giving access to the upper platform, and this does suggest that the platform was envisioned as bearing something that was to be prominently displayed in the church, but was nevertheless to be out of reach of the ordinary visitor, only accessible to an elite. Finucane suggests that by locating a shrine in a place that was almost inaccessible, the saint's 'elevated sacral status' was emphasized, and the aura of supernatural power which attached to the saint was strengthened.⁷⁶

The remains of a lantern tower above the vault of the eastern crossing of the minster suggest that the shrine was intended to have been bathed in a flood of light.⁷⁷ It is possible that the inspiration for this concept arose from a miracle story about the mysterious light that shone upon the tomb which, the author explains, signified that God had granted John the light of grace.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Nicola Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', *Journal of the British Archaeological Society*, Ser. 3, 39 (1976), 15-34, (p. 16).

⁷¹ *AMIII*:6.

⁷² *AMIII*:7.

⁷³ *MBM* II, p. xxxiii.

⁷⁴ Nicholas Dawton, 'The Percy Tomb Workshop' in Christopher Wilson, *Medieval Art*, pp. 121-32.

⁷⁵ Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 58; Coldstream, 'Shrine Bases', p. 23.

⁷⁶ Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 27.

⁷⁷ Christopher Wilson, 'Beverley Minster', p. 194.

⁷⁸ *AMIII*:6.

Had the tower ever been completed, the light from the lantern would have provided a constant reminder of this symbolic manifestation.

The shrine also played an important part during the annual festivals in Beverley. During Rogationtide it was ceremonially processed through the town to the daughter churches, being watched over in the morning by the craft guilds, dressed in their best liveries, sitting in their 'castles' which lined the route of the procession. In the afternoon they followed on behind the shrine on its return, and then over the course of the next two days, while it was carried around the limits of the peace of St John before being returned to the church on Ascension Day. After being processed around the church it was put back in its place of honour and mass was celebrated.⁷⁹ The practice was traditionally instituted by Archbishop Ælfric, but was first described in writing in the twelfth century.⁸⁰ The solemnity with which this ceremonial was carried out is attested to by the restrictions imposed on the eight men whose hereditary responsibility it was to carry the shrine and guard it in times of trouble. Before the ceremony they had to undergo a period of penance, and amongst the restraints placed upon their behaviour was a complete abstinence from drinking ale throughout the duration of the progress.⁸¹

As well as at Rogationtide, the relics were regularly used on other ceremonial occasions: Ælfric is said to have instituted the custom that the principal citizens of Beverley and neighbouring gentlemen should follow them 'in and about the town fasting and barefoot' three times each year.⁸² This humbling activity performed by very important citizens would doubtless have had the effect of exalting the saint, symbolizing his superiority over even the most powerful of earthly men. Ketell also recounts how the relics were held aloft at the entrance of the church after the ceremony on Ascension Day so that they could receive the homage of the clergy and people passing by.⁸³ It is likely that this ritual was performed on several other holy days for, as well as adding to the solemnity of the occasion, such a prominent display of John's shrine in an elevated position where everyone had to pass by it on their way out of the church, would have provided a focus for communal devotion. This would have encouraged a sense of unity among the people, centred on the holy relics of their patron saint. Ketell also claims that the ceremonial progress of John's relics was undertaken, at the behest of the York clergy, in order to procure the miraculous ending of a drought.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *VCH Yorks*, VI, 10; *Beverley Town Documents*, ed. A. F. Leach, Selden Society, 14 (London, 1900), pp. lvii, 31, 99, 112-13, 115.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*; *SDSB*, pp. 105-06.

⁸¹ *Ibid*.

⁸² *LC* IV, 102.

⁸³ *MSJ*:7.

⁸⁴ *MSJ*:3.

The inaccessibility of the shrine to the ordinary populace, and the location of the tomb in the choir, may well have contributed to making the tomb the principal focus for those seeking cures from John in the fourteenth century. Evidence that suppliants had long been allowed unrestrained access to the tomb comes from a letter from Archbishop Greenfield to the Chapter of Beverley, dated 6 December 1314, in which he orders the removal of a stone altar which had been erected at the head of John's tomb without proper licence. The Archbishop was concerned that this altar seriously impeded the access of visitors to the tomb, and ordered its removal so that the faithful could approach it as they wished, and were accustomed to do.⁸⁵

The tomb clearly continued to be highly esteemed well into the fifteenth century, for in 1416 the will of Provost Manfield contained a bequest of £20 for new fabric for it, so attesting to its continued maintenance and renovation; and in 1463, Edmund Portington's will reflected his wish to be buried in the nave next to it.⁸⁶ Whether or not the tomb continued to house some of John's relics, its appeal as the original burial place of the saint attracted a great deal of attention and it continued to be the focus for pilgrims seeking miraculous cures.

Its attraction as a place of pilgrimage was such that one man, John Curteys, made the journey all the way from Turvey in Bedfordshire, to Beverley, barefooted. This comes from his own testimony in a writ taken to prove that Thomas de Ardres had reached the age of twenty-one years. Curteys testified that he knew that Thomas had been born at Turvey on 9 February, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward III, that is in 1351, because on the following Thursday he had been on a pilgrimage, barefoot, to Beverley.⁸⁷ Beverley was clearly a major pilgrim destination, along with Bridlington, Walsingham, and Canterbury, for all four places were singled out for special criticism by William Thorpe, a Lollard, who was brought before Archbishop Arundel in 1407 for railing in Shrewsbury against pilgrimages.⁸⁸ Furthermore, two fifteenth-century wills supply evidence that people provided money after their death for pilgrimages to John's church at Beverley on their behalf. One of these was proved before Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1433, and stipulated visits to the shrines of St John of Bridlington and St Mary of Walsingham as well. The other, which was dated 1400, was in fulfilment of a solemn vow made when Roger de Wandesford of Nottinghamshire had been in danger of drowning during a sea voyage between Scotland and Norway; he too, stipulated Bridlington as well as Beverley.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ MBM II, 303; *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Region*, ed. James Raine, RS 61 (London, 1873), pp. 234-35.

⁸⁶ Coldstream, 'Shrine Bases', p. 22; J. W. Clay, ed., *North Country Wills*, SS 141 (1908), 21; *TE*, SS 45 (1865), III, 179n.; *TE*, SS 30 (1855), II, 140n.

⁸⁷ *CIPM* 13 (1954), 214.

⁸⁸ 'The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407', in *Two Wycliffite Texts*, ed. Anne Hudson (Oxford, 1993), pp. 24-93 (p. 61). See also Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999), p. 252, who refers to 'Karlinton [?]' instead of Bridlington.

⁸⁹ Webb, *Pilgrims*, pp. 143, 145.

In addition to being a place of voluntary pilgrimage, however, Beverley was also listed by the Flemish cities of Ghent, Aalst, and Dendremonde as a destination for repentant sinners on whom penitential pilgrimages were imposed.⁹⁰ The Dendremonde list, which was compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century, rated the destinations in order of importance, which may partly be a reflection of the length and difficulty of the journey, with John of Beverley appearing in the very top group.⁹¹

HIERATIC EVIDENCE

When the officials of a church decided to honour a particular saint, the saint's feast day was included in that church's liturgical year, which dictated which festivals were celebrated and when. One of the most common liturgical forms in the middle ages was the litany of the saints, which was used for a number of both public and private purposes. The name 'John' is included in a number of surviving manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon litanies under the category of confessors, and may or may not refer to John of Beverley, but only one identifies the confessor as John at 'Befrilic'. This prayerbook is written in hands of the first half of the eleventh century, but where it was originally produced has not been identified.⁹² A psalter, which has been dated to the last quarter of the tenth century, also lists John in its list of confessors in the litany.⁹³

Stronger evidence for John's inclusion in liturgical celebrations comes from church calendars. There are several extant calendars from Anglo-Saxon England which list the festival of John of Beverley, and the earliest evidence comes from a metrical calendar of York, which Wilmart estimates to have been completed in 812 or 813.⁹⁴ It is preserved in two English manuscripts that are textually related, but not derived from each other. Although neither of them contains an entry for John's feast day, it is believed that the original poem did have such a line. The reason for this assumption is that several of the continental redactions of the poem, which were known all over western Europe from the ninth century onwards, do contain John's feast day of 7 May, and it is presumed that such a line would not have been composed and interpolated at a continental centre.⁹⁵ There is evidence that this calendar was widely known in France perhaps as early as c. 800, which draws its composition even closer to the date of John's death in 721, and indicates a very early awareness of his sanctity on the continent.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 226.

⁹¹ Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part 2 (Salisbury, 1990), p. 34.

⁹² Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints* (London, 1991), pp. 1-2, 167, 69-70.

⁹³ Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066* (London, 1993), pp. 398, 402.

⁹⁴ A. Wilmart, 'Un Temoin Anglo-Saxon du calendrier metrique d'York', *Revue Benedictine*, 46 (1934) 41-69 (p. 48).

⁹⁵ Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, pp. 344-46, 359.

In total, ten lines from this calendar, including the verse relating to John, 'have been interpolated into rubrics in the sanctorale of a plenary missal . . . [which] was written at an unidentified Benedictine monastery in central Italy (the Abruzzi), and may be dated to c.1000'.⁹⁶ It is extremely interesting that John's feast day should have been one of the few abstracted from the York calendar for inclusion in this Italian missal, and it is a clear indication that he was recognized and venerated as a saint in Italy. This makes it all the more curious that he should have been dropped from the archetype of the two surviving English manuscripts.

One other calendar survives from the ninth century, also originating in the north country, which lists John's feast day;⁹⁷ it is unsurprising that the earliest evidence for the inclusion of John in the liturgical year should originate in the area of his episcopacy. There are six other extant Anglo-Saxon calendars which contain John's festival, which are printed in full by Wormald from manuscripts which are variously dated throughout the eleventh century. They originate, respectively, in Wessex, Exeter, possibly Evesham, Worcester, Bury St Edmunds, and Croyland in Lincolnshire.⁹⁸ This latter abbey also possessed twelfth- and fifteenth-century calendars containing John's feast day.⁹⁹ Furthermore, John's feast day is included in the calendar in the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, which is in an early eleventh-century manuscript presently held in Rouen; the probable origin of this manuscript is believed to be Ely.¹⁰⁰ By the eleventh century John had also been entered into the calendars at Vannes and Nantes in Brittany, which is a further indication that the cult was active in north-west France at this time.¹⁰¹

Later calendars reveal that John's feast day was commemorated at a number of Benedictine houses in the north. At St Albans he was included in one calendar which was written between 1119 and 1146, and in another which was compiled before 1170, as well as continuing to be included in later twelfth-, thirteenth-, and early fourteenth-century calendars of the abbey.¹⁰² At Durham Cathedral Priory his feast day was included in one calendar dated to between 1100 and 1135, another which was written before 1170, and in several others up to the late fifteenth century;¹⁰³ and in the thirteenth century his feast day was added to the twelfth-century calendar of St Mary and St Werburgh's, Chester.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 359.

⁹⁷ Francis Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (Woobridge, 1934, repr, 1988).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Francis Wormald, ed., *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, 2 vols (London, 1939-46), I, 113, 121.

¹⁰⁰ *PL* 62 (Paris, 1878), 621.

¹⁰¹ Job an Irien, 'Saints du Cornwall et saints Bretons du cinquième au dixième siècle' in *Landévennec et le monachisme Breton dans le haut moyen âge: Actes du colloque de quinzième centenaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec*, 25, 26, 27 avril 1985, (Landévennec, 1985), p. 188.

¹⁰² Wormald, *Benedictine Kalendars*, I, 31-8.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 161, 172.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 95, 104.

His name was first added to calendars at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in the fifteenth century,¹⁰⁵ which may have been as a result of the royal edict that John's feast day should be celebrated nationally in recognition of his much-vaunted intercession at the battle of Agincourt.¹⁰⁶ This may also have been the reason for the fifteenth-century addition of his feast day to a twelfth-century calendar of St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, some time after 1457, his feast day was added to a late fourteenth-century calendar of Dunster Priory. By then this manuscript had passed out of Benedictine ownership into secular possession, and probably moved into the neighbourhood of St David's in South Wales.¹⁰⁸ Further evidence that John's feast days continued to be included in calendars produced during the fifteenth century comes from *The Hastings Hours*, which was made in Ghent or Bruges for William, Lord Hastings, sometime before his death in 1483.¹⁰⁹ The Bolton Hours, which is dated after 1405, and probably before c. 1415, also contains prayers to John, as well as a miniature of him.¹¹⁰

When considering the evidence of these calendars it must be borne in mind that they are synchronic in nature, providing limited information that pertains only to the dates at which the manuscripts were composed, and reveals nothing of earlier periods. What they do show is that John was included in the liturgical practices of certain communities within at least eighty years of his death in the area with which he was most associated, namely the north of England, and that knowledge of his sanctity was transmitted to western Europe within a very short period of time. The continued appearance of his feast day in a number of calendars produced from the eleventh to the fifteenth century reveals his continued veneration in liturgical celebrations over several centuries.

CHURCH DEDICATIONS

Some confusion surrounds the dedication of the minster at Beverley. Although it is currently dedicated to John the Evangelist, this may have superseded an earlier dedication to St Peter.¹¹¹ However, the *Beverley Cartulary* contains two references to the minster as being dedicated to John of Beverley: one is in an account of the translation of his relics, which reads, 'usque ad summum altare ecclesiae quæ eiusdem fuerat devocionis baiularunt',¹¹² and the other is in a miracle story concerning the resurrection of a child from apparent death, which contains the phrases, 'Non passus namque Dominus ecclesiam, in Sui et Confessoris dedicatam'.¹¹³ Similar

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 47, 55.

¹⁰⁶ See below p. 179.

¹⁰⁷ Wormald, *Benedictine Kalenders*, II, 39, 48.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., I, 145-46.

¹⁰⁹ *The Hastings Hours*, preface and commentary D. H. Turner (London, 1983), pp. 111, 119-20.

¹¹⁰ Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 6 (London, 1996), no. 33, pp. 119-21.

¹¹¹ See Morris, 'Beverley Minster', pp. 9-32.

¹¹² 'they carried [it] all the way to the main altar of the church which was consecrated to him', Appendix 7, no. 1.

¹¹³ 'For the Lord not allowing the church which had been dedicated in His and the confessor's honour', *AMIII*:1.

confusion surrounds the church of Saint-Jean-Brévelay in Brittany which, although it is currently held to be dedicated to John of Beverley, has been attributed to 'Saint Jean', 'Saint Jehan de Cantorbie', and John the Baptist.¹¹⁴ It appears that, as the name John is common to several saints, John of Beverley has been assimilated to other saints of the same name and they, in turn, have been assimilated to him. Similarly, the chapel which was built in the nineteenth century to ease the minster at Beverley may once have been dedicated to John of Beverley, but it is also dedicated to the Apostle and Evangelist.

Arnold-Forster lists several churches which were dedicated to John in the Middle Ages: Harpham and Wressle in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Salton in the North Riding, St John Lee in Northumbria, and, in Nottinghamshire, Whatton and Aslackton, or Scarrington. It seems that the churches at Wressle and Aslackton have alternative dedications: to St Anne, and the Holy Trinity respectively, but these are evidently alterations of a later date as they appear in pre-Reformation wills as being dedicated to John of Beverley.¹¹⁵ According to the author of *AMII*, who was writing at Beverley in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the church at North Burton (now known as Cherry Burton), which is currently dedicated to St Michael, was dedicated to John of Beverley at that time.¹¹⁶

Some of these churches have a clear connection with John, purported or real. It is not surprising, for example, that Harpham, which claims to be the birthplace of John, should have its church dedicated to him. In addition, St John Lee, which is situated on the banks of the Tyne almost opposite Hexham, is traditionally held to be the location to which John retreated for solitude and private contemplation in Lent whilst he was bishop of Hexham.¹¹⁷ Half a mile to the south-east of the town lies the Hermitage, which is largely of the mid-eighteenth century, although a building called the 'Armytage' was recorded in 1496, and Pevsner claims that this building is the reputed site of a seventh-century hermitage of John of Beverley.¹¹⁸

The claim that John spent a period of time as a hermit before being appointed to the see of Hexham has already been discussed in Chapter 2, but whether or not the claim is an accurate reflection of how John spent his time between finishing his formal education and being raised to the bishopric, the tradition that he spent some time as a hermit evidently found physical expression in the naming of a building on this site.

¹¹⁴ See 'The Cult in Brittany' below.

¹¹⁵ Frances Egerton Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, 3 vols (London, 1899), I, 392.

¹¹⁶ *AMII*:6.

¹¹⁷ *HE* v.2; *VSJ*:4.

¹¹⁸ N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Northumberland* (Harmondsworth, 1992), p. 557.

With regard to the church at Wressle, the only discernible link between it and John is that a castle was built there in around 1380 for Sir Thomas Percy.¹¹⁹ It is possible that the church received its dedication at the behest of Sir Thomas, whose family was reputed to have been earnest devotees of John.¹²⁰

In his analysis of dedications in English churches, Bond discovered that out of three hundred and twenty-five saints to whom dedications are known to have been made, John of Beverley was seventy-third in popularity. When one considers that twenty-three of the saints who had more dedications than John were biblical saints as well as All Saints, Holy Trinity, Holy Cross and Our Lord, this puts him very high in popularity. In Yorkshire, he is listed as thirtieth in popularity out of seventy-four saints, with fifteen of the more popular dedications being to biblical saints, or All Saints and the Holy Trinity.¹²¹

WELLS DEDICATED TO JOHN

There are several wells in the East Riding associated with John's name, one of which is still the centre of local veneration of the saint: this is at Harpham, John's putative birthplace. The well is less than a quarter of a mile to the north-east of the church, which is also dedicated to the saint. There are two legends to explain the coming into existence of this well, but they both describe how John, wishing to relieve the thirst of an army which was desperate for water, struck his staff into the ground from whence sprung a fount of pure water which has never ceased to flow. One of the legends claims that it was the army of a British prince fleeing northmen, whom John wished to help, the other claims that it was Athelstan and his army who were on their way to do battle with Anlaf, the Dane. Neither tradition is able to withstand the slightest scrutiny, for the British had long been subjugated to the Anglo-Saxons by the time John was born, and he had been dead for nearly two hundred years by the time Athelstan was born.¹²² In reality, the well was most probably in existence long before the time of John, but was dedicated to him because of his traditional association with Harpham.¹²³

Traditionally, the waters of the well have curative properties derived from John's spiritual power, and were believed to have been particularly effective for headaches, sore eyes and the taming of wild beasts. This latter claim is reminiscent of the story concerning the docility of

¹¹⁹ N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 374.

¹²⁰ See above, p. 153.

¹²¹ Francis Bond, *Dedications to Patron Saints of English Churches* (London, 1914), pp. 19, 203.

¹²² W. Smith, *Ancient Springs and Streams of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Hull, 1923), pp. 123-24.

¹²³ The miraculous creation of wells or springs by a saint is a common motif, which ultimately derived from the story of Moses (Exodus 17.6). See also Athanasius, *Life of Antony* in *PL* 73, ch. 27 – for a recent translation see 'The Life of St Antony by Athanasius' in *Early Christian Lives*, ed. and trans. Carolinne White (London, 1998), pp. 1-70; and St Cuthbert (*VSC*(A), III.4; *VSC*(B), ch. 18).

wild bulls when they were brought into the cemetery at Beverley, as told by William of Malmesbury.¹²⁴

There is also a well in Beverley minster: it lies beneath the marble floor between the lower step of the altar and the most eastern of the sedilia, approximately four feet to the west of the reredos.¹²⁵ The location of the well in the sanctuary of the minster, near to the *fridstol* and so close to the high altar, differs from that of any well in any other cathedral or parish church. This means that this particular well occupied a superior position within its church that other wells did not enjoy, which implies that it possessed special sanctity.¹²⁶ The masonry of the well is of the thirteenth century, but Smith argues that a new well would not have been dug in such a prominent position at that time, and that the well may have already been there when John found the original church, which would have been positioned near a stream or well because of the need for water in the performance of baptisms. He speculates that its association with John, who had a reputation as a miracle-worker, its use in baptisms, and its supposed miraculous properties, led to the desire to preserve and honour it with a special position within the church. Consequently, when the church was enlarged, the work was carried out in such a way that the well was positioned in an exalted location within the sanctuary, in the vicinity of the high altar.¹²⁷

When the well was excavated in 1877, various objects were found, including a headless stone figure, which would have been about six inches high when complete, and which probably represented a monk. This figure was placed over an ogee arch, with pinnacles, now broken, rising on each side of it; it may have come either from the reredos, or from John's shrine.¹²⁸ Rattue speculates that it may have been a representation of John, but there is no supporting evidence for this contention.¹²⁹ Apart from a motley collection of rubbish, the well was also found to contain a silver coin which Smith, with no proof whatsoever, suggests was offered by King Edward II or King Edward III, both of whom visited Beverley. It also contained four small gold pins, thirty-one beads of diverse kinds that had belonged to rosaries, and hazel boughs and nuts. Some of these items may have been dropped into the well as offerings from those seeking favours of John.¹³⁰

A recent archaeological and architectural study of Beverley states that there is a well at the northern edge of Swine Moor, which is to the north-east of the town, of which the water from the spring was dedicated to John.¹³¹ The water certainly used to be drunk for medicinal purposes,

¹²⁴ See above, pp. 134-35.

¹²⁵ W. Smith, *Ancient Springs*, p. 177.

¹²⁶ Ibid. pp. 178-79.

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp. 180-81.

¹²⁸ Ibid. pp. 182-83.

¹²⁹ James Rattue, *The Living Stream: Holy Wells in Historical Context*, (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 37.

¹³⁰ W. Smith, *Ancient Springs*, pp. 183-85.

¹³¹ BAAS, p. 35.

particularly for the benefit of sore eyes, and Smith claims that, within twenty years of him writing, bottles of water were sent to fishermen in Hull for its healing properties.¹³² From around 1700 it was used for bathing, and in 1747 a spa house was built for the convenience of bathers; this was demolished in 1955 and all that is left now is a hedged enclosure, which is partly surrounded by a water-filled ditch, and which contains a building platform having a large hollow at one end.¹³³ The first reference I have been able to find to the spring having been dedicated to John is Warburton (1682-1759), who apparently claimed that the well was dedicated to the saint 'to increase its virtues'.¹³⁴ It is likely that John's long-established reputation for curing all sorts of ailments prompted such a dedication in the hope that his merit would attach itself to the waters and they would consequently be imbued with some of his miraculous healing power.

On the land of what used to be the yard of the church of St Nicholas, which was demolished in the seventeenth century, are the sites of two wells dedicated to John. These are at the end of a road, currently named Beaver Road, and they flow into a stream and thence into the Beverley Beck. People were still visiting the springs to fill up their medicine bottles well into the twentieth century, as attested to by several of today's residents of Beverley. One of these, now an elderly lady, recalls that her father, a farmer, had become so incensed at the constant encroachment by people seeking to fill their medicine bottles from one of the wells, that he filled it in.¹³⁵

Driffield, which is situated approximately midway between Harpham and Beverley, also has a spring which was known as the 'Well of St John of Beverley' until the end of the nineteenth century. Near the well is a piece of land known as Chapel Nook, and Smith speculates that this is the site of a medieval chapel that was attached to the Well of St John. He suggests that a similar arrangement may have been found at the wells at Swaythorpe and Emswell, which may also have been known as wells of St John.¹³⁶

A number of ampullæ display the letter 'I', including one that was found at Arnold, near Beverley. It has been suggested that this might represent the first letter of the saint's name, which means that it could refer to John of Beverley.¹³⁷ All of the wells dedicated to John are in the area around Beverley, and their dedication reflects a local belief in his curative powers, and a desire to harness those powers for healing purposes. Given this strong belief, it is probable that special ampullæ would have been produced and marked in a special way, perhaps with his initial, to show that they were specifically made to contain healing water from his wells.

¹³² W. Smith, *Ancient Springs*, p. 86.

¹³³ *BAAS*, p. 36.

¹³⁴ Quoted by W. Smith, *Ancient Springs*, pp. 83-84.

¹³⁵ Personal communication.

¹³⁶ W. Smith, *Ancient Springs*, pp. 35-38.

¹³⁷ Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, Salisbury and South Wilts., p. 62.

ICONOGRAPHY

The images of John that have survived show a fairly wide dissemination, and they take a number of different forms. These range from the miniature in the Bolton Hours referred to above, pilgrim souvenirs, representations of him for permanent public display, such as in stained glass windows and statuary, and portable items like the bishop's crosier. There must have been countless small items which have not survived, for in exactly the same way as the tourist industry operates today, one of the major ways in which income was generated was by selling souvenirs to pilgrims as mementoes of their visit to the saint's shrine. Although such items might still remain, there is little evidence that many continue to exist, however, a fragment of a pilgrim badge was found at a fifteenth-century site in London, which depicts John of Beverley paired with John of Bridlington. The saints stand either side of a pedestal base that bears the captions of Beverley and Bridlington respectively.¹³⁸

It is, of course, mainly the public examples of John's images that have endured the test of time, the majority of which survive in stained glass windows and statues. The commemoration of saints in this way was an effective means of visual communication, instilling an awareness of the grandeur and power of the saint, and was a constant visible reminder of his life and/or after-life. The donation of windows in particular was a popular way to bestow patronage, with the benefactor often being represented, either as a figure within a scene, or by a coat of arms or other recognizable symbol. It was also a highly expressive and visible method of asserting the prestige of an institution by referring to its historic traditions, and to illustrious figures of the past who were connected with them in some way. The surviving images of John indicate the ways in which he was remembered, or in which his community wished him to be remembered. They fall into five distinct categories: portraits of him as a bishop/archbishop, often with other senior ecclesiastics; portraits of him paired with Athelstan; scenes imagined from his early life; scenes showing him performing miracles; and scenes depicting his post-mortem miracles.

The earliest surviving portrait of him is on the seal of the Collegiate Church of St John, which dates from the thirteenth century. In 1887 it was described as having been cast from a very imperfect impression and, when perfect, was approximately three and one quarter inches long by two inches wide. The seal takes the form of a pointed oval showing John seated on a throne with his feet on an arched footboard; his right hand is lifted in benediction, and there is a book in his

¹³⁸ Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, 7 (London, 1998), p. 95.

left hand. The damaged inscription on the seal reads, '... . EVERL' : AD CITATIONES', showing that its purpose was for sealing citations.¹³⁹

Older than the seal, however, is a small walrus ivory crosier on which John is portrayed in a scene from Bede's account of his life. The crosier has been dated to the middle of the eleventh century and, according to the Exhibition Catalogue for 1984 when it was on deposit at the British Museum, it is 96 mm high, 68 mm at its widest point, and 23 mm in diameter; Beckwith gives slightly different dimensions of 95 cm high by 65 cm wide.¹⁴⁰ In examining illustrations of the crosier, I have found that the description given by Beckwith is the more accurate of the two, and it is this description that I have followed.¹⁴¹ Two scenes are depicted on the volute, both of which are explained by inscriptions that have partially survived the damage that the crosier has suffered. On one side is a scene representing John as a bishop curing a dumb and diseased youth, the story of which was first recounted by Bede.¹⁴² John is attended by another figure who, as he is carrying a cross, probably represents his abbot, Berthun, who was Bede's source for the miracle. The inscription reads, 'I B [(. . O. SANAVIT)]' which is interpreted as 'Iohannes Beverlacensis Episcopus sanavit' – 'Bishop John of Beverley cured him'. On the other side are shown John the Evangelist and St Peter, who is carrying a cross staff, together curing a cripple in the temples.¹⁴³ The inscription reads, 'PE(trus) A(postulis) AET IOHAN(is). The explanation for the linking of the two stories in this way is to be found in the Bedan account in which Bede compares the incessant chattering of the youth after he was cured of his dumbness with the cripple who leaped up rejoicing and praising God for his cure after having been healed by the apostles. The crosier is, therefore, not only a visual reminder of John's healing powers, but is also a reminder that he was a direct spiritual descendant of the apostles, performing similar miraculous deeds in emulation of his holy predecessors.

Beckwith wrongly states that this miracle occurred in 685, which is also the date given by Kirschbaum and Braumfels in their list of images relating to John of Beverley.¹⁴⁴ However, as Bede's narrative concerning John started at the point when he was created bishop of Hexham, which did not happen until 687, none of the events recorded by Bede could have occurred until after that date.

¹³⁹ W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols (London, 1887-1900), I (1887), no. 2636; E. Kirschbaum and W. Braumfels, eds, *Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols (Rome, 1968-76), VI (1974), 87.

¹⁴⁰ *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, Exhibition Catalogue, (London, 1984), p. 214; J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England*, (London, 1972), p. 127.

¹⁴¹ Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, pp. 60, 127-28; *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England 700-1200*, Catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 8 May to 7 July 1974, pp. 48-49 features large-scale illustrations of both sides of the ivory.

¹⁴² *HE* v.2.

¹⁴³ Acts 3.1-7.

¹⁴⁴ Kirschbaum, *Christlichen Ikonographie*, p. 87.

It is impossible to know to whom this crosier belonged but, as it was made in the middle of the eleventh century, the two main candidates must be Ælfric and Ealdred, successive archbishops of York, who were both involved in enriching the minster and promoting John's cult: Ælfric by ritual translation of the saint's remains, and Ealdred by commissioning the *VSJ*.

Most of the glass in Beverley minster is of a late date, but what little has survived of the medieval glass has been incorporated into the east window, of which a large part of the upper half retains much of the original glass from c. 1416-20¹⁴⁵ In the tracery at the very top of the arch is a depiction of the Paschal Lamb, and immediately below this are the head and shoulders of two figures: a bishop on the left, and a king on the right, in very muted but beautiful colours of pale blue, clear, and very pale yellow glass. They are clearly designed to represent John of Beverley and Athelstan. It seems appropriate, given the importance of this connection to Beverley, that these two figures should have been given such a prominent position, second only to Christ himself in the form of the sacrificial lamb, in this magnificent east window.

Other joint depictions of John and the king which date from the Middle Ages are carvings on the exterior of the minster, which show them standing on either side of the great east window,¹⁴⁶ and in two pairs of carved roof bosses in St Mary's church, Beverley. This church was founded in 1120, and one pair of these bosses, which dates from around 1445, is in the choir, and the other, which is from around 1520, is in the nave.¹⁴⁷ The latter bears an inscription, 'AS FREE MAKE I THEE', which comes from the rhyming charter attributed to Athelstan.¹⁴⁸ This quotation also appears on a charter depicted in a hatchment on the south wall of the south transept in the minster. This shows the charter being presented to John by the king, which is obviously an historical impossibility, but is nevertheless symbolic of their relationship; John is clearly meant to personify the church itself. Pevsner dates this painting from the fifteenth century, but David Palliser considers that it is of the seventeenth.¹⁴⁹

The minster exhibits other pairings of these two historical figures, but they are all of much later dates. In the south aisle are lead statues of the king and the bishop on either side of the nave doors; they originally came from the choir screen, which was made locally in 1731 by William Collins.¹⁵⁰ The great west window, which was built in 1859/64, shows, in a central position, a magnificent, full-length portrait of a bejewelled bishop, brilliantly clothed in multi-coloured raiment.¹⁵¹ Immediately beneath him is a portrait of Athelstan, and to the right of the king is a

¹⁴⁵ David Palliser, *Beverley Minster* (Andover, 1996), p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Kirschbaum, *Christlichen Ikonographie*, p. 87; C. J. P. Cave, *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 47, 182, fig. 19.

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix 7.

¹⁴⁹ Pevsner, *East Riding*, p. 178; Palliser, *Beverley*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Pevsner, *East Riding*, p. 36.

¹⁵¹ Stephen Pycok, *The Windows of Beverley Minster* (Beverley, 1996), p. 16.

scene representing the ceremonial consecration of John as a bishop. All of these pairings of the bishop and the king are constant reminders of the historic traditions of Beverley, in which these men are held jointly responsible for all of the rights and privileges acquired by the minster.

The number of windows in York minster which feature John of Beverley is greater than is contained in any other church, although when one considers that the cathedral and parish churches of York contain between half and three-quarters of the total amount of painted glass which has survived since the Middle Ages and that John was one of their earliest (arch)bishops, this is perhaps to be expected.¹⁵² Most of the surviving glass which depicts images of John dates from the fifteenth century, which could reflect the renewed interest in the saint at that time, possibly as a result of his alleged intervention at the battle of Agincourt. A window in the north aisle of the choir, which was donated by Thomas Parker, canon of York from 1410 to 1423, again links John with Athelstan, and also with one of the miracles related by Bede: it shows a portrait of John, below which are two scenes, one showing the king placing his sword upon an altar, and the other of Herebald falling from his horse.¹⁵³

With the exception of the William window, which is discussed below, all the windows featuring John in York minster show him in company with other prominent people who were active in the promotion of Christianity in the north. Amongst these is one in a group of eight windows in the clerestory of the western choir, also from the early fifteenth century, the design of which follow a similar pattern, grouping together ecclesiastics and kings who were contemporaries. The window featuring John also includes Bishop Wilfrid II, King Ceolwulf (732-58), and King Eadberht (737-758), and an unnamed pope; they are all very richly dressed with much gold ornamentation and jewels. The whole series of windows was designed to commemorate the ecclesiastics and kings from Paulinus and Edwin onwards who were involved in the conversion of Northumbria and the establishment of the Christian Church in the north, in which York played a central role.¹⁵⁴

John also features in the Cuthbert window, which was donated by Thomas Langley who died in 1437; he had been canon and dean of York, bishop of Durham and cardinal. There has been some difficulty in dating the window because, as Langley made no mention of it in his will, it could be assumed that it pre-dated his death, but John Kemp, who was not made a cardinal until 1443, is shown in it wearing his cardinal's hat.¹⁵⁵ The window has undergone several periods of restoration work and the tracery lights are filled with modern glass. John is shown amongst some of the earliest figures who were prominent in Northumbrian ecclesiastical history: St

¹⁵² F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York*, (London, 1927), p. 2.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89, 209; *HE* v.6; *Vita* 8.

¹⁵⁴ Harrison, *Painted Glass*, pp. 91-93, 222.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

Paulinus, St James, who was his deacon who remained in the north when everyone else had fled south, King Edwin, St Etheldreda, St Cuthbert, King Oswald, St Hilda, King Edward the Confessor, and St Augustine.¹⁵⁶

Similarly, John is featured amongst other ecclesiastics and kings, all of whom had some connection with York, in the lowest row of the great east window, the work on which was begun in December 1405.¹⁵⁷ He is also shown in the west window in the nave, which was inserted in 1388. It contains a series of large figures representing a number of apostles and (arch)bishops, and John shares company with other (arch)bishops of York, Thomas of Bayeux and St Wilfrid, as well as St Oswald, St William of York, and Sewal de Bovil. They are purely conventional figures drawn from just two cartoons and are all dressed alike in pontifical robes complete with mitre, pallium and chasuble, with an apparel on the left glove and at the foot of the alb.¹⁵⁸

Although John did not receive the pallium, all the images which portray him as a bishop show him fully robed as if he were an archbishop, including wearing the pallium. This was purely a convention, as all his fellow bishops of York are also shown vested as archbishops, but bearing in mind the long drawn-out conflict between York and Canterbury as to whether the archbishop of Canterbury should have ascendancy over that of York, the pictorial representations of the earlier bishops of York as fully fledged archbishops might have been intended as a political statement.

At the north end of the eastern transept is an enormous window of one hundred and thirty-five panels, which represents the life and miracles of William of York, who died in 1154 and was translated in 1283. It was donated by members of the family of Ros of Hamlake (Helmsley) Castle, and has been ascribed to the year 1422.¹⁵⁹ In his comprehensive, detailed study of this huge window, Fowler notes that eight of the compartments definitely represent miracles of John of Beverley, a further six may do so, and a detail in one of the compartments relating to William's life appears to have been taken from John's life.¹⁶⁰

Of those which are certainly representations of the miracles of John, one depicts a man falling from his horse and being pitched headlong over its head and ears; this is clearly a reference to the story of Herebald.¹⁶¹ Another window, which portrays a monk rescuing a young scholar

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 116-17.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 119, 128-29.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁶⁰ James Fowler, 'On a Window representing the Life and Miracles of S. William of York, at the North End of the Eastern Transept, York Minster', *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, 3 (1875), 198-348 (p. 200). See this work for detailed descriptions of all the windows discussed.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 287; *HE* v.6; *VSJ*:8.

from the clutches of a grotesque devil, is a reference to the story told by Ketell of the young man who was diabolically smitten with lecherous desire for a young virgin, and was subsequently delivered of this evil by praying to John.¹⁶² A third window relates to the story of the Irish cripple who was cured after having crept under the feretory of John.¹⁶³ Yet another window is said to represent a hump-backed little boy cured at William's shrine. Fowler, however, believes it more likely to represent the miracle related by William, the keeper of the holy cross, about a boy who had been crippled for seven years, who was cured after spending a night at John's tomb.¹⁶⁴ The portrayal of another event, which is almost certainly borrowed from John's acts, shows a man offering chains to the shrine in thanks for having been miraculously freed from his bonds.¹⁶⁵ There are three of John's miracles which result in prisoners being freed from chains: one in *MSJ* relating to a repentant criminal, and two in *AMI*, concerning clerks freed from imprisonment.¹⁶⁶

As well as these clear references to John's miracles, there are several windows which represent miracles attributed to William that are similar to those of John. Amongst these are scenes showing the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove hovering above an ecclesiastic, the curing of blindness by the saint in a vision, and the rescue of merchants from imminent shipwreck.¹⁶⁷ Another window depicts a young woman, sitting or half-lying on the floor near the shrine, attended by two men, one of whom is very old. This has been interpreted as referring to a story that, in the second year after William's translation, that is in 1285, a dumb woman lay down at the shrine and, while she slept, both John and William appeared to her. The latter signalled to her that she should go to him for help, so on awakening she had herself taken to his feretory. On the third day she was awoken by the singing of *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and found that she could speak.¹⁶⁸ Fowler is highly suspicious of the mention of the two saints appearing together, and is convinced that the miracle is a borrowing from an act of John which was recorded before the death and translation of William.¹⁶⁹

Another of the windows represents a miracle in which a man who had been struck on the head by a fallen piece of masonry had risen up unhurt by the grace of William, but Fowler links it with the story of the collapse of the tower in Beverley minster when, through the intervention of John, the clergy received sufficient warning to escape injury.¹⁷⁰ There are stories that wax

¹⁶² Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 275-76; *MSJ*:8.

¹⁶³ Fowler, 'On a Window', p. 289; *MSJ*:7.

¹⁶⁴ Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 290-91; *AMII*:4.

¹⁶⁵ Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 309-19.

¹⁶⁶ *MSJ*:6; *AMI*:4, 5.

¹⁶⁷ Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 228-89.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 285 referring to *AASS Junii* II, 145.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* This is a reference to a story told in *Alia Miracula I* - see Appendices 3A/3B, ch.2.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-99; *AMIII*:7.

models of a leg and a foot were given to the shrines of both William and John in thanks for cures, and these events are also commemorated in one of the windows.¹⁷¹

William only occupied the see of York for a few weeks before he died in June 1154. Until that time York did not possess the relics of any saint and, referring to the story told by Ketell that the clergy felt it necessary to travel all the way to Beverley to seek the help of John during a period of extended drought, Harrison suggests it must have been humiliating for them to have to travel thirty miles to a daughter-church to appeal in person to a saint who had once occupied the see of York.¹⁷² Their need for a saint of their own was finally fulfilled when their petition for canonization of William succeeded, whereupon he was ritually translated in 1226.¹⁷³ Despite the commemoration of St William at York, there is no evidence to show that he was venerated anywhere else: he appears in no calendars outside of York, and it is this that has led to the presumption that some of his miracles were transferred from John of Beverley.¹⁷⁴

Fowler speculates that, when William died and miracles started to be worked at his tomb, the acts of the two saints got confused, and it is probable that the more familiar miracles of John came to be attributed to the later saint. He supports this view by claiming that the healing of a dumb girl in the acts of St William is substantially the same as a similar cure recorded in the acts of John before William's death, and a hundred and fifty years before the latter's translation was thought of. He further theorizes that the monks of York were eager to ensure that the miracles of their saint should not be eclipsed by those of a rival saint, therefore if John performed a certain miraculous act, then St William should be seen to have performed an even more miraculous act of a similar sort.¹⁷⁵ Harrison gives an example of incrementation of this kind by suggesting that if John restored sight to a blind man, St William had to replace the very eyes of a man who had lost them in a quarrel.¹⁷⁶

Like John's image in the clerestory window on the north side of the parish church of St Martin in Coney Street York, which unfortunately disappeared within the last century, there might well have been representations of the saint in other churches in York, which are now lost to posterity.¹⁷⁷ It is clear from the representations of John in the windows in the minster that the two principal ways in which he was remembered at York were, firstly, as one of the foremost ecclesiastics who established and consolidated the Christian Church in the north of England, and secondly as a powerful intercessor who could persuade God to perform miracles.

¹⁷¹ Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 303-04; *AMF*:8.

¹⁷² Harrison, *Painted Glass*, p. 106; *MSJ*:3.

¹⁷³ Harrison, *Painted Glass*, p. 101.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06.

¹⁷⁵ Fowler, 'On a Window', pp. 200-01.

¹⁷⁶ Harrison, *Painted Glass*, p. 106.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Representations of John also figure in two chapels at Oxford University: All Souls College and Queen's College. In All Souls College Chapel he is currently depicted in the smaller window to the south of the great central window of the display on the west wall of the antechapel, which contains a large number of bishops, none of whom exhibit any distinguishing signs or emblems. The building accounts show that the west windows were paid for in 1447, but the medieval glass currently in the two smaller windows was 'originally in the sixteen windows of the Old Library, each of which displayed two figures facing one another.'¹⁷⁸ Hutchinson speculates that they may have been the creations of John Prudde, a fifteenth-century glazier who was given royal appointment by King Henry VI.¹⁷⁹

There is some doubt, however, that John of Beverley was one of the bishops originally depicted because he was not named in the record of the arrangement of this glass made by the antiquary, Richard Symonds, in 1644. This is deficient in five places: one king's name and four bishops' names, including John of Beverley's, are missing.¹⁸⁰ In 1876-9, glaziers Clayton & Bell, who were employed to carry out restoration work, supplied new names to some of the old figures, and these included St Cyprian, St Oswald, and St John of Beverley.¹⁸¹ These names had not appeared on any previous list, and all the bishops named by Symonds had been archbishops of Canterbury, which gives rise to doubts as to the validity of the new names. Hutchinson suggests that there is no relevancy at all in the inclusion of St Cyprian, and that St Oswald may have been confused with his namesake, King Oswald of Northumbria. He admits to some justification for John of Beverley 'if the series was not confined to Canterbury', because of Chichele's special reverence for the saint following his reputed intercession at the battle of Agincourt.¹⁸² Some doubt must therefore remain as to whether John was among the original bishops commemorated in glass in the fifteenth century, although he was obviously considered sufficiently significant to be named as one of the bishops by the nineteenth-century glaziers.

At Queen's College, Oxford, there is a large depiction of John in a window to the south side of the chapel, the glass of which has been dated to 1518.¹⁸³ John is shown in a rural setting bearing a shepherd's crook in his right hand, and carrying a book in his left. His vestments are white over a green robe, and he is wearing a blue pallium. The other saints commemorated in the window are, to John's right, St Robert, and St Ann teaching the Virgin to read; above John from left to right are St Margaret slaying a dragon, St Christopher bearing a child on his back, and St Edward carrying a sword.

¹⁷⁸ Peter A. Newton, 'Stained Glass at Oxford' in N Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 75-189 (pp. 75-76); F. E. Hutchinson *Medieval Glass at All Souls College* (London, 1949), p. 15.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 56, and see below p.179.

¹⁸³ Newton, 'Stained Glass', p. 87.

John's connection with Oxford is, at best, nebulous, acknowledging that the tradition that he was the first person to graduate as a Doctor of Theology at Oxford University must be a fabrication.¹⁸⁴ However, Queen's College Oxford is the location given by Bale for four books of *Sententiæ* written by John, although the present whereabouts of these works are unknown, and there is no evidence, apart from Bale, that they ever existed.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, John does not appear in this window as one of a series of bishops, as he does in the window of All Souls College: he is portrayed very prominently as one of only six saints to be commemorated, which implies that he was especially venerated here. Further, the book John is holding could be a symbol of his supposed scholarship, and a reference to his putative connection with the university. This connection not only endowed John with great learning, but it also bestowed honour on the university by implying that it was of great antiquity.

Other churches that have windows depicting John are at Cirencester in Gloucestershire, and at Walpole-St-Peter in Norfolk. At Cirencester John appears in the great south window of the side aisle of the St John the Baptist church alongside St William of York and St Osmund of Salisbury; the date and style of the window are of the late fifteenth century.¹⁸⁶ In Walpole-St-Peter, John appears amongst a series of royal and ecclesiastic saints in the chancel windows, which are dated to around 1423 to 1425: he is on the north side in company with John the Evangelist and St Edmund of Canterbury.¹⁸⁷ He makes another appearance in Norfolk on a medieval screen at Hempstead.¹⁸⁸

Even further afield from Beverley though, is the church of Saint-Jean-Brévelay in northern France, where there are three representations of John: a statue, a wooden reliquary bust, and a stained glass window. The full-length statue of the saint forms part of a magnificent altar-piece which was constructed in 1690.¹⁸⁹ This shows a bearded bishop, bearing an episcopal staff in his right hand, with a small pink pig at his feet (fig. 1). Local tradition in Saint-Jean-Brévelay maintains that the bishop was renowned for having the ability to cure animals, therefore the piglet was included as his emblem in much the same way as keys usually attend St Peter. The final section in *AMII* records that John frequently healed dumb animals, and the choice of this particular aspect of John's thaumaturgical powers to commemorate at Saint-Jean-Brévelay suggests that the welfare of domestic animals was of primary importance in this rural community.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ See above pp. 25-26.

¹⁸⁵ See above, p. 35.

¹⁸⁶ Kirschbaum, *Christlichen Ikonographie*, p. 87; Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: The Cotswolds* (Harmondsworth, 1970) p. 168.

¹⁸⁷ Christopher Woodforde, *The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1950), p. 179.

¹⁸⁸ *VCH Norfolk*, II, 545n.

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed description of this altar-piece see Yannick Pelletier, *Les retables bretons* (Rennes, 1981), p. 168.

¹⁹⁰ *AMII*:9.

The reliquary bust is life-size and shows a beardless bishop in pontifical robes of red trimmed with gold, a red mitre with gold ornamentation, and wearing a gold cross on a gold chain. A relic, which is claimed to be one of John's bones, is embedded in the chest behind an oval-shaped piece of glass (figs 2 and 3). The window of John shows him as an older bishop with a white beard, bearing the episcopal staff, with his right hand is raised in blessing. I have been unable to ascertain the dates of either of these images, but they are unlikely to be of an early date.

The surviving images of John support the contention that the veneration of John extended from Beverley and York to more distant parts of the country, as well as crossing the Channel into northern France. Outside Yorkshire John is principally honoured as an eminent (arch)bishop, and in Brittany, he is clearly thought of as a healer of livestock, whereas in his local area he is primarily remembered as a worker of miracles who acquired for Beverley its historical rights and privileges.

PATRONAGE

The enormous prestige which attached to Beverley minster, which was a consequence of its guardianship of John's relics, attracted a great deal of patronage from all sections of society, from the low-born to the highest in the land. The wealth thus acquired resulted in the minster becoming one of the richest foundations in the North, with revenues that were far greater than those of Ripon and Southwell, its two peer institutions in the York diocese.¹⁹¹ Patronage took the form of grants of land and revenues, exemption from taxes, gifts of money for the fabric of the minster, and numerous gifts for the adornment of the interior of the minster, such as stained glass windows, carvings, and statuary.

According to the tradition derived from Bede, who wrote that John was buried in his own monastery, the first patron of Beverley was John himself.¹⁹² According to Leland, John expanded the small church he found there, filled it with monks, and appointed Berthun as its first abbot. He is then said to have constructed an oratory dedicated to St Martin, in which he installed nuns, and that he associated seven priests and seven clerks to the two monasteries, for which he bought lands in Middleton, Welwick, Bilton, and Patrington, as well as the manor of Ridings where he built a church which he dedicated to St Nicholas.¹⁹³ Leland claims that Puch, whose wife John is said to have cured, gave the manor of Walkington when his daughter, Yolfrida, became a nun there; he gives the date of her death as 13 March 742, and

¹⁹¹ Christopher Wilson, 'Beverley Minister', p. 182.

¹⁹² *HE* v.6.

¹⁹³ *LC* iv, 100-01.

writes that she was buried at Beverley.¹⁹⁴ He also claims that Addi, whose favourite servant John is said to have healed, donated Cherry Burton, together with its church.¹⁹⁵

Enrichment of Beverley minster was assiduously carried out by the last three Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York, Ælfric (1023-51), Cynesige (1051-60), and Ealdred (1061-9) who all instigated major building works and made valuable donations, including lands.¹⁹⁶ Ælfric, who was responsible for the ritual translation of John's relics, acquired estates at Milton, Holme, and Fridaythorpe for the minster,¹⁹⁷ and obtained permission from King Edward the Confessor to hold three fairs annually at Beverley.¹⁹⁸ He also began the building of a refectory and dormitory at Beverley, work on which was continued by Cynesige, who also built a stone tower in which he installed two bells; he also gave books and ornaments to the church.¹⁹⁹

Ealdred, who completed the building work started by his predecessors, took a special interest in the minster of John during his occupation of the see of York. He initiated the building of a new presbytery which he dedicated to John the Evangelist, and also created a stunning spectacle within the church by ornamenting the interior all the way from the presbytery to the tower built by Cynesige with wonderful paintings and sculptures, and by placing in the choir a new pulpit surmounted by a crucifix, all of which was made of bronze, silver and gold.²⁰⁰ He also took steps to protect the liberties and endowments of the canons by acquiring writs from Edward the Confessor and William I.²⁰¹ The former greatly extended his powers over Beverley and other northern minsters by making him the sole lord over Beverley under the king; it also gave him permission to draw up a *privilegium* for the lands belonging to the minster, and confirmed that the minster and its adjoining district should be as free as any other minster. The latter granted Beverley not only sake and soke over the lands it had held during the reign of Edward the Confessor, but also over those lands which had since been given to it by Ealdred, thereby verifying that the archbishop was personally involved in this important area of increasing the landholdings of the minster.²⁰²

In addition to such largesse, Ealdred commissioned Folcard to write responsaries for John, as well as the *VSJ*. York did not have its own patron saint at this time, therefore by choosing to

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 100; *HE* v.4; *VSJ*:6.

¹⁹⁵ *LC* IV, 101. Cherry Burton used to be known as North Burton.

¹⁹⁶ For more detailed information on these archbishops see Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers, 38 (1970); and Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* (London, 1979), pp. 86-90.

¹⁹⁷ *HCY* II, 312-87, (p. 343.)

¹⁹⁸ Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or, The History and antiquities of the city of York, from its original [sic] to the present times* . . . (London, 1736) p. 411.

¹⁹⁹ *HCY* II, 344.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 353-54.

²⁰¹ Florence E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 2nd edn (Stamford, 1989), pp. 135-36, 432; Farrer, *Yorkshire Charters*, I, nos. 88, 89; David Bates, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acts of William I (1066-1087)* (Oxford, 1998), no. 31.

²⁰² Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, pp. 135-36, 432.

promote the cult in this conspicuous way Ealdred was acknowledging John's prime importance as the most eminent saint in the see of York. At the same time, his own status and importance would have grown along with Beverley's increase in wealth and prestige. His support for the cult, and generous patronage of Beverley, accords well with his ambition, and his reputation as a defender of the rights of the church. He was a senior political and diplomatic figure during the reign of Edward the Confessor, and although he apparently enjoyed a good relationship with Harold, and is said to have supported Edgar the Atheling for the throne of England following the crucial battle of Hastings, he nevertheless co-operated with William the Conqueror, at whose coronation he presided.²⁰³ His relationship with these kings enabled him to obtain important privileges for Beverley, and his building programme and decorative artworks greatly enhanced the beauty and impressiveness of the minster. The stimulus provided by his benefaction revitalized the cult and endowed it with a much higher prominence than it had heretofore enjoyed.

There is no written evidence relating to any other building works at the minster until the story of the collapse of the crossing tower, which was recorded in *AMIII*, and dated to c. 1215.²⁰⁴ However, it is unlikely that such an ambitious project would have been undertaken if other parts of the fabric had not already been restored following the fire of 1188. Archbishop Walter de Gray granted an indulgence in 1232 for those who contributed to funds for the fabric of the church,²⁰⁵ and the periodic issue of such indulgences by successive archbishops reflects their continued support for Beverley minster and acknowledgement of its considerable status.²⁰⁶ Further, the high number of popes who granted such indulgences in return for donations to the church of St John, also reveals a concern for the interests of Beverley at the very highest ecclesiastical level.²⁰⁷

As well as receiving gifts of land and money in John's name, the church acquired wealth through donations of such items as rich cloths and valuable jewellery. For example, in 1311 the executors of the will of canon Walter of Gloucester gave God and John a beautiful blue cope ornately decorated with gold and silk threads, and in October 1318, John of Hotham, bishop of Ely and chancellor of England, donated a cloth of gold.²⁰⁸

Gifts from royalty were sometimes equally impressive: Lady Margaret, the widow of Edward I, who is somewhat confusingly, and incorrectly, described as 'Domina Margareta consors

²⁰³ For a concise account of Ealdred's history see Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers, 38 (York, 1970), pp. 23-29.

²⁰⁴ *AMIII*:7.

²⁰⁵ Christopher Wilson, 'Beverley Minster', p. 184.

²⁰⁶ See above, pp. 151-52.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 147.

²⁰⁸ *MBM* I, 273, 363.

Domini Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi Angliæ' ('Lady Margaret consort of Lord Edward son of King Edward of England'), donated a brocade cloth and a gold necklace when she visited Beverley in the autumn of 1310; and in July 1312, after hearing mass in the minster, she donated a moderately-sized round ornament made of gold, which was immediately fixed to John's shrine.²⁰⁹ An entry for 8 October 1318 states that 'Domina Regina' visited Beverley, and the following day went to the church and donated a rich brocade cloth, and around 7s.; she was received in procession in silk copes.²¹⁰ Presumably, this refers to Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II, who is named in a later entry as having visited the church on St Luke's Day, that is 18 October, that same year. This time she gave the king's offering, which was a cloth of gold to the high altar, a 'nuchteam' to the shrine, about 13s. to the small shrines, and 7s. to the tomb.²¹¹ She is recorded as having visited Beverley again on 3 July 1323 and, after hearing mass the following day, offered 7s. to the shrine, an amount which the clerk appears to have considered to be derisory as he added the words 'et nichil aliud' ('and nothing else').²¹²

PATRONAGE OF KINGS

Successive kings of England demonstrated their admiration for John, and the esteem in which they held him was reflected in a number of ways: the granting of special privileges, the donation of gifts and land, the petitioning of his help in battle, and commanding that his feast day be honoured throughout England.

According to Leland, John's first royal patron was Aldfrith, who was king when John was appointed to the see of Hexham.²¹³ He also claimed that King Osred, whom Folcard associates with the bishop in both a political and social capacity, donated the church of Dalton.²¹⁴ Neither of these claims is verifiable. The earliest surviving evidence which proves that major material benefits accrued to Beverley as a result of royal patronage comes from the writ of King Edward the Confessor which granted Archbishop Ealdred permission to draw up the *privilegium* with regard to the lands belonging to St John's minster. The granting of this writ illustrates that the king, apart from granting the archbishop elevated status, recognized the importance of Beverley as a major ecclesiastical centre, which importance proceeded from the status of its patron saint.

William I confirmed the privileges granted by Edward the Confessor, and issued at least two writs relating to Beverley. One reiterated Edward's permission for Ealdred to draw up a

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 294-5.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 362.

²¹¹ Ibid., 364. The editor of *MBM I* has translated 'nuchteam' as 'a nut', but I think it more likely that this is 'an ouch', such as a brooch set with precious stones, which is clearly a more fitting gift to John's shrine than a humble nut.

²¹² *MBM II*, 37.

²¹³ *LC IV*, 100.

²¹⁴ Ibid.; *Vita* 9.

privilegium, and that St John's lands should be free from the demands of the king or his ministers.²¹⁵ The other granted the minster sake and soke over all its lands, both those which had been acquired during the reign of his predecessor, and those donated by Ealdred during his own reign; exempted St John's lands from the customs of 'witword' and 'caupland'; and willed that minster life should be carried on there in perpetuity.²¹⁶

Henry I also confirmed the rights which the church had under Edward the Confessor and William I, including that of receiving its thraves in the East Riding,²¹⁷ as did Stephen in 1136, whose charter was the first to acknowledge Athelstan as the instigator of Beverley's peace and privileges.²¹⁸ Although both Henry II and Richard I confirmed Beverley's existing liberties, it was King John in April 1199, the year he acceded to the throne, who granted Beverley new and important privileges, as well as confirming all previous charters granted by his predecessors.²¹⁹ The burgesses of the town paid King John the sum of five hundred marks for granting these new charters, which suggests that not only were the freedoms from paying certain taxes extremely beneficial to Beverley, but that the town was sufficiently wealthy to be able to pay such a large sum. The only other involvement of this king with Beverley are visits to the town on 25 and 27 January 1201.²²⁰

Numerous gifts were bestowed upon Beverley by successive kings, many of them associated with the petitioning of John's help in war, an act which was symbolized by the carrying of the saint's banner into battle. By 1266 it had become traditional practice to send one man with the banner whenever the shire of York was summoned to the royal army, a custom which appears to have dated from the reign of King Henry I.²²¹ Although it cannot be proved that Henry did this in direct emulation of Athelstan, it is nevertheless possible that he was influenced by an awareness of the legend. King Stephen, however, who had formally acknowledged that Athelstan was the originator of Beverley's privileges, was clearly aware of the alleged connection between the king with John. It is not unlikely, therefore, that his awareness of the legend may have had some bearing on his decision to take the banner with him into battle in 1138 against David, king of Scotland alongside the banners of two other celebrated saints: St Wilfrid of Ripon and St Peter of York.²²²

²¹⁵ Bates, *Regesta Regum*, no. 32.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 31.

²¹⁷ Farrer, *Yorkshire Charters*, I, 96, 97, 98; H. W. C. Davis and others, eds, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1963-1968), II, 669, 1112, 1113, 1257, 1382, 1454, 1756.

²¹⁸ Farrer, *Yorkshire Charters*, I, 99; Davis, *Regesta Regum*, II, 99.

²¹⁹ Poulson, *Beverlac*, pp. 58-62.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²²¹ *CPR Henry III, 1258-66*, p. 636.

²²² See above, p. 53.

According to Leland, in 1150 Stephen decided to build a castle at Beverley, but changed his mind when John appeared to him in a vision and terrified him with threats.²²³ This is the only recorded instance I have come across which claims that John issued a warning to someone by appearing to them in a vision.

Edward I visited Beverley several times, the first recorded occasion being in 1296 when he took the standard of John into battle with him when he fought against the Scots. By the king's command, the banner was borne by Gilbert of Grimsby, a vicar choral, and later precentor of Beverley, who remained in Scotland throughout the war.²²⁴ This was clearly a deliberate imitation of Athelstan, for it is known that Edward consciously exploited the legend to advance his claim to rule Scotland. Having instigated examinations of the chronicles of religious houses in an attempt to find historical precedents to support his Scottish policy, he discovered that the legend of Athelstan fitted his political requirements exactly.²²⁵ In a letter to Pope Boniface he quoted part of the legend, as it appears in the *AMI* version, using it to justify his claim to sovereignty over the Scots on the basis that it was God's will, through the intercession of John of Beverley, that Scotland was subjugated to the king of England and to his successors in perpetuity.²²⁶

On 16 September 1296 the king granted the canons of Beverley £40 per year from the Treasury of Scotland, payable at Berwick, provided that they paid a dole of one penny to each of three thousand poor on both of John's feast days; they were to enjoy a special dish for themselves to the value of 50s. The remainder of the money was to be used for two enormous candles weighing 20lb. each for the high altar in front of the saint's shrine, and two smaller candles were to be placed before John's standard on Sundays and feast days. In addition, a chaplain, who was to be provided with his vestments by the Chapter, was to celebrate the Mass of St John every day, during which two wax candles were to be burnt. This grant was superseded on 27 June 1297 when a new grant was made in substantially the same terms.²²⁷ Clearly, these gifts were made in gratitude for John's help in gaining him victory over the Scots.

It is likely that Edward also took the banner with him when he again defeated the Scots at Falkirk in July 1298, as he visited Beverley just a month before on 3 June.²²⁸ He stayed at Beverley for another three days the following year and on 25 November, by his command, Gilbert of Grimsby set off from Beverley bearing John's banner; he was away until 9 January 1300.²²⁹ The king

²²³ *LC* II, 364.

²²⁴ *MBM* I, pp. lxxxviii, 53; *CPR Edward I, 1292-1301*, p. 208.

²²⁵ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England 1: c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1996), pp. 441-42.

²²⁶ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols, RS 28 (1863), I, 88-9; Henry Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 2 vols, RS 92 (London 1889-95), I, 315.

²²⁷ *CPR Edward I, 1292-1301*, pp. 204, 255; *MBM* I, p. lxxxviii; see also *ibid.* 17, 21, 72, 167-8.

²²⁸ *MBM* I, p. lxxxviii.

²²⁹ Poulson, *Beverlac*, pp. 82-83, quoting from the *Wardrobe Accounts*.

evidently made use of the banner again later that year for on 27 November 1300 he returned it by Geoffrey de Welleford, chaplain, and Robert de Haliwell.²³⁰ He made further visits to Beverley on 29 May 1300 and on 10 June 1301.²³¹ It was in this year that, 'out of devotion to St John of Beverley', he remitted half of a fine of 100 marks which had been levied on the community and ordered that the remaining 50 marks should be put towards rebuilding the saint's shrine.²³² His successor, Edward II, also requisitioned the saint's banner several times: in 1310, when he also donated a cloth and an item of jewellery to John's shrine, in 1312, and 1314, the bearer on each occasion being John of Rolleston, the vicar of Beverley minster, and chaplain of St Nicholas' brotherhood.²³³

Edward III also pressed John's banner into service when he invaded Scotland in 1335; this time it was borne by Thomas Huggate the chaplain. The Chapter wrote to the king in French, expressing the hope that, like his grandfather before him, he would receive the banner in good devotion and great humility, and expressed the wish that God would grant him grace in his affairs, through the aid of John, through which aid both Athelstan and his grandfather had conquered the whole of Scotland.²³⁴ He had visited Beverley earlier in December 1331 when, accompanied by the queen he heard mass in the church every day and then gave a cloth of gold and half a mark to the high altar.²³⁵

Like his predecessors, Henry IV also took John's banner with him when he fought against Scotland in 1400.²³⁶ However, the saint's reputation was exploited in a slightly different way by this king's supporters for there were reports that oil seeped from John's marble tomb for sixty-one days and nights from the moment Henry landed at Ravenspur in 1399 on his return from the exile imposed upon him by Richard II.²³⁷ The significance of this claim lies in the linking of such a miraculous event with Henry's return, which ultimately resulted in Richard's abdication in his favour. As an usurper, Henry needed to justify his seizure of the throne and demonstrate that he was the rightful king, and in these circumstances such a miracle would undoubtedly be viewed as divine approval for his actions. The appropriation of this great northern saint, allied with such a miraculous sign of heavenly support, would have been a powerful piece of propaganda for the new king.

²³⁰ *CCR Edward I, 1296-1302*, 414.

²³¹ *MBM I*, p. lxxxix.

²³² *VCH Yorks*, VI, 7; *CPR Edward I, 1292-1301*, 598.

²³³ Raine, *Historical Papers*, p. 198; *MBM I*, 295, 296, 321.

²³⁴ *MBM II*, 112-13.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 98.

²³⁶ *MBM I*, p. xc; A. L. Brown, 'The English Campaign in Scotland, 1400' in *British Government and Administration*, eds H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 40-54 (p. 45, n.16).

²³⁷ *HCY III*, 288.

His son, later Henry V, made a pilgrimage to the shrine at Beverley in 1408 when he was still Prince of Wales.²³⁸ As well as supporting the cult of John of Beverley, there is evidence that both Henry IV and his son worshipped at the tomb of John Thweng, better known as John of Bridlington, whose canonization was supported by Henry IV.²³⁹ Within the context of the struggles between the Lancastrian kings and the northern magnates, together with the rapid development of the cult of Richard Scrope, executed in 1405 for heading a popular uprising,²⁴⁰ the appropriation of these Yorkshire saints by the two Henries can be seen as a tactic in the battle to unify the region with the king at its head. Apart from feeling genuine piety, and hoping to acquire divine protection and approval through devoted support of these northern saints, the political advantages of paying such conspicuous homage would have been extremely beneficial. By participating in the veneration for these saints, they would have been perceived as being intimately involved with the saint's own people, thereby promoting social cohesion, and increasing their influence in those areas.

There has never been any doubt that Henry V's piety was genuine, and he continued to look upon John as one of his patron saints throughout his life, calling upon him, as well as upon St George and the Virgin, for assistance in his battle against the French at Agincourt.²⁴¹ There is no evidence that John's banner accompanied the king into battle, although in view of his admiration for the saint, it would not have been anomalous had it done so. His magnificent victory took place on 25 October, the feast day of John's translation, confirming the saint's intercessory powers and his support for the king. In an echo of the phenomenon which was reported at the tomb on his father's return to England, *The Ordination of the Feast of the Translation of St John* records that during the battle 'holy oil flowed by drops like sweat out of his tomb as an indication of the divine mercy towards his people without doubt through the merits of the said holy man'.²⁴² An alternative, and rather more dramatic, version of this miraculous happening was recorded by Walsingham, who claimed that there was a widespread report that the saint's tomb sweated blood during the entire day of the battle.²⁴³

In gratitude for the saint's intervention, on 17 December of the following year Henry V decreed that the John's feast days of 7 May and 25 October should be celebrated nationally; St George's feast day was elevated to national status at the same time.²⁴⁴ By decreeing that these two saints be venerated in this very public and universal way, the king not only emphasized their power to

²³⁸ Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 317.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-04.

²⁴⁰ J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (London, 1970), p. 187.

²⁴¹ Jeremy Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V' in *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss (Oxford, 1985), pp. 97-115 (p. 108).

²⁴² Poulson, *Beverlac*, appendix vii.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* I, 185; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 109; Oliver, *History*, p. 157.

²⁴⁴ Thomas Rymer, *Fœdera*, 20 vols (London, 1727-35), IX (1729), 420-21; W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliæ* (Oxford, 1679), pp. 103-04.

protect the nation against its enemies, but also that it was God's will that the realm be protected. As the realm was synonymous with its king, the implication was that Henry V had the approval of God, thus reinforcing his validity as the nation's rightful ruler. In 1420 (perhaps on 9 April), leaving Queen Katherine at York, he visited John's shrine at Beverley, no doubt to offer prayers of thanksgiving to the saint for his favourable intervention.²⁴⁵

It is clear that from the eighth through to the early sixteenth century, a period of nine hundred years, the relationship between John and England's kings ensured that the community at Beverley acquired and maintained the rights and privileges that enabled it to retain and augment its riches. In return for their numerous gifts, the kings harnessed the saint's reputation for their own religious and political purposes, using it to endorse the causes they espoused, especially with regard to their claim to rule over Scotland. The habitual presence of John's banner amongst the English armies in their wars against England's enemies may have instilled confidence in the troops, but was primarily a mark of the reciprocal relationship between John and the nation, in the person of the king. His official elevation to the status of a national saint following the Battle of Agincourt confirmed his position as one of England's foremost saints.

THE CULT IN BRITTANY

Situated approximately twenty-two kilometres from Vannes and thirty-two from Plöermel in Brittany, northern France, lies the parish of Saint-Jean-Brévelay, which has adopted John of Beverley as its patron.²⁴⁶ There is no indication in the records consulted at the Archives Départementales in Vannes as to when this name was first affixed to the town, but one can say with certainty that a settlement existed there long before John was born, for it is known from the discovery of menhirs and dolmens in the vicinity that the area was inhabited by the Celts in ancient times. Exactly when people crossed over the channel from the British Isles and settled in the Armorican peninsula is a matter of some dispute, with some scholars believing the emigration to have taken place before the Romans arrived in the area, and others believing it to have occurred when the Romans were already there, but with their consent.²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the migrations took place, and by the second half of the sixth century Armorica had come to be known as Britannia.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ 'A Northern Chronicle' in *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford, 1913), pp. 270-291 (p. 290); R. B. Mowat, *Henry V* (London, 1919), p. 254.

²⁴⁶ My attention was first drawn to the existence of Saint-Jean-Brévelay by Karen Anne Jankulak, 'The Cult of St Petroc in Cornwall and Brittany c.550 to c.1250', unpublished doctoral thesis (University of Toronto, 1996), n.10.

²⁴⁷ Joseph-Marie Le Mené, *Histoire archéologique, féodale et religieuse des paroisses du diocèse de Vannes*, 2 vols (Vannes, 1891-94; repr. 1994), I, 399; Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Naissance de la Bretagne* (Angers, 1994), p. 270. For a summary of the different opinions and evidence see Léon Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne* (Paris, 1980), pp. 35-50, 110-18, 134-37.

²⁴⁸ Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 12.

The existing church of Saint-Jean-Brévelay was originally a Romanesque structure but it has been through many alterations and enlargements over the centuries.²⁴⁹ In the main aisle of the church, just before the entry into the sanctuary, there is a slab of granite at floor level. Danigo writes that this was presented as the tomb of John from time immemorial and that it was once raised up and enclosed in a wooden shrine. In this raised position it served as a table for offerings of country produce, and the coffins of the dead would be placed right next to it during the religious service. However, he claims that the name of John of Beverley, in whatever form its spelling took, did not appear in documents until 1542 and before that, in 1530, the tomb was referred to as that of 'Monsieur saint Jehan de Cantorbie'. Even earlier, in 1392, 1430 and 1536 the parish was simply called 'Saint-Jean'. He concludes that it was possible that the parish was originally placed under the patronage of a saint John, which he believes to have been the Baptist;²⁵⁰ certainly local tradition in Saint-Jean-Brévelay holds that the tomb is that of John the Baptist. The reference to saint Jehan de Cantorbie presents some difficulties of identification: it may refer to 'St John of Canterbury', but there is no record of any saint styled in this way. However, as John of Beverley is believed to have spent some time at Canterbury completing his education, it is just possible that this was another way of identifying him from other saints called John.

Nevertheless, at whatever date the town received the name of Saint-Jean-Brévelay, there can be no doubt that it was based on local belief that it possessed the genuine relics of John of Beverley. Because his name did not appear in documents relating to the parish until the sixteenth century, there is the possibility that they were not actually acquired until then, at a time which coincided with the destruction of shrines and scattering of holy relics in England. During this period of religious reform many relics were carried off by the faithful in order to preserve them from desecration, and it may be that it was at this time that John's remains arrived in Brittany and gave his name to the town already known as Saint Jean. However, there is no evidence to support this contention.

A more likely hypothesis is that proffered by Le Mené, which is the traditionally accepted version, that these relics were carried back to France in the tenth century by those returning from exile in England whence they had fled to escape the ravages of marauding invaders. On returning home they brought the precious bones with them and deposited them in their church, renaming it in honour of the saint whose remains it now housed.²⁵¹ This theory is supported by John's inclusion in Breton church calendars at Vannes and Nantes at least by the eleventh century.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ For a history of fabric of the church see Joseph Danigo, *Églises et chapelles au royaume de Bignan* (Bannalec, 1993), pp. 191-213.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89.

²⁵¹ Le Mené, *Histoire archéologique*, p. 399.

²⁵² See above, p. 157.

This poses the questions as to how and why the bones of a Yorkshire saint should have been chosen to be venerated in such a way so far from their place of origin. Furthermore, there is the question as to why Breton exiles should have accepted the bones as genuine relics. The trade in relics, real and fake, was a thriving industry in the Middle Ages, and even ecclesiastics used to accept objects as authentic relics without any proof whatsoever.²⁵³ It is possible, therefore, that the bones were bought from a relic-monger who may or may not have acquired them legitimately, and who claimed that they were genuine relics of John of Beverley. However, I should like to put forward an alternative hypothesis.

The unstable situation prevailing in Brittany that had created the exodus to England makes it understandable that those returning should wish to have had the aid and protection of a powerful saint. If they had been convinced by someone they could trust that John was highly effective in obtaining divine intervention on behalf of his suppliants, then he would have been the ideal saint to carry back with them, present in the form of his relics. It is feasible, therefore, that they were given the relics by a devotee of John, someone they trusted and whom they believed had the status and opportunity to acquire them from Beverley. There is no more likely candidate for this than King Athelstan.

That the king enjoyed 'a unique record among monarchs as a collector of relics' is well attested and has been much discussed. Amongst the written evidence for this is a letter from Radbod, the prior of St Samson's at Dol, in which the prior writes, 'and now I send to you relics, which we know to be dearer to you than all earthly substance', thereby not only confirming the king's enthusiasm for relics, but also that some of his collection was acquired from Brittany.²⁵⁴ It is entirely feasible, therefore, that among his enormous collection he should have possessed relics of John of Beverley, a saint for whom he was reputed to have had a special veneration. Furthermore, as well as being a collector, there is evidence that Athelstan was one of the greatest donors of relics to English monasteries, thereby being responsible for disseminating a number of saints' cults throughout the country.²⁵⁵ There is no reason to suppose, however, that his benefaction was limited to the inhabitants of Britain, for he had extremely strong connections with Brittany. His association with northern France is well documented, maintaining, as he did,

²⁵³ Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 31. See also Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra* (Oxford, 1990).

²⁵⁴ See J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), p. 72; Christopher Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings*, (London, 1963 reprinted Glasgow, 1989), pp. 119-25; D. W. Rollason, 'Relic-cults as an instrument of royal policy c.900-c.1050', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 91-103; D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents I, c.500-1042* (London, 1955), pp. 821-2 (no. 228) - Whitelock notes that the letter was found by William of Malmesbury at Milton Abbas, in a shrine, and is printed in *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS 52 (1870), pp. 399-400; Whitelock, p. 561 (no. 140), pp. 277-83 (no. 8) - this was taken from *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed William Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 90 (1887-89), I; Laura Hibberd Loomis, 'The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and King Athelstan: The Lances of Longinus and St Mauricius', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 437-56; and D. Bethell, 'The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection' in *Popular Belief and Practice . . .*, eds G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 61-72.

²⁵⁵ Robinson, *St Dunstan*, p.75.

the close links established by both his father and grandfather.²⁵⁶ The influence of the West Saxon kings had infiltrated the area by the early tenth-century, and Asser claims that Bretons, both nobles and commoners, were among the many foreigners who willingly submitted themselves to King Alfred's lordship because of his charity and distribution of alms to them, which was apparently exceedingly generous. This close connection with Brittany was continued by his successors: both Edward the Elder and his son Athelstan maintained confraternity with the clergy of the cathedral of Dol during that community's exile in France, as attested by the abovementioned letter from Radbod to Athelstan.²⁵⁷

The king's close links with Brittany are further supported by the claim that Athelstan was the godfather of Alain Barbe-Torte, the son of Mathedoi, Count of Poher.²⁵⁸ It is recorded that the count and his son, together with a large number of Bretons, fled to Athelstan for refuge in 913. Alain Barbe-Torte returned to Brittany in 936 with the king's support and, in grateful thanks for his assistance, Athelstan was given a large number of Breton relics that he distributed to various monasteries and cathedrals.²⁵⁹ It is conceivable, therefore, that in return Athelstan should have provided his godson with the relics of John of Beverley for divine protection. Such a transaction would have been perfectly in accord with the customs of the time, for relics were perceived as suitable commodities for diplomatic reciprocity and were frequently exchanged in this way to consolidate international ties.²⁶⁰ This would mean that the relics arrived in Brittany in the tenth century, and the town of Saint-Jean-Brévelay could have been dedicated to John at around that time.

However, despite the attractiveness of this hypothesis, there is no proof, other than circumstantial, that it has any validity, the only dateable evidence concerning John's veneration in Brittany coming from his inclusion in the eleventh-century Breton calendars. Another possibility, which again arises from circumstantial details, is that some of the saint's relics were distributed at the time of his translation in 1037 as a method of extending the cult. This date coincides with the dating of the calendars containing his feast day, and with the fact that the church at Saint-Jean-Brévelay was originally Romanesque, the nave of which survived until the eleventh century.²⁶¹

²⁵⁶ See David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 155-59, 200-01.

²⁵⁷ an Irien, 'Saints du Cornwall', pp. 167-88; Julia Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 196. Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, chs 76 and 101. For an edition see *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. William Stephenson (Oxford, 1959). For a recent translation see *Alfred the Great, Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and other contemporary sources* trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983 repr. 1987), pp. 66-110.

²⁵⁸ Dumville, *Wessex and England*, p. 201; Julia Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 96.

²⁵⁹ *La Chronique de Nantes*, ed. René Merlet (Paris, 1896), p. 83. The chronicle is judged to have been composed between 1050 and 1059 by someone who had access to ancient sources for much of his work, including the period referred to here; *ibid.* pp. vii-xlvi.

²⁶⁰ an Irien, 'Saints du Cornwall', p. 183.

²⁶¹ For the use of relics in this way see Rollason 'Relic-Cults', p. 93.

²⁶² Danigo, *Églises et chapelles*, p. 191.

Despite the belief of the community of Saint-Jean-Brévelay, there is no actual proof of the validity of these relics, but there can be no doubt about the conviction of those who first brought them there that they were truly the remains of the Yorkshire saint. Before the French Revolution these relics were preserved in a head of silver, which Danigo believes to have been paid for out of sums which were originally destined to purchase a banner, but which the rector had asked the bishop to utilise for this purpose in 1681. Danigo claims that this reliquary was melted down in 1794, but before this happened measures were taken to safeguard the relics.²⁶²

A handwritten document by Gicquello, curé of the church of Saint-Jean-Brévelay, declares that on 24 January 1793 he opened the silver head in the presence of named witnesses, and found there part of a skull and other bones which he recognized as those which he had previously seen displayed in the parish for veneration by the faithful. Three of the relics were each enclosed in medallions of various size, attached to the front of the square of wood which served as the base for the silver head. These bones had labels attached to them which, although ancient, were still easily legible, and bore the inscription 'Saint Jean Brévelay'.

In order to protect the relics from possible profanation by the French republicans, who were currently despoiling all the churches, the curé removed them from the silver head and successfully hid them until the troubles were over. Then, in the presence of several witnesses, he re-enclosed them in another reliquary which he had had specially made. This comprised a silver casket with a cardboard box lined in satin with multi-coloured designs on a white background and edged with a golden-coloured braid. Having blessed both these containers in the presence of the witnesses, he placed one of the relics in the medallion which decorated the silver casket, attaching a new label to replace the old one, which had practically rotted away. In the cardboard box he put the remaining relics amongst a pile of cotton, together with new labels to replace the old ones, which had been damaged by damp. To this box he applied a red seal stamped with his initials, PG, and enclosed it inside the silver casket, which he sealed in a similar manner. All of these actions are testified to by named witnesses whose signatures are affixed to this document, which is dated 23 December 1799.²⁶³

Evidently these relics were successfully hidden away, safe from the looters, until the end of the troubles because Monsignor de Pancemont, bishop of Vannes, recognized their authenticity, 'le 7 floréal an 11 (27 avril 1803)'.²⁶⁴ Further, on 18 September 1868 a certificate of authentication was issued by Joannes-Maria Bécél, bishop of Vannes.²⁶⁵ This document affirms that the bones of Saint John of Beverley, bishop and confessor, were acknowledged as genuine relics and were

²⁶² Ibid., p. 187.

²⁶³ See Appendix 8, no. 1.

²⁶⁴ Danigo, *Églises et chapelles*, p. 188.

²⁶⁵ See Appendix 8, no. 2.

permitted to be venerated as such in the diocese by the faithful. The present parish still possesses these relics, one of which is permanently on display in the wooden reliquary bust inside the entrance of the church (figs 2 and 3). The other bones are kept locked away out of sight in another reliquary, which is in the form of a wooden church tower. It is approximately two feet high and nine inches square, with glass windows, some of which are coloured red, through which the relics may be viewed, and a sliding panel for their removal (fig. 5). The relics are attached to a cardboard stand covered in what appears to be white satin edged in golden-coloured braid, and a label is affixed to them which says, simply, 'S. Jean de Beverley' (fig. 4).²⁶⁶

Saint-Jean-Brévelay was not the only community in Brittany to venerate John. As well as his feast day being included in calendars at Vannes and Nantes, it was also included in the calendar of the abbey of St-Gildas-des Bois.²⁶⁷ This abbey, which was founded in the eleventh century, used to possess a legendary, apparently dating from the twelfth century, which contained a *vita* of John of Beverley.²⁶⁸ Unfortunately, I am unable to confirm the current existence of this legendary, but a seventeenth-century manuscript records it as being in the possession of the abbey at that time. This manuscript lists the writings contained in the legendary, and they include a *vita* of John which is recorded as entry number nine.²⁶⁹ The entry is very brief but it records that here begins a *vita* of Saint John, Archbishop of York, who was born in England and lived in his episcopacy for thirty-three years, eight months and thirteen days. This is clearly the legendary which Mabillon edited, and which is reproduced by Raine as a set of *lections*.²⁷⁰

Given that at least one hagiographical text relating to John existed in Brittany at least as early as the twelfth century, this suggests the possibility that the legend of John interceding for Athelstan in his war against the Scots was also transmitted across the Channel. Further support for this comes from the story concerning Athelstan and John written in French in *Scala Chronica* by Thomas Grey in the fourteenth century, which has already been discussed in Chapter 3.²⁷¹ Whether or not this miracle story originated in France by a Frenchman with knowledge of this legend, the evidence of the calendars and the ownership by a Breton abbey of a *vita* of John, which was designed as a set of readings, are sufficient indications of a widespread interest in the saint in the Brittany area.

²⁶⁶ My thanks are due to M. Joseph Caignard, Secrétaire Général de Mairie Honoraire of Saint-Jean-Brévelay who kindly permitted me to view these relics, and to photocopy the two documents.

²⁶⁷ Paris, BN, MS Lat. 11777 fol. 196^v.

²⁶⁸ François Marie Duine, *Inventaire liturgique de l'hagiographie Bretonne* (Paris, 1922), p. 172.

²⁶⁹ MS Lat. 11777 fols. 108-109^v.

²⁷⁰ HCYI, 527-29. See above, pp. 13-14

²⁷¹ LC I, 522. See above, pp. 55-56.

Figure 1

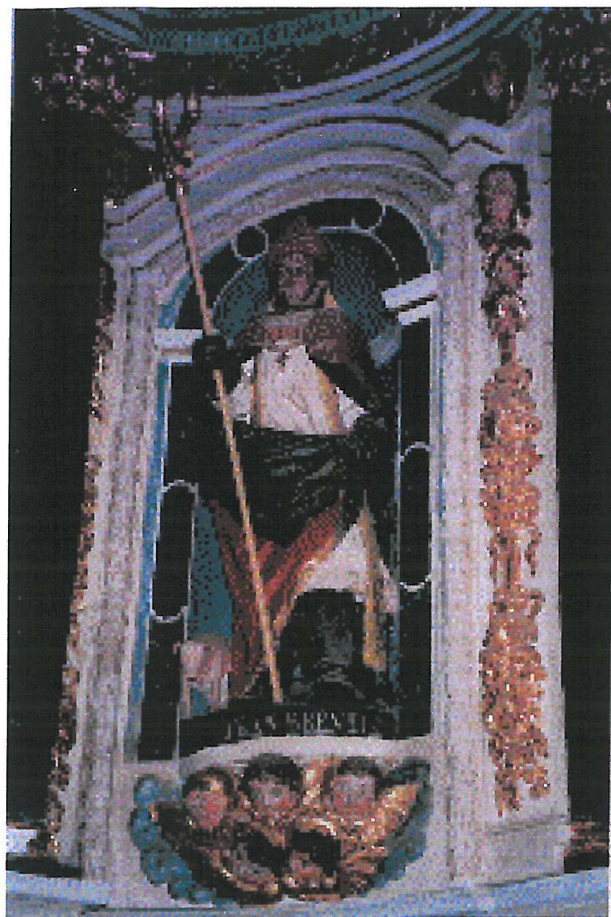


Figure 2

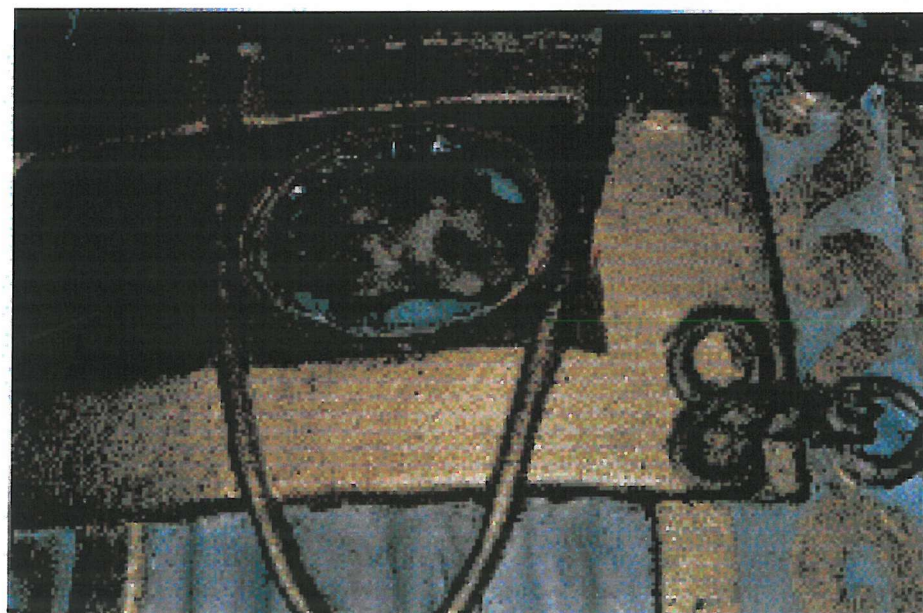
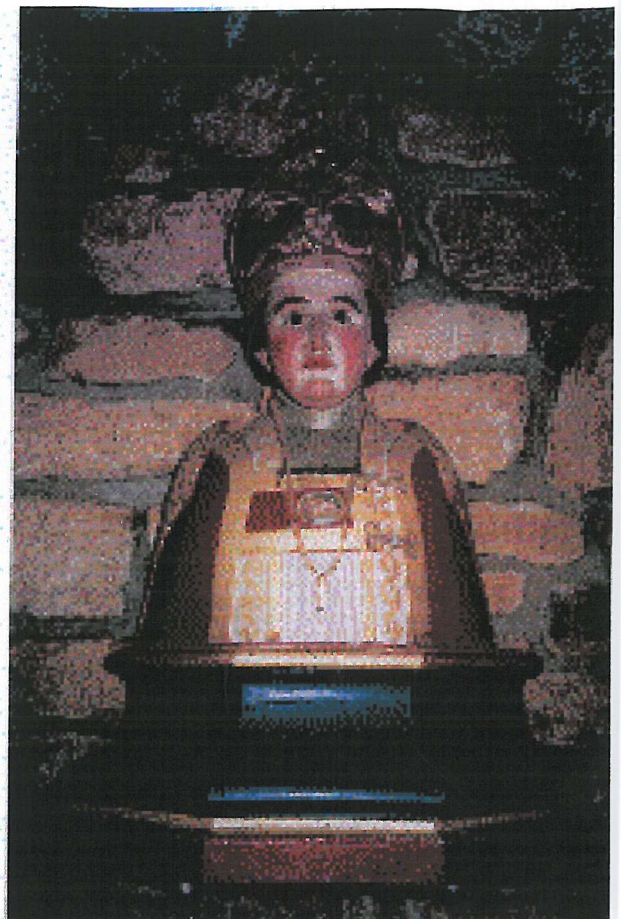


Figure 3

Fig. 4

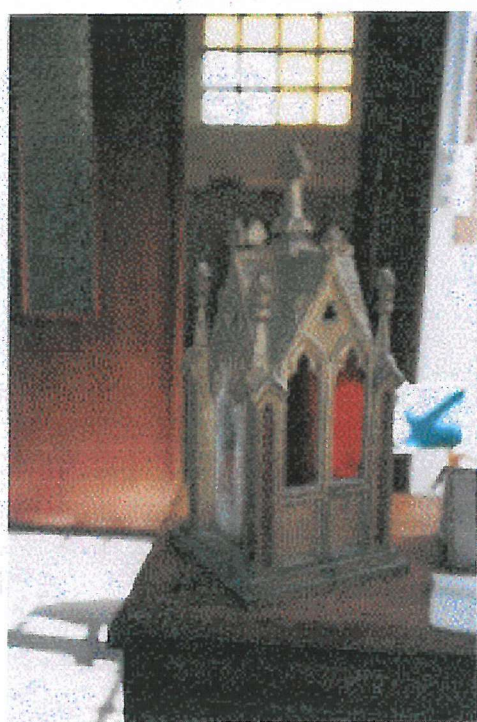
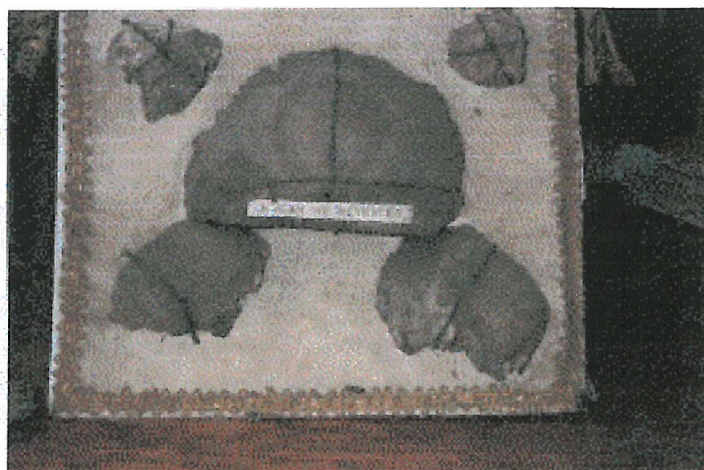


Fig. 5



Fig. 6

ALTERNATIVE TRADITION

The major tradition concerning the life of John was that created by Bede and augmented by Folcard, namely that John had been imbued with piety from an early age and had always lived a holy and saintly life. Although through the eyes of a Christian everyone is a sinner, it is nowhere made explicit that John was in any way, and had any time, been a conspicuous sinner and had reformed. However, there are indications that an alternative tradition existed that John was a reformed sinner. In chapter 38 of the long version of her *Showings*, the fourteenth-century mystic Julian of Norwich refers to John of Beverley as an example of someone who, although he had sinned in his youth, because he showed humility and contrition during his life, was raised by God to a state of grace many times greater than he would have achieved had he not transgressed.

It reads as follows:

For in thys syght my understandyng was lyftyd up in to hevyn; and then god brought merely to my mynde David and other in the olde lawe with hym with ou3t number; and in the new lawe he brought to my mynde furst Magdaleyne, Peter and Paule, Thomas (of Inde), sent John of Beverly, and other also with ou3t number; how they be knowen in the chyrch on erth with ther synnes, and it is to them no chame, but alle is turned them to worshyppe. And therefore oure curtesse lorde shewyth for them here in party, lyke as it is ther in fulheed; for there the tokyn of synne is turnyd to worshyppe.

And seynt Johnn of Beverley, oure lorde shewed hym full hyly in comfort of vs for homelynesse, and brou3t to my mynde how he is a kynd neyghbur and of oure knowyng; and god callyd hym seynt Johnn of Beverley, pleyntyly as we do, and pat with a fulle glade and swet chere, shewyng that he is a full hygh seynt in hys sy3t and a blessydfulle. And with thys he made mencyon that in hys yowth and in hys tendyr age (he) was a dereworthy saruannt to god, full gretly god louyng and dredyng. And nevyrthelesse god sufferyd hym to falle, hym mercifully kepyng that he perysschyd nott ne lost no tyme; and afterward god reysed hym to manyfolde more grace, and by the contrycion and the mekenesse that he had in hys lyuyng, god hath gebyn hym in hevyn manyfolde joyes, over passyng that he shuld haue had yf he had nott synnyd or fallen. And that this is tru god sheweth in erth with plentuous meraclys doyng abou3t his body contynually; and alle was thys to make vs glad and mery in loue.²⁷²

The inclusion of John amongst a list of famous Old and New Testament figures suggests that Julian considered that he was equally well known to her audience. As Deighton points out, her additional commentary on the saint does not go into any great detail about the way in which he was supposed to have sinned and repented. The implication is that she was

²⁷² Julian of Norwich: *A Book of the Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*, eds E. Colledge and J. Walsh, 2 vols (Toronto, 1978), II, 446-48.

referring to a now lost version of the saint's life that was sufficiently well known at the time she was composing her 'shewings' not to need further amplification beyond a basic reminder that this was the tradition to which she was referring rather than to that created by Bede and Folcard.²⁷³

Furthermore, taking into consideration the geographical distance between Norwich and Beverley, Julian's reference to John as a 'kynd neyghbur of oure knowyng' attests to the warmth of her affection for this northern saint, whom she considered to be part of her community even though his shrine was far removed from Norfolk. This may be explained by the strong northern influences she displays: her writings reveal forms which suggest that either she or her scribe were northerners; and her chosen vocation indicates that she was strongly motivated by northern writers.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, there are two miracle stories which support the notion that John was well known in Norwich: one is in a twelfth-century collection, and relates to a farmer of Norwich who was cured after calling upon John, and who thereafter undertook annual pilgrimages to the shrine, bringing with him the gifts of many other people;²⁷⁵ and the other is dated 11 June 1312, when the bishop of Norwich is said to have witnessed the flowing of holy oil from John's tomb.²⁷⁶ Additional support comes from representations of John in a window at Walpole-St-Peter, and on a rood screen at Hempstead.²⁷⁷

By using John as an illustration of her assertion that great sin is no bar to God's grace, Julian certainly expected her audience to be cognizant of an alternative version of his life. Despite Julian's claim, in conformity with Christian orthodox belief, that sin did not preclude one from gaining heavenly grace, it is nevertheless extremely rare, the scriptural examples apart, for someone who had sinned conspicuously to be hailed as a saint, and there are very few known examples of such sinner-saints.²⁷⁸ This was mainly because an essential qualification for sanctity in the eyes of the Church was that one had to have led a remarkably virtuous and ascetic life, although a further explanation could be the fact that hagiographers, as the primary means through which stories of saints are preserved, 'practically ruled out any one who turned to a holy life after many years of blatant sinning'.²⁷⁹

²⁷³ Alan R. Deighton, 'Julian of Norwich's Knowledge of the Life of St John of Beverley', *Notes and Queries* (December 1993), 440-43.

²⁷⁴ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 89.

²⁷⁵ Appendices 3A/3B, ch. 8.

²⁷⁶ MS Add 61901, fos.36^{r-v}; Appendices 6A/6B.

²⁷⁷ See above, p. 171.

²⁷⁸ For example, Margaret of Cortona (c.1247-97), Mary of Egypt (5th century?), Pelagia (5th century?), Vladimir (955-1015), and William of Malavalla (d. 1157); see D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1992).

²⁷⁹ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982), p. 108.

A further fragment of evidence to support the hypothesis of a lost legend comes from a fifteenth-century manuscript which contains a dictionary of saints ascribed to Robert Bale, a London lawyer and chronicler, which contains a brief biography of John: 'Iohannes episcopus post multa clara opera solitarie vixit Rome, Maij migravit ad dominum, apud Beuerlacum sepultus est'.²⁸⁰ Apart from Bale's biographical note, there is no other reference in existence to John having gone abroad for any period of time. However, Bede dedicated his metrical *Vita s. Cuthberti* to an unidentified friend and colleague named John, who was about to embark on the long and perilous journey to Rome. It appears that John of Beverley was one of only two men known to have that name in sources of this period, the other being John the Archcanter. As Bede referred to his friend as 'presbyter' rather than 'episcopus', it is not considered that John of Beverley, a bishop since 687, would have been addressed in that way, and he is therefore not believed to have been the recipient of the poem. Nevertheless, it is possible that Bede's dedication could have been mistakenly applied to John of Beverley, and could have given rise to the notion that he had travelled to Rome at some point.²⁸¹

There is nothing inconsistent in the proposition that a holy person should have spent time in isolation in a foreign country for it was fairly common practice in the Middle Ages for Irish and Anglo-Saxon sinners to be given a penance involving long periods of exile on the continent of Europe. It is therefore likely that Bale's note, and Julian's assertion, attest to a tradition that was current at that time that John was considered to have been one of them.²⁸²

Although apocryphal, further support for the existence of such a tradition comes from a Dutch folktale called *Historie van Jan Beverley*, which was first printed in Brussels by Thomas van der Noot in around 1512.²⁸³ The story involves a hermit called Jan, the son of the Earl of Beverley, who is tricked by the devil into choosing between drunkenness, in chastity, or murder, and in choosing the first ends up committing the other two by raping and murdering his sister. When he is sober he repents and goes to Rome to confess to the Pope who, unable to decide on a suitable penance, ironically advises him to seek out the hermit Jan van Beverley for his advice. Back home again, Jan decides to walk on all fours, drink water, eat grass like an animal, and remain silent until a one-day old child tells him that God has forgiven him. Seven years later, on the death of Jan's father, the new Earl of Beverley goes hunting to celebrate the birth of his child. Jan, who now has the appearance of a wild animal, is captured, taken to the earl's court, and

²⁸⁰ Colledge, *Julian of Norwich*, p. 447, the note on line 22 referring to Dublin, Trinity College MS 509, pp. 272-86 (p. 280). See also John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Hand-books of Penance* (New York, 1965); and Webb, *Pilgrims*, pp. 51-63 on penitential pilgrimages.

²⁸¹ Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, p. 339.

²⁸² Colledge, *Julian of Norwich*, p. 447, the note on line 22. James Walsh, ed., *Pre-Reformation English Spirituality* (London, 1965).

²⁸³ According to Alan Deighton the only modern edition is that of G. J. Bockenoogen, *Historie van Jan van Beverley*, Nederlands Volksboeken, 6 (Leiden, 1903). See *Notes and Queries* p. 441 and 'The Sins of Saint John of Beverley: The Case of the Dutch "volksboek" Jan van Beverley', *Leuvense Bijdragen*, 82 (1993), 227-46, (p. 227).

absolved by the new-born baby. Jan disinters his sister who, remarkably, is still alive, and is proclaiming the glories of paradise, and together they go off, praising God, in search of the bishop of Canterbury in order to receive the holy sacrament.²⁸⁴

As Deighton points out, this tale conflates two stories which were popular in the Middle Ages: the hermit who is deceived by the devil into making a choice between three sins and, in choosing the least heinous, is induced to commit all three; and the hairy anchorite who lives like an animal for several years as a penance for some great sin, and is finally absolved by a new-born child. Although there is no consistency in the surname of the person in these stories, with a single exception, 'whenever the protagonist of the various versions of this narrative bears a name it is John'.²⁸⁵ Deighton claims that the present form of the Dutch folktale suggests the possibility that it is a reworking of a play which was of a sort typical of the fifteenth century in the Low Countries. However, he suggests that as there is no evidence for the cult of John of Beverley having spread to the Netherlands (although see above, p.156 concerning Flemish penitential lists), it must have been based on an English original, although he can offer no suggestion as to its possible date, form or method of transmission.²⁸⁶

Nevertheless, Deighton postulates that it might be this story that Julian had in mind when she referred to John as a sinner because, although lacking in detail, her résumé 'shares the same contours with the version in *Jan van Beverley*', and that it 'seems not unreasonable to suppose' that she might have been aware of a version of John's life which featured similarities with this Dutch folk tale, especially as there was very close contact between East Anglia and the Netherlands in the Middle Ages.²⁸⁷ Indeed, there are two pieces of pictorial evidence which confirm that similar narratives were current in England in the Middle Ages. Firstly, there is a two-tier fourteenth-century painting on the north wall of the chancel in the church of St Hubert at Idsworth in Hampshire, the upper tier of which depicts some men confronting a hairy creature standing on all fours, which has the head and limbs of a man; and the lower shows John the Baptist's head on a platter.²⁸⁸ Secondly, there is a series of illustrations in the margin of British Library MS Royal 10 E IV, starting on fol. 113^v, which forms a narrative integrating the two stories of a sinning hermit and a hairy anchorite. Deighton claims that this narrative contains the three factors that render the story of *Jan van Beverley* unique amongst the many other tales that form part of this particular tradition: 'the apparently genuine choice of sins, the act of incest and the penance on all fours. This manuscript was written in Italy and dates from the beginning of

²⁸⁴ This is an abridged version of Alan Deighton's summary of the tale in *Notes and Queries*, pp. 441-42 and 'The Sins of Saint John of Beverley', p. 228.

²⁸⁵ Deighton 'Sins', p. 234.

²⁸⁶ Deighton *Notes and queries*, p. 443. See Deighton, 'Sins' for a detailed discussion of the text.

²⁸⁷ Deighton *Notes and Queries*, p. 442.

²⁸⁸ For a discussion of this painting see Alan Deighton, 'The literary Context of the Wall-Painting at Idsworth, Hampshire', *Antiquaries Journal*, 73 (1993), 69-75.

the fourteenth century, but was illuminated in England.²⁸⁹ This suggests that the story, as represented in the Dutch folktale, was known in England in the fourteenth century.

Saints were often renowned for their patronage of certain groups of people whose activities were in some way associated with episodes in the saints' own lives. Therefore, based on the reality that Beverley was a place of sanctuary for fugitives, Deighton suggests that it is entirely appropriate to associate John with a sinning saint, consequently the attribution of the Dutch folktale to him may have arisen from his patronage of sinners.²⁹⁰

Although modest in number, the accumulation of pictorial and written evidence, combined with Beverley's status as a place of sanctuary for those who had sinned greatly, does point to the conclusion that an alternative tradition that characterized John as a sinner-saint did exist in the later Middle Ages.

REMEMBRANCE OF ST JOHN TODAY

Remembrance of John still continues at both Beverley and Harpham in the form of two major celebrations which take place in May each year: one on the Sunday closest to John's feast day of 7 May, and one on the Thursday closest to his feast day. The Sunday ceremony takes the form of an evening festival service in Beverley minster especially to commemorate John, and it is attended by local civic as well as ecclesiastical dignitaries. The children of Harpham traditionally participate in the ceremony by placing on John's tomb wild primroses, which they have gathered at Harpham. The Thursday commemoration takes place at Harpham, where people from Beverley join those from the village in the parish church, accompanied by senior ecclesiastics from the region and a full choir. The whole congregation processes from the church to the well of John which, when I attended in 1999, was delightfully decorated with wild primroses, bluebells and hawthorn blossom (see fig. 6). At the well, a short service of dedication and thanksgiving to John is performed, including prayers and singing by the choir, after which the whole congregation returns to the church for the service of evensong. These public celebrations are extremely well attended and, as well as ensuring the perpetuation of the memory of John, they demonstrate the strong ties of affection and reverence which still bind the local people to their patron saint.

The local community also keep John's memory alive in other ways. The students of embroidery at the Hull Regional College of Art recently undertook the creation of thirty-four panels, which are twenty inches high and together extend to ninety feet in length, depicting events based on the life and miracles of John. At the time of writing this, these embroidered panels are on display at

²⁸⁹ Deighton 'Sins', pp. 236-37.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 232-33.

the east end of the minster and provide a colourful, and very beautiful, visual reminder of the saint's life and miraculous deeds. This is a twentieth-century equivalent of the medieval pictorial biographies that were depicted in stained glass windows, and functions in a similar way.

In recognition of the first miracle story told by Bede, John is widely considered to be the patron saint of deaf people, not only in this country but also in North America. The name of John of Beverley was given to the Deaf Ministries of North Texas in 1966 when the Our Redeemer Lutheran Church of Dallas built a new sanctuary, and a deaf chapel.²⁹¹ His name is prominent in many areas of the church's ministry to the deaf, including the award of the John of Beverley Medal for notable service, projects for Christian education for deaf children, and funding to establish the John of Beverley Chair of Deaf Ministry, a professorship at Concordia Seminary, St Louis, Missouri.

²⁹¹ For all of this information on the Deaf Ministries in Northern Texas, I am grateful to Rev. Ronald E Friedrich of The John of Beverley Chapel for the Deaf in Dallas.

CONCLUSION

Beverley's economic success in the Middle Ages is revealed by the poll-tax returns for 1377, which show that it was 'the second most populous town in Yorkshire, and the tenth largest provincial centre in England as a whole'.¹ This economic prosperity was due, to some extent, to the liberties and freedoms enjoyed by the town, which traditionally derived from John's purported relationship with Athelstan, and with successive kings of England. At the same time, the presence of John's relics in the minster provided a focus of devotion, the promotion of which drew large numbers of pilgrims to the site. This influx of visitors with its attendant needs for victualling, accommodation, and souvenirs, would undoubtedly have influenced the economic growth of the town.²

Up to the early twelfth century the minster at Beverley was the only religious foundation in East Yorkshire apart from the cathedral church of York.³ Further, although York possessed the status of metropolitan see, it did not acquire its own patron saint until the canonization of William in 1226, which meant that, at times, John was called upon for assistance by the York clergy.⁴ Beverley's possession of John must have diminished, to some extent, York's standing as the prime ecclesiastical centre of the north and endowed the nominally lesser foundation with the greater prestige that came with the control and possession of a recognized, and powerful saint.

As the founder of the religious house where he died and was interred, John would have been especially honoured at Beverley and venerated by the community there as their particular representative in heaven. Their guardianship of his relics and promotion of his veneration were crucial in keeping his memory alive, and so to the survival of the cult. The large number of copies that were made of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and their wide dissemination, ensured that the accounts of John's virtue reached a much greater audience than just Beverley and its environs.

The inclusion of John's feast day in northern calendars by at least the beginning of the ninth century indicates that the cult was being actively promoted in the north of England within a short space of time following the bishop's death. However, the cult did not develop in a straight, linear progression, but had its highs and lows throughout the many centuries. There is

¹ R. B. Dobson, 'Beverley in Conflict: Archbishop Alexander Neville and the Minster Clergy, 1381-8', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, BAACT 9 (1983), pp. 149-164 (p. 149).

² On the economic stimulus to growth provided by minsters see John Blair, 'Minster Churches in the Landscape' in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Della Hooke (Oxford, 1988), pp. 35-58 (pp. 47-48).

³ Janet Burton, *The Religious Orders in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the Twelfth Century*, East Yorks Local History Society (1989), p. 13. On the post-Conquest expansion of monasticism in Yorkshire see Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁴ *MSJ*:3.

a period of silence concerning the cult around the time of the Viking invasions, nevertheless, the argument put forward in Chapter 3 that some form of religious activity persisted at Beverley throughout the troubles is strengthened by the non-Bedan miracle stories that Folcard recounted in *Vita Sancti Johannis*. A steward who is named as Brithred features in two of these stories, the second of which also names a brother called Plechelmus; and a third story involves a deacon named Sigga.⁵ Although Folcard no doubt employed his creative skills to render these accounts readable and interesting, it is less likely that he would have invented these names, therefore his use of them suggests that they were given to him by his source. As the earliest written account of these miracles is in *VSJ*, this implies that there was an active oral tradition at Beverley that preserved these stories. If that is so, then this adds to the argument against a total destruction of Beverley as a religious centre in the mid-ninth century, and subsequent re-foundation by Athelstan in the tenth.

The tradition linking John with Athelstan, whilst lacking definitive verification, is supported by an accumulation of circumstantial details: the king certainly passed through the region on his way to wage war against the Scots; it was his custom to petition divine assistance in battle at the shrines of saints; and his generosity towards other northern saints is well documented. Further, there is the possibility that he was responsible for establishing John's cult in Brittany by presenting the returning exiles with some of the saint's relics. This notion is based on his propensity to collect and disperse saints' relics, his strong political and personal ties with the Bretons, and the compatibility between the exiles' return and the inclusion of John's feast day in the calendars of the region. All of these factors, taken together, reinforce the likelihood that there was an authentic relationship between the king and Beverley.

Irrespective of the actuality, however, successive kings of England harnessed the belief in such a relationship for their own political ends. The transformation of John's cult from one which was primarily concerned with local patronage to one which was ultimately perceived as concerned with the patronage of the entire kingdom of England, mirrors the changing view of sanctity which occurred with Martin of Tours. Following the age of persecutions of Christians, most of the people who came to be considered saints were bishops whose patronage, backed up by divine power, protected the Roman people. This had the effect of altering the remembrance of older saints, such as Martin, who came to be seen as patron of the entire Frankish kingdom, rather than simply the local patron of Tours.⁶

It is not known when John's remains were first elevated into a carved wooden shrine, but as Beverley possessed special sanctuary rights at least as early as the first half of the eleventh

⁵ *VSJ*:9-11.

⁶ Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pp. xxvii-xxviii.

century, it is likely that the relics were honoured in this way at a fairly early date.⁷ The process would have involved public ritual ceremony, and this conspicuous transference of relics to an elaborate shrine was a conscious act of cultic promotion which emphasized John's importance as the focus for spiritual interaction between heaven and earth.

The next highpoint in the promotion of the cult came with the translation of 1037, which was carried out under the auspices of Archbishop Ælfric, whose patronage enriched Beverley in both lands and building works. There may be some connection between the decision to translate John's relics at this time and the improvements to the fabric of the minster that the archbishop was undertaking. No doubt the translation would have attracted pilgrims and their donations, and provided an excellent opportunity for miraculous cures to take place and, as Finucane has pointed out, there was often a 'noticeable correlation' between either the acquisition or translation of a saint's relics and 'new building projects financed by the pilgrims' offerings'.⁸

This impetus to advance the cult, and simultaneously encourage more pilgrims to visit the shrine, gained momentum when, some thirty years later, Archbishop Ealdred, whose support for the cult, and generous patronage of Beverley, accords well with his ambition and reputation as a defender of the rights of the church, commissioned Folcard to write John's *Vita*. The stimulus provided by this benefaction revitalized the cult and endowed it with a much higher prominence than it had heretofore enjoyed. This was a major development in the evolution of the cult, because although *VSJ* owed much to Bede's account, it went far beyond that text and supplied additional material that reflected the current traditions maintained at Beverley concerning its saint. Together, the translation and *VSJ* served as a public declaration of, and advertisement for, the continued presence of John's remains in the minster, and the spiritual power that they possessed. At the same time as promoting the veneration of John as a saint with intercessionary powers, this confirmed the minster as the cultic centre where pilgrims could pray to John for relief from their ailments, and show their adoration by making donations to the shrine.

The post-mortem miracle collections of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the recording of individual miracles in the fourteenth, indicate that the cult was the subject of active promotion throughout these times. However, because of the heterogeneous nature of the miracle stories, John's cult can be seen to have been a protean entity, which changed constantly depending on the prevailing requirements of his community. This resulted in a saint who was constantly reinvented, and as a result was presented in a number of different guises, including that of avenger, carer, physician, saviour of souls and bodies, guardian, and supporter of kings.

⁷ For a description of the sort of rituals carried out at the time of the translation of a saint's remains see David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 34-36.

⁸ R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), p. 29.

Although John's attention was shown to be firmly focused on Beverley and the surrounding area, and most particularly on defending the causes espoused by the Beverley clergy, his powers were shown to embrace those who came from remote areas of England, from Ireland, Scotland, and France. The widespread inclusion of John's feast days in liturgical calendars all over western Europe from a very early date, and the inclusion of his shrine at Beverley as a prime destination in the penitential lists shows that this was a rare example of an English cult that enjoyed popularity on the Continent. In particular, the naming of the town of Saint-Jean-Brévelay indicates the high esteem in which he was held in that part of Brittany. It is unusual for an Anglo-Saxon cult to make such an impact in Europe that an entire town is renamed in the saint's honour. The Breton connection also contributes to our understanding of the ways in which relics may have been used by Athelstan as instruments of diplomatic policy, and how a cult can be reconfigured in a different cultural context.

Noble and Head summarize the process of evolution of hagiography and of saints' cults in general, showing how perceptions of sanctity, and thus the characteristics of saints' *vitæ*, changed.⁹ Dying for the Christian faith was, and is, the quickest and surest way to sainthood, and the first stories to be preserved in writing were the sufferings of the martyrs.¹⁰ However, with the expansion of Christianity and a reduction in the number of people put to death for their faith, other forms of sanctity came to the fore. First of all were the ascetics who lived exemplary lives of piety and holiness, practising extreme self-denial, the prime example of whom was Antony of Egypt whose life was written by Athanasius. Later, holy men (less often women) who devoted their lives to preaching or studying the scriptures became models of sanctity, such as the saintly bishop, Martin of Tours whose life is preserved by Sulpicius Severus.

The process of venerating saints on the Continent developed somewhat differently from that in England, which was influenced both by the wandering Celtic monks, and by the missionaries sent by Gregory the Great. Although the Anglo-Saxon biographers of saints clearly owed much to the traditions created by the earlier hagiographers, their different historical situation resulted in a new and different Christian tradition, which saw a wide variety of different types of saints being created.¹¹ However John, just like that other great northern saint, Cuthbert, belongs to the same tradition as Martin of Tours: a *vir dei* who conscientiously accomplished his duties in carrying out his pastoral role.¹²

⁹ Noble, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. xiii-xliv.

¹⁰ The word 'martyr' originally meant witness but gradually came to be applied to those who had died in the course of testifying their faith. See E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 17-18.

¹¹ Noble, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. xxxiii.

¹² For a discussion on the models of sanctity which could apply to Cuthbert see Clare Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary' in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD1200*, eds Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 20-44.

Bede's account of John's life starts in chapter 2 of Book 5 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the first chapter being taken up with a short account of Ethelwald, Cuthbert's successor. The last six chapters of the previous book are concerned with Cuthbert's life, ending with his death in 687. The sequence is precise: the first story about John starts with his consecration as Bishop of Hexham in the same year that Cuthbert died. However chronological precision does not provide a complete answer as to why Bede should have chosen to write about John here. Bede had already produced both a prose and metrical life of St Cuthbert before he wrote the *Ecclesiastical History*, and it has been suggested that he regarded Cuthbert as a symbol of the unification of the Church under Rome, who simultaneously preserved all that was best of the Celtic traditions.¹³ It could be that in John he perceived a man who was of the same mould as Cuthbert, and he wished to show a continuation of Cuthbertian values in the next generation of bishops. His narratives on both John and Cuthbert are clearly aimed at religious men, whom he hoped would imitate the holy way of life he presented before them in the figures of these saintly bishops.

Alcuin's more marvellous, poetic version of the Bedan stories manifests a considerable difference in approach, although its form as well as its content owes much to Bede. Godman has pointed out that Bede's two lives of Cuthbert are in the tradition of a literary form called *opus geminatum*: a work of two parts, one of which is in prose and its pair is in verse. These lives represent the first time that a hagiographical subject received this sort of treatment. Alcuin's poem, two-thirds of which is based on the *Ecclesiastical History*, follows in this tradition and is the earliest extant major English medieval narrative poem in Latin which concerns itself with a historical subject, albeit intermingled with hagiographic narratives.¹⁴ By writing his history in verse, Alcuin was aiming his work at the educated classes who would take pleasure in the form, as well as be edified and intellectually stimulated by the content. He makes it clear in his preface to the *Vita Sancti Willibrordi*, which he produced in both prose and verse, that the different versions were for different situations: the former could be read out by the brothers in church, and the latter could be read privately in the brothers' own rooms.¹⁵

Folcard retains the essential storyline of the Bedan narratives but his different approach to the material reflects changes in the church and society since the *Ecclesiastical History* was written some three hundred years earlier. For example, he removed from Bede's text the claim that the sick nun was the actual daughter of the abbess, who intended that she should succeed her; and he added to Bede's text that the young men in John's entourage who wished to race their horses wanted to do so in accordance with military custom. He also provides information on the

¹³ Colgrave, *HE*, p. xxxix.

¹⁴ Godman, *Alcuin*, pp. lxxvii- lxxviii.

¹⁵ *AASS*, November iii, pp. 435-436. For a recent translation of the *Vita Sancti Willibrordi* see C. H. Talbot, trans., in 'Alcuin: The Life of Saint Willibrord', Noble, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 189-211.

traditions relating to John's early life which were current at Beverley at the time he was writing, fleshing out a history for the saint before he became a bishop.

The later *vitæ* followed this pattern, utilizing earlier works but altering them by omitting some of the older material and adding new information. Some of this either endowed John with qualities that were particularly admired at the time the *vita* was written, or in some way shed glory on another person or place through association with the saint. In this way John is given Harpham as his place of birth, which enhanced the status of that village as the birthplace of a saintly bishop of York; and is given noble English parents, which emphasizes the area's claim to a native-born saint of high status.¹⁶ That Leland (or less probably, his source) makes John the first Doctor of Theology at Oxford University further indicates how John's alleged career was still being utilized long after the establishment of a purely hagiographic tradition, to support Oxford's claim for great antiquity, and perhaps to stress John's intellect.

Leland also claims that John created a double monastery at Beverley. This is particularly problematic. On the one hand it sounds highly credible because of the circumstantial details given: one of the nuns is named (Yolfrida), and she is given a history. She is said to have been the daughter of Puch, whose wife was the subject of one of the miraculous cures recorded by Bede, and a precise date is given for her death (March 742).¹⁷ The practice of founding double monasteries was at its peak in the seventh century, although they were more usually founded by kings or other members of royalty.¹⁸ However, John's experience at the double monastery at Whitby would have given him first-hand experience of such an establishment, which he may have wished to replicate at his own foundation. On the other hand, Archbishop Theodore disapproved of such institutions, and as John is said to have been a former student at Canterbury, he would in all probability have been aware of those views.¹⁹

This process of adding and omitting material altered the body of the tradition to conform to current perceptions of the saint, a practice which is a feature of many other cults, as Head has shown in his study of the cycles of *vitæ* produced by the Carolingian hagiographers of Orléans.²⁰ Head also maintains that the primary interest of the latter was to provide foundation narratives that testified to the sanctity of their patrons and safeguarded their communities' rights and properties.²¹ Folcard clearly shared these concerns, putting the question of John's sanctity beyond any doubt, in particular by relating the story of the Holy Ghost casting its glory on the

¹⁶ *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensi*, HCY II, 312-87 (p. 312).

¹⁷ LC IV, 99-100

¹⁸ John Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 159; John Godfrey, 'The Place of the Double Monastery in the Anglo-Saxon Minster System', in *Famulus Christi*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 344-50 (p. 346).

¹⁹ Godfrey, *Anglo-Saxon*, p. 157.

²⁰ Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 37-38.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

bishop whilst at prayer; and he gave authority to the community as guardians of his relics by reinforcing the tradition that John founded the monastery at Beverley and was buried in the church.

As *VSJ* was in Latin, only the educated in England could be expected to be able to understand the stories as written. This means that the initial audience must have been the educated classes, primarily the clergy. There can be little question that the example set by John on the way a bishop should behave and how that behaviour was rewarded by signs of God's grace was chiefly aimed at other ecclesiastics. However, the stories would have reached a larger audience because they provided the *lectiones* that were read out on John's feast days in those churches that celebrated his memory: when John was included in a particular liturgical calendar, a copy of his *vita* would have been required to fulfil the ceremonial requirement.²² However, as Head points out, even though the laity may have attended the liturgical ceremonies at monasteries or churches, they were largely excluded from this process because they could not understand Latin. Nevertheless, in Orléans at least, translations into the vernacular were made in the part of the liturgy known as *Prone*, enabling the laity to benefit from the edifying nature of the saint's life and works.²³

John's sanctity was based on his holy way of life and, as a *vir dei* whose holiness was recognized during his lifetime, the development of his cult followed a similar pattern to that of St Cuthbert: both were monk-bishops who were venerated as saints by their community after their deaths, the focus of devotion centring on their relics; both were written about shortly after their deaths; both were portrayed by Bede as examples of the perfect way a bishop should conduct his life; and both resigned their bishoprics to end their lives in privacy. Also, their after-lives were the subject of a number of later works, which demonstrate a change in emphasis in the way their respective communities viewed their patron saints.

As pointed out by Ward, the three healing miracles recorded at the end of the *Anonymous Life* of Cuthbert, which are modelled on typical shrine cures, attest to the change from veneration of a living saint to the birth of a posthumous cult, centred on the saint's tomb.²⁴ This same process is evident in *VSJ*, which ends with a stereotypical declaration that all manner of infirmities were healed at Beverley through John's merits. Thus far, John's cult is seen to have followed a similar pattern to that of Cuthbert and of many other *virii dei*, but his posthumous cult demonstrates distinct differences in emphasis, in particular in the types of miracles recorded.

²² For a comprehensive study on the uses to which a *vita* was put see Baudouin de Gaiffier, *Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie* (Brussels, 1967), esp. pp. 475-507. See Head, *Hagiography*, pp. 124-26 on how Micy needed to obtain hagiographic texts as their liturgical calendar changed over the centuries.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

²⁴ Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (London, 1982), pp. 57-58.

In her analysis of a number of medieval miracle collections from what she calls the 'traditional', i.e. earlier period of the Middle Ages, Ward identifies a clear trend away from what she calls 'acts of power', that is miracles in which the saint punishes those who offend him, and protects those whom he favours, and 'acts of mercy', that is cures of illnesses.²⁵ She shows this process at work most particularly in the posthumous miracles of Benedict of Nursia, and of Cuthbert.

The hagiography relating to Benedict spans a little over five hundred years, from the writings of Gregory the Great in the late sixth century to the miracle stories recorded at Fleury in the beginning of the twelfth century, and Ward claims that the collection covers more years than any other in Europe.²⁶ However, the chronology of John's hagiography, at nearly six hundred years from Bede c. 731 to *AMIII*, c. 1215, is yet longer, even discounting the narratives collected together in the fourteenth century, although the number of recorded miracles is fewer. The post-mortem miracles of Benedict were recorded at both Monte Cassino where he lived and was first buried, and at Fleury which claimed later possession of his relics. The stories written by Desiderius in the mid-eleventh century at Monte Cassino are dominated by miracles of vengeance and power, whereas cures are rarely mentioned. Similarly, the miracles recorded at Fleury in the ninth, tenth, eleventh and early twelfth centuries, although including a few cures, are epitomized by the preponderance of acts of power. Nevertheless, despite the domination of this type of miracle, the latest of these writers, Ralph of Tortaire, who continued the account of events at Fleury into the first years of the twelfth century, recorded more cures than any of the preceding writers. This increase in the recording of healing miracles, although still far outnumbered by other types of miracle, eventually prevailed, and in 1118 Hugh of St Mary recorded eleven miracles, ten of which were cures at Benedict's shrine.²⁷

Cuthbert's posthumous hagiography created a tradition of the saint as a 'fierce and powerful protector' of his people: both the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, which was written in the mid-tenth century, and the eleventh-century *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* show his supernatural power in action against the enemies of the monks, and to protect monastic lands, the focus of the cult being Cuthbert's apparently incorrupt body. The enormous twelfth-century miracle collection written by Reginald of Durham, whilst continuing the theme of vengeance, balanced these miracles with acts of mercy, especially cures, at the shrine as the need for the community to invoke Cuthbert's powers for protection receded. The miracles recorded on Farne, also in the twelfth century, however, are primarily cures of illnesses.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 43.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 42-56.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 56-66.

Ward claims that this pattern, whereby the needs of the guardians of the relics take precedence during the earlier years of the cult, resulting in a preponderance of acts of power which are gradually superseded by the twelfth century by acts of mercy when the need for shows of vengeful power had receded and the shrine had become a centre for pilgrimage, is a common trend in the development of the cults of the earlier saints.²⁹ This trend was also recognized by Head whose study of the hagiographical output in the diocese of Orléans indicates that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the miracle stories of the saints changed progressively from what Head terms 'chastisement miracles' (Ward's 'acts of power'), to cures and other benefits for pilgrims visiting the shrines, a development which was reflected in miracle collections throughout Francia.³⁰

However, the posthumous miracle collections of John of Beverley do not fit easily into this pattern or timescale. At the same time, not all of the miracles attributed to John fit easily into Ward's twofold classification, especially if cures are the only miracles to be considered 'acts of mercy'. However, broadly speaking, *MSJ*, which might have been written at the extreme end of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century, could be said to be equally divided between acts of healing and acts of power, and starts with three of the latter: the legend of Athelstan, the striking down of William the Conqueror's soldier, and the ending of the drought. The remaining stories are a variety of healing miracles, plus an account of a criminal released from captivity, and a ship saved from destruction. Even if one accepts my argument that the Athelstan legend was a later interpolation, this would still leave an act of power as the opening story in this collection. This set of miracles, more than those recorded for either Cuthbert or Benedict, balances the two major aspects of its subject's sanctity at this time: his power as patron of Beverley to protect its rights and possessions, and his compassion in obtaining cures for a wide range of illnesses.

The twelfth-century *AMI* does fit into Ward's scheme in that cures dominate this collection but again, like *MSJ*, it opens with a conspicuous demonstration of power: the legend of Athelstan. Three further stories in the collection uphold Beverley's reputation as a place of sanctuary where sins are forgiven: two clerks are helped to escape from illegal captivity, and a penitent is released from his bonds;³¹ and one relates to a pilgrim vessel saved from shipwreck.³² All the healing miracles are typical of those occurring at other shrines.

In *AMII* the cures again outnumber the non-healing miracles, but only by five to four, and the latter can scarcely be called acts of power. They concern a light shining on the church at North

²⁹ Ibid., p. 65.

³⁰ Head, *Hagiography*, p. 290.

³¹ *AMI*:4, 5, 7.

³² *AMI*:17

Burton, the relighting of a priest's candle, bells ringing in an empty church, and a ghostly procession around the church.³³ The two former events are fairly common in miracle stories but the latter is less typical, although Finucane has noted that, in accordance with 'folk-beliefs', many Christians popularly believed that the ghosts of saints haunted their tombs and could, at times, be seen to do so.³⁴ Like the lighting of the candle, the ghostly parade combines the spiritual and physical worlds in a fairly literal way, satisfying a popular belief in the simultaneous presence of the saints in both heaven and earth. Unlike the other collections, the preface and ending to these stories are restricted to a single formulaic sentence, and the writer shows no literary pretensions, failing even to follow the usual custom of referring to precedents set down in the Bible. It is hard to believe that this collection was intended for a sophisticated audience, and the ghostly procession especially may have pandered to 'popular' religious belief, and appears to have been designed for the entertainment of uneducated minds as much as to inspire devotion.

AMIII, written around 1215, again departs from the pattern discerned by Ward, with non-healing miracles once more outnumbering healing miracles, this time by five to three. It can be seen from this collection that John's power to protect Beverley, whether from those who disobey church laws, or from the aggressive actions of powerful men, or from any other calamity which threatened the lives of the clergy, continued to be important to the community into the thirteenth century. Although none of the events recorded are atypical, the stories are distinguished from those of other collections by their strong literary character and style of exegesis. These are clearly aimed at an educated audience who would appreciate the nuances of the writer's theological arguments, and recognize his biblical allusions. At the same time the author's ability to render the narratives dramatically, enabling his audience to picture the events as if they were unrolling before their eyes, would also appeal to the less educated who would be edified and taught by them at the same time as enjoying them as entertaining stories.

The findings of Finucane broadly support Ward's argument in that less than 10% of all miracles recorded at English and European shrines from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries were non-healing miracles.³⁵ However, John's non-healing miracles account for more than three times this amount at a conservative estimate of around 32%. Although the development of John's miracle collections do not fit precisely into the scheme outlined by Ward, nevertheless the vast majority of the additional miracles that appear in the fourteenth century are cures. This suggests that the general trend she identifies can also be applied to John, but the timescale does not conform to the limits she claims.

³³ *AMII*: 6, 7, 8.

³⁴ Finucane, *Miracles*, p. 34

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

No single style of composition is typical of John's miracle collections, which show enormous variation. Much of Kettel's work is highly literary, and he follows the biblical template closely, which he illustrates with frequent quotations from the Bible. In contrast, the writers of *AMI* and *AMII* show no interest in literary style, being more concerned to report their miracles in as direct a manner as possible, although the former does occasionally refer to biblical precedents. The cycle is completed with *AMIII* which, like *MSJ*, is highly literary and closely linked to events recorded in the Bible. This collection also reveals a concern to verify each miracle by reference to numerous eye-witnesses, which may have been a reaction to the rigorous requirements of the canonization procedures which had recently been instituted.³⁶

The individual miracles recorded in the fourteenth century are a motley collection, some of which clearly derive from oral tradition seeing that they are claimed to have occurred shortly after John's death, but do not occur in any earlier manuscript. Those in the *Chapter Act Book* evince particular concern for formalized records, which again was probably influenced by the formulae required for the canonization process. These miracles were written for the express purpose of raising funds for the fabric of the minster and the shrine, and their formal composition would have given them a strong aura of authenticity.

A number of miracle stories connected with John are recorded in various chronicles, for example, the sweating of the tomb with oil or blood, and the apparent docility of wild animals on entering the cemetery of Beverley minster. However, the one story which stands outside of the rest of the miracle collections is that recorded at St Albans concerning the young man who became a priest at Thorpe Bassett after he had recovered from a six-year period of derangement. It is a fascinating story that raises more questions than it answers, and clearly owes much to the traditions of folklore. Its principal lesson is that God is the true guardian of humankind, who continues to intervene in human affairs through the intercession of his saints, in this case, John of Beverley. However, rather than for its edifying nature, it was probably included in the chronicles because its strangeness and unusual nature was thought to be of interest to readers.

Disconnected from such records, certain traditions arose concerning John that are not associated with any written tradition, such as the holy wells named after him, and the alternative tradition that he had been a reformed sinner. The miracles that are said to have occurred at John's wells or connected with water from those wells are clearly linked with a cultic practice for which there was a popular demand. The only evidence for clerical involvement in the promotion of the curative powers of such water is that the position of the well in the sanctuary of Beverley minster is unique in being so close to the high altar, implying a special sanctity. Further, there

³⁶ On canonization procedures at this time see Eric Waldren Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948).

is the possibility that the clergy marketed ampullæ marked with John's initial, and these may have been filled with holy water from his well. If they did market such ampullæ, they could also have been used, of course, to contain the holy oil that is said to have frequently seeped from his tomb.

Although there is no surviving version of John's life that shows him to have been a reformed sinner, the alternative tradition that he had committed a heinous sin in his youth demonstrates how a new concept regarding a saint's life could emerge seemingly without reference to the dominant narrative. The special sanctuary rights that Beverley claimed did not discriminate between those who had been wrongfully or rightfully accused of wrongdoing, but offered spiritual succour to all who sought asylum. As these rights were closely identified with John's protective guardianship, and as his perceived persona had a tendency to change to reflect the shifting values and needs of his people, it is possible that his identification with the malefactors who sought his protection resulted in the perception that he, himself, had been such an offender.

Paradoxically, all hagiographies are at once both the same and different. They are the same in that they share similar characteristics: they conform to standard models, replicate common *topoi*, and are imitative.³⁷ They are different in that the styles in which they are written and the type of miracles recorded take account of differing audiences; prose lives are versified, and Latin *vitæ* are translated into vernacular languages. Every saint's life was, to a greater or lesser extent, customized, often with the addition of specific circumstantial details. This thesis has stressed the textuality of hagiography and the ways in which hagiographic accounts do not necessarily reflect historical truth but rather contemporary needs. Nevertheless, in those areas where the text seems less self-conscious or where agendas are less easily identified, hagiographical texts can provide incidental detail which historians find of value.

Examples of these are the ways in which the miracle collections shed valuable light on the public performance of vernacular drama, on the disturbances in the north following the Northern Conquest, and on the unrest of the reigns of both Stephen and John. The story concerning the fall of the boy from the roof at Beverley minster provides significant, and hitherto scarcely noticed, evidence of secular provincial drama at a remarkably early period. It gives us important information about a religious, but non-liturgical drama performed outside the church, in public, in the vernacular; it reveals the attitudes of the audience who watched it; and it implies that such a performance was a regular occurrence. However, even in this instance there remain problems of historicity. This miracle, though apparently relating to a happening in the early thirteenth century, is only extant to us in a fourteenth-century manuscript and some of

³⁷ Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 3-13.

the details may therefore reflect performance and practices current then, rather than in *c.* 1211 when the story was composed.³⁸

The accounts describing the violation of the sanctuary by one of William I's men, the illegal kidnapping and attempted ransom of two clerks by Robert de Stuteville during the reign of Stephen, and the threatened invasion of Beverley during the conflict between John and his barons, not only provide dramatic portrayals of the plight of the ordinary populace during these periods of unrest, but also reveal the attitudes of the hagiographers, and therefore possibly the communities they served, towards their rulers.³⁹

The cult of John of Beverley is a comparatively rare example of an Anglo-Saxon cult that retained its importance until well into the later Middle Ages. Miracles continued to be recorded at the shrine until 1323, and the Athelstan connection retained its powerful political resonance until the reign of Henry V and the battle of Agincourt. The longevity of the cult provides an unusual opportunity to determine to what extent it conformed to hagiographic norms. As we have just seen, although not exactly fitting the pattern set by Benedict and Cuthbert, John was transformed in death from being a saintly man into being a powerful patron. He is shown wreaking retribution on those who offend him and threaten his community, as well as protecting that community by obtaining the patronage, and thus political protection, of kings, either by supporting them in battle, or threatening their unruly soldiers. In addition, he protected the livelihoods of his people by controlling hostile weather conditions, healing sick livestock, and curing an abundance of illnesses, both physical and mental.

Although it was over a shorter chronological span, the similar transformation in the image of Cuthbert is explained by Johnson-South as being a consequence of a correlation between the increase in temporal power of the monasteries, and the decline in royal authority in the ninth and tenth centuries, which resulted in the need to replace the protection previously offered by kings with the threat of divine retribution to be brought about by powerful patron saints. As Cuthbert's community identified itself more and more with its heavenly patron, and as the community experienced an increase in economic power and political influence, so Cuthbert was transformed into a powerful temporal lord and patron.⁴⁰ Beverley's economic and political expansion was, in like manner, complemented by its increasing identification with John, who was similarly transformed by the late-eleventh/early-twelfth century into a mighty overlord and defender of his people.

³⁸ *AMIII*:1.

³⁹ *MSJ*:2; *AMI*:4, 5; *AMIII*:5.

⁴⁰ Ted Johnson-South, 'Changing Images of Sainthood: St Cuthbert in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*' in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (New York, 1966), pp. 81-94.

Although, by the fourteenth century, the importance to Beverley's community of John's ability to obtain cures had eventually superseded his capacity to defend them, his ultimate achievement on 25 October 1415 shows a revival of the need for the forceful, patronal aspect of his persona, not by his local community, but by the nation of England. Henry V's attribution of the victory of the battle of Agincourt to John's intervention resulted in the elevation of his status from a local patron, to a patron of England on a par with St George, a career path which the holy bishop, at his prayers in an isolated spot near Hexham some seven hundred years earlier, would have found impossible to contemplate.

APPENDICES

TEXTS OF THE *VITA* AND *MIRACULA* OF ST JOHN OF BEVERLEY

The texts of Folcard's *Vita*, Ketell's collection of miracles, and three sets of additional miracles, have been taken from the transcription published in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, 3 vols, RS 71 (1879-94), edited by J. Raine. The *Vita* and the majority of Ketell's narrative are taken from London, BL, MS Cotton, Faustina, B IV, fols.156-177; the manuscript is defective towards the end of Ketell's narrative and the remainder of the published text is taken from the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, Maii, II (Antwerp 1680), 168-94.

In a comparison of Raine's published text with the Cottonian manuscript, major deviations from the original have been noted as "C"; differences between the published text and the text printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* are annotated with the reference "A"; and differences between these texts and the text contained in the *Beverley Cartulary*, London, BL, Additional MSS. 61901, are referred to as "B". In these comparisons differences in spelling have been largely ignored, apart from differences in the spelling of proper nouns; transpositions of words have been ignored except where Raine's published text differs from the Cottonian manuscript; and there has been an attempt to harmonize spellings.

I have used Raine's transcription as the basis for my translation of the *Vita* and additional miracle stories, supplemented by reference to the *Beverley Cartulary* and the *Acta Sanctorum*. In those instances where I have followed either the *Beverley Cartulary* or the *Acta Sanctorum* in translation because they appear to offer a more authentic reading, this is footnoted. Other miracle stories, which do not appear in Raine's collection of miracles, are also included in the appendices. These are extracts from the *Beverley Cartulary*, the *Memorials of Beverley Minster*, and the *Chronica Monasterii S Albani*.

All references to Biblical texts have been taken from *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 4th edn (Germany, 1994).

The footnotes are not intended to be a fully comprehensive critique of the text. Apart from manuscript variants, they are used to point out readily identifiable biblical quotations and, where absolutely necessary, to supply additional information for the understanding the passage.

‘A literal translation made from one language to another conceals the meaning, like rampant grasses which suffocate the crops. As long as the text keeps to the cases and turns of phrase, it is forced to move in an indirect way by means of lengthy circumlocutions, and it finds it hard to give a clear account of something which could be succinctly expressed. I have tried to avoid this in translating, as you requested, the life of the blessed Antony, and I have translated in such a way that nothing should be lacking from the sense although something may be missing from the words. Some people try to capture the syllables and letters, but you must seek the meaning.’¹

Like Evagrius, although much inferior, I have tried to render my translations of the Latin texts in such a way that, although they may sometimes depart from the literal meaning of the words, they are nevertheless consistent with grammatical correctness.

¹ *Early Christian Lives*, trans. and ed. Carolinne White (London, 1998), p. 7.

APPENDIX 1A

VITA SANCTI JOHANNIS, EPISCOPI EBORACENSIS

AUCTORE

FOLCARDO

*Incipit Prologus in Vitam Sancti Johannis archiepiscopi.*¹

Domino suo in Christo, omni reverentia dignissimo, sanctæ Eboracensis metropolitane ecclesiæ lampadi, et lucernæ ardenti² in caliginoso loco, Anglorum archipræsuli Aldredo, minimus devotorum ejus, frater Folcardus, salutem, cum fideli³ famulatu.

In præcepto servitutis tuæ, mi reverentissime pater et domine, necesse est parvitati meæ memorari, non solum veterum amicitiarum et frequentis beneficii, verum etiam (quod his pluris est) auctoritatis tuæ, qua inter homines es Christus Dei. Tanta quippe cælestium⁴ charismatum prærogativa suffultus, pondus habes præcepti, unde quoque gravius⁵ imminet judicium resistendi.⁶ Et cum hæc pusillitatem⁷ meam persuadeant parere jussioni tuæ, plurimum succurrit memoria ejus, cujus nunc apud te pro crastino fideli commendatione.⁸

Turbato siquidem fluctuantis cœnobii mei pelago, gementibusque pæne cunctis carissimis pignoribus monasterii, quod is, qui pastoris et medici locum occupaverat, in languente ovicula, non culpæ pressuram, sed veterem familiaris odii insectatus sit⁹ jacturam; et cum collatis toto annisu¹⁰ viribus consociam ovem, irruentem,¹¹ proh dolor!, nimis familiarem lupum conarentur¹² tueri,¹³ perperam comparato sæculari potentatu exturbatum a¹⁴ carina monasteriali fluctibus immersit¹⁵ ponti; jamque irruentibus vicissim et volventibus¹⁶ undis, cum interitus solummodo immineret, nec ulla spes emergendi esset, tandem hæc velut maris stella pio illuxit fulgore, naufragumque suum portu recepit miserationis suæ, et doloribus vulnerum adhuc hiantium et

¹ In the margin of the MS is written in another hand: *a folcardo ecclesiæ S Trinitatis Cantuaria monacho ad preces et instantiam. Aldredi archiepiscopo Eboracensis; edita.*

² The heading in A is: *VITA Auctore Folcardo Cantuariensi monacho. Ex MS. Anglicano a Leandro Pricharto transmissa. PROLOGUS*, and begins: *Lucernæ ardenti et lucenti in caliginoso loco . . .*

³ *fideli*] *fidei*, C.

⁴ *cælestium*] *cælestium*, C, A.

⁵ *unde quoque gravius*] *unde et gravius quoque*, A.

⁶ *resistendi*] *resistenti*, A.

⁷ *pusillitatem*] *pusillanimitatem*, A.

⁸ *cujus . . . commendatione*] *miseri cordiæ quam nobis fecisti fideli hac commendatione*, A.

⁹ *insectatus sit*] *insequeretur*, A.

¹⁰ *toto annisu*] *totis animi sui*, A.

¹¹ *irruentem*] *in irruentem*, C; *ab irruente*, A.

¹² *familiarem lupum conarentur*] *familiari lupo conaretur*, A.

¹³ *tueri*] *om. C; sed, ins. A.*

¹⁴ *exturbatum a*] *exturbatos nos e*, A.

¹⁵ *immersit*] *immitteret*, A.

¹⁶ *volventibus*] *involventibus*, A.

recentium compassa, materno conductu tibi, velut sagaci medico, misit curandum et consolandum pro tempore; secuta scilicet fidei¹⁷ Deo femina exemplum illius cælestis¹⁸ Samaritani, qui vulnerato a latronibus, et a sacerdote atque¹⁹ Levita neglecto miserans appropinquavit, saucium vino lavit, oleo fovit, pietate alligavit, stabulario sub promissione mercedis curandum commisit.²⁰ Utque tantam pietatem omnis noscat posteritas, reginam dico,²¹ cujus probitates nullius unquam quantumlibet disserti rhetoris facunda evolvet loquacitas; quam idcirco divinitus adjunctam regio credimus lateri, ut tanta ejus vigilantis²² industriæ solertia, emolumentum provideatur præsentis regni.

Ut autem superius relictæ repetam. Consolatione et medela tui, mi amantissime pater, clauduntur quidem vulnera, sed e vicino quorundam lividorum clam insidiantia perhorresco jacula. Verum multum respiro per tantæ patronæ commendationem, sub tua²³ constitutus tutela; nec per Dei gratiam timendum est quod te tutore vel rectore, nos ulla, quantumlibet minax et insidians, obruat procella. ²⁴Nam semper, Dei²⁵ præcedente gratia, sperabo sub umbra alarum tuarum, donec transeat iniquitas²⁶ omnium insidiarum. Sed hæc hactenus. Ad pondus autem imperii tui vertatur sermo meus, qui ex consequentia sui hoc necessario paucis prælibabit, quibus incrementis divini famulatus sancta Eboracensis ecclesia tui præsulatus tempore²⁷ priscam²⁸ rusticitatem exuerit;²⁹ et in Dei laudibus, rudi novitate, tuis doctrinis commonita, decenter adoleverit. Hoc divinitus coronæ tuæ dixerim adauctum, quod clerus a sæcularium hactenus abusiva³⁰ veste discretus,³¹ in veste nuptiali laudes celebrat Dei et talaribus tunicis conventum frequentat³² synodi; itemque nimis neglectum in eleemosynis, et pauperum ablutionibus³³ opus exercet misericordiæ; et quod memoriam fidelium defunctorum assidua eis inculcasti commendatione. Quod dico, non ut laqueum adulationis tibi injiciam, sed potius (si dicendum est a me) ut ad talia accendam: quæ utique necessario te Deo debere cognoscis ex suscepto pondere³⁴ prælationis, cum imposita dignitate honoris.

In hoc quoque dignum successorem præcedentium sanctorum tuæ sedis præsulum te præbes, cum eorum actus et vitam celebrare, et literis commendare sedulus studes. Unde³⁵ accidit, ut

¹⁷ *fidei*] *fidelis*, C.

¹⁸ *cælestis*] *electi*, A.

¹⁹ *atque*] *et*, A.

²⁰ Luke 10.30-5.

²¹ *dico*] *fuisse, quæ hæc fecit*, ins. A.

²² *vigilantis*] *invigilantis*, A.

²³ *per tantæ . . . sub tua*] *sub potestate patronæ, quin et sub commendationis tuæ*, A.

²⁴ B starts here.

²⁵ *Dei*] *Domini*, A.

²⁶ Psalm 56.2.

²⁷ *tempore*] *om.* A.

²⁸ *priscam*] *pristinam*, A.

²⁹ *exuerit*] *excusserit*, A.

³⁰ *abusiva*] *usitata*, A; *abusa*, B.

³¹ *discretus*] *indiscretus*, nunc, A.

³² *frequentat*] *celebrat*, A.

³³ *ablutionibus*] *oblationibus*, A.

³⁴ *pondere*] *munere*, A.

³⁵ *Unde*] *et*, ins. A.

responsorii Sancti³⁶ Johannis, te jubente, compositis pro modulo parvitatē meā, præciperes at ejus vitam inchoandam³⁷ stylum vertere. Quod opus certe tanto magis cognoscitur difficile et arduum, quanto magis fuerit notum. In nomine ergo Domini tuum³⁸ remigium subige, vela pande, cursum nostrum Deo committe. Eo gratiam suam precibus tuis accommodante, ripam attingentes, feliciter arenam calcabimus littoris securi incursus tumultuantium canum tenentes æquoris,³⁹ qui quanto⁴⁰ acutius in latratu cristas erigunt, tanto imbecilliores⁴¹ natura prodit.

Explicit Prologus. Incipit Vita Sancti Johannis

Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

Capitulum I⁴²

Æterna compatiētis Dei miseratio, mundo succurrens perditō, per Incarnatum suum⁴³ Filium, antiquum damnationis humanæ dissolvit iudiciū; ut sicut per transgredientem Adam eramus filii mortis et inferni, sic per Christum Jesum, Dei et Virginis unigenitum, restituemur⁴⁴ filii vitæ in hæreditatem cælestis regni. Per hunc corregnantem sibi in cælis, et hominibus cohabitantem in terris, divinum dispositionis suæ reseravit mysterium; in quanta scilicet misericordia salvare decreverit⁴⁵ Deus filios hominum, cum ad eos vivificandos in mortem tradidit⁴⁶ unicum Filium suum. Accepta siquidem injuria illatæ contumeliæ⁴⁷ contemptoribus suis usus est lege misericordiæ, ut ubi superabundavit⁴⁸ culpa, ibi miserationum suarum⁴⁹ largiora redundarent exempla.⁵⁰ Confirmatis itaque discipulis suis, doctoribus nostris,⁵¹ divinorum præceptorum dogmate,⁵² omnem pæne jam mundum, a sui denominatione, sub Christiano prætitulavit nomine; penetraruntque verba eorum fines et angulos terrarum; unde et pervenit fides ad notitiam omnium linguarum. Ut enim fideli patrum traditum est relatione, jamdudum fide illuminatis finibus totius Galliæ, serius perlatum est verbum Dei ad hanc insulam Britanniæ. Quæ secuta exemplum illius evangelii senioris⁵³ filii, qui primo repugnans jubenti patri, postea vero pœnitentia ductus acrius perstitit in excolendis fructibus vineæ patris sui; eo cœpit devotius in suscepta religione proficere, quo se vidit ad fidem Christi tardius venisse.⁵⁴

³⁶ Sancti] Sanctissimi, A, B.

³⁷ inchoandam] inchoandi, B.

³⁸ tuum] tu, A, B.

³⁹ incursus tumultuantium canum tenentes æquoris] nec solliciti de tumultuantibus æquoris canibus, A.; tumultuantium canes æquoris, B.

⁴⁰ quanto] tanto, A.

⁴¹ imbecilliores] eos, ins. A.

⁴² The heading in A is: *Studia, conciones. Episcopatus Hagulstadensis. Archiepiscopatus Eboracensis. Miracula.* The heading in B is: *Hic redit monachus Folcardus at propositum suum de sancto Johanne.*

⁴³ Suum] Sui, B.

⁴⁴ restituemur] restitueremur, A.

⁴⁵ decreverit] decrevisset, A.

⁴⁶ tradidit] tradiderit, A, B.

⁴⁷ contumeliæ] est, ins. C; hac in, ins. A, B.

⁴⁸ superabundavit] superbabundavit, B.

⁴⁹ Suarum] ejus, A.

⁵⁰ Romans 5.20.

⁵¹ nostris] per, ins. A.

⁵² dogmate] dogmata, A.

⁵³ Evangelii senioris] evangelici junioris, A, B.

⁵⁴ Matthew 21.28-9.

Cœpit jam tunc⁵⁵ propitia bonitas in tribulis dulces ficus procreare, in rubo decoras uvas multiplicare, et novellæ gentis suæ stirpem⁵⁶ sanctorum filiorum prole fecundare. Ergo inter cætera⁵⁷ Britanniæ divinitus tunc collata luminaria, ad depellendas veterum errorum tenebras clarius a Deo accensa, effulsit hic beatus puer Johannes, velut matutina stella: qui cum⁵⁸ ab ipso nominis initio in Christi initiatus gratia, gloriosus Dei miles finetenus in Christi perseveravit⁵⁹ militia. Subduxit primo manum ferulæ Theodori archipræsulis Cantiae, cujus doctrinis accurate⁶⁰ institutus a summo Doctore summum conscendit apicem philosophiæ.⁶¹ Hujus excellentiæ evocatus gratia in monasterio Streneshalensi aliquantis detinetur diebus ab Elflæda⁶² abbatissa. Sed clemens Deus tantum lumen non passus diu modico includi locello, eductum de medio⁶³ latibulo imposuit candelabro, ut omnibus luceret ingredientibus in domo sua.⁶⁴

Capitulum II

*De prædicatione Sancti Johannis et doctrina ante episcopatum.*⁶⁵

Exiens ergo inde, fraterna commonitus caritate, rudibus adhuc Anglorum populis verbum Dei cœpit evangelizare. Divina autem affatim⁶⁶ præditus largitione, facundus rhetor erat in verborum digna effusione. Præbebat etiam sancta vita competentem favorem assiduæ prædicationi, cum a semita auditæ institutionis nusquam diverteret exhibitum exemplum in se conversationis. Comitabatur præterea virtus Dei virtutem verbi sui, et sanabantur per eum omnes⁶⁷ infirmi, ut⁶⁸ in hoc fideli servo suo promissio firmaretur Christi, ‘Signa,’ inquit, ‘quæ ego facio et vos facietis, et majora horum facietis’.⁶⁹ Tanta autem ditatus gratia divinitatis, acceptum talentum Domini sui vario multiplicat fœnore,⁷⁰ ut in gaudium Domini sui læta intraret vocatione.

Literarum enim affluenti imbutus copia, in docendis discipulis suis solerti instabat vigilantia; inter quos Bedam, qui inter doctores ecclesiæ clarus habetur, caro affectu pro capacitatis suæ vigore amplectebatur; quem secutus industrius⁷¹ tirunculus a tanto pædagogo affluenter imbutus, et ex impositis⁷² evangeliis, et in historiarum⁷³ rebus digestis⁷⁴ magnus enituit; et

⁵⁵ *tunc*] *hinc*, A; *Christi*, ins. A, B.

⁵⁶ *stirpem*] *stirpe*, C (as also noted by Raine).

⁵⁷ *cætera*] *rudi*, ins. A, B.

⁵⁸ *cum*] om. A, B.

⁵⁹ *perseveravit*] *perstitit*, A, B.

⁶⁰ *accurate*] *ac cura erat*, A.

⁶¹ *philosophiæ*] *philophye*, B.

⁶² *Elflæda*] *Helßleda*, B.

⁶³ *medio*] *modii*, A, B.

⁶⁴ Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 11.33.

⁶⁵ There is no heading in A. The heading in B is: *De instantia prædicationis Sancti Johannis*.

⁶⁶ *affatim*] *affatum*, B.

⁶⁷ *omnes*] *quique*, A, B.

⁶⁸ *ut*] *et*, ins. A, B.

⁶⁹ John 14.12.

⁷⁰ Matthew 25.14-30.

⁷¹ *industrius*] *industrialis*, B.

⁷² *ex impositis*] *in exponendis*, A; *in expositis*, B.

⁷³ *historiarum*] *historialis*, A.

⁷⁴ *digestis*] *digerendis*, A.

descriptis temporum et compoti⁷⁵ rationibus subtilissimis, avitam⁷⁶ Britannicæ gentis
 hebitudinem purgavit, scriptorumque suorum dignitatem Romanæ sedis acquisita auctoritate
 nobilitavit; quodque his majus est, servata innocentia vitæ, Deo fideliter studuit finetenus
 placere: ut cum sancto sanctus esset, et cum electo magistro suo, sanctissimo Johanne, in
 electionem⁷⁷ discipulatus Christi permaneret. Succedente etiam tempore, quem a primis
 sacrorum graduum ordinibus Deo mancipaverat, sacerdotii dignitatem⁷⁸ hunc Bedam, cum aliis
 quibusdam suæ institutionis viris dignis⁷⁹ Deo auctores⁸⁰ promovit; ut tanto tenacius Christo
 viti⁸¹ suæ adhærerent, quanto strictius complexi palmites ejus essent.

Verum quia horum aliquorum memoria reliquæ vitæ ex necessitate rerum convenientium, est⁸²
 inserenda,⁸³ redeamus⁸⁴ ad cœptæ⁸⁵ narrationis gesta evolvenda.

Capitulum III⁸⁶

*De tempore electionis ejus ad episcopatum.*⁸⁷

Regnante igitur⁸⁸ inclyto Anglorum rege Alfrido,⁸⁹ excedente humanis rebus felicis vitæ Eata
 episcopo, cunctorum votis poscentibus, maxime vero nutu Dei agente,⁹⁰ dilectus Dei Johannes⁹¹
 in ejus successit⁹² episcopo,⁹³ pro merito vitæ solium conscedens herile pastor apostolicus cum
 sceptro pontificatus, ecclesiæ dignus rector, legisque peritus.⁹⁴ Postea⁹⁵ Beatus Wilfridus
 episcopus, qui longo tempore ab episcopatu suo ejectus fuit, a Romano concilio et a domino
 papa⁹⁶ epistola accepta in patriam revenit, et episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ cum synodali
 consilio recepit,⁹⁷ et annis triginta tribus nobiliter tenuit.

⁷⁵ compoti] computi, A.

⁷⁶ avitam] inditam, A; auditam, B.

⁷⁷ electionem] electione, A, B.

⁷⁸ dignitatem] dignitate, A, B.

⁷⁹ dignis] dignos, A, B.

⁸⁰ auctores] adjutores, A, B.

⁸¹ viti] vitæ, B.

⁸² est] fuit, A.

⁸³ inserenda] miserenda, B.

⁸⁴ redeamus] nunc, ins. A.

⁸⁵ cœptæ] acceptæ, A.

⁸⁶ This chapter is seriously inaccurate as it was John who held his bishopric for thirty-three years, not Wilfrid. From comparison with A and B it is evident that the scribe of the Cottonian manuscript omitted some lines vital to the sense of this chapter. In the last sentence after *cum synodali consilio recepti* but before *et annis triginta tribus nobiliter tenuit* the words *et sanctus Johannes in Eboracensi civitate episcopatum accepit* should have been included. In A the words *pro merito vitæ solium . . . peritus* are omitted, and the final sentence, with several significant differences, is placed at the end of the following chapter. In B everything from *pro merito vitæ solium* is omitted and a chapter relating to Wilfrid is inserted later.

⁸⁷ There is no heading in A. The heading in B is: *Qualiter Sanctus Johannes electus est in archiepiscopatu eboracensis ecclesiæ*. In C *Eboracensis ecclesiæ* is added in the margin in a different hand.

⁸⁸ igitur] om. A, B.

⁸⁹ Alfrido] Aldfrido, A.

⁹⁰ agente] hic, ins. A, B.

⁹¹ Johannes] om. A, B.

⁹² successit] succedens, C.

⁹³ episcopo] episcopatu, A; in episcopatum, B.

⁹⁴ pro merito . . . peritus] om. A.

⁹⁵ Postea] Post hæc ergo, A.

⁹⁶ papa] Agathone, ins. A.

⁹⁷ recepit] et Sanctus Joannes in Eboraco civitate Episcopatum accepit, ins. A.

Capitulum IV

Quomodo muto cuidam a nativitate linguam donaverit, et eidem caput tinea cooperto salutem hujus mali indulserit.

Cum igitur primo⁹⁸ unctus esset⁹⁹ in Christum Dominum,¹⁰⁰ opera auxit pietatis et fidei, competentia utique tanto ordini et divinæ¹⁰¹ dignitati; quæ licet omnia narrare¹⁰² nequeamus pro numero sui, saltem ad aliqua explicanda accingamur, ad honorem et gloriam Domini; quæ utique veridicis tradita agnovimus testibus, et potissimum a Beato Brituno¹⁰³, qui primum¹⁰⁴ ejus erat diaconus, et postea, ejus dono et consecratione, monasterio ab eo funditus constructo, quod Beverlic¹⁰⁵ dicitur, abbas præfuit dignissimus.

Dedicaverat idem dilectus Deo præsul ecclesiam in honorem¹⁰⁶ Beati Michælis Archangeli, in villula dicta Herneshou,¹⁰⁷ non longe a defluente amne Tyne fluvii. Hic frequenter, et maxime Quadragesimali tempore, quod a populari frequentia locus remotior erat, in jejuniis, et orationibus, et eleemosynarum largitionibus intentus Sanctus Johannes manebat. Ubi cum quodam tempore turbam pauperum, solito suo more consolandam, jussisset introduci, convenit inter eos quædam¹⁰⁸ miserabilis forma¹⁰⁹ viri. Nam et mutus erat a nativitate, et adeo obsænus lurida capitis fæditate, ut præoccupato a tinea toto circulo capitis, pro pilis horrebat raris et hirsutis¹¹⁰ quasi porcorum setis. Quem sanctus episcopus bene noverat, quia ad eleemosynam suam inter alios pauperes eum frequenter viderat. Tandem ergo dilectam Deo animam talis facies miseræ altius pungens, clementius tetigit; injectaque manu, ut erat benignissimus, mento pauperem comprehendit, benedixit,¹¹¹ et in nomine Domini¹¹² ut loqueretur præcepit. Præcedit episcopus, literas quasdam et verba dicendo; ille qui mutus erat, soluto linguæ officio, subsequitur, eadem ex ore episcopi loquendo. Tandemque¹¹³ post verba paulatim invadit orationis sententias, prout præsulis exigebat sanctitas. Fugatur etiam ab illo omnis illa horrida capitis contagio, vestiturque capillorum ornatu crispo et nigro; sicque consolatis reliquis pauperibus simplici alimonia, ille per Sancti Johannis merita reddit ditatus multiplici miserationum Dei copia.

⁹⁸ A omits the heading and words down to *primo* so that *unctus* follows on from *ejus successit Episcopatu*. Similarly, B omits the heading and the words down to *primo*, the text following on from *ejus successit episcopatum*.

⁹⁹ *unctus esset*] *unctusque*, A, B.

¹⁰⁰ *Dominum*] *Domini*, A.

¹⁰¹ *Divinæ*] *divæ*, B, C.

¹⁰² *narrare*] *enarrare*, A & B.

¹⁰³ *Brituno*] *Brithuno*, A; *Brithuno*, B.

¹⁰⁴ *primum*] *primo*, A.

¹⁰⁵ *Beverlic*] *Beverley*, A; *Beverlich*, B.

¹⁰⁶ *honorem*] *honore*, C.

¹⁰⁷ *Herneshou*] *Carneshoc*, A; *Carnes hoc*, B.

¹⁰⁸ *quædam*] *quidam*, A.

¹⁰⁹ *forma*] *formæ*, A.

¹¹⁰ *hirsutis*] *et*, ins. B, C.

¹¹¹ *benedixit*] *benexit*, A.

¹¹² *nomine Domini*] *Dei nomine*, A, B.

¹¹³ *Tandemque*] *Tandem*, A.

Capitulum V

*Quomodo sanctimoniam quandam a nimio tumore brachii et periculosissima ægritudine liberaverit.*¹¹⁴

Alio¹¹⁵ tempore, cum iter faceret,¹¹⁶ pervenit ad vicum qui Betendune¹¹⁷ dicitur, ubi tunc erat monasterium ancillarum Christi, quibus præerat Hereburgis dicta abbatissa, mulier fide plena, et tunc ob adventum viri Dei cum filiabus suis in Christo valde jocundata. Refert¹¹⁸ ilico pia mater cum luctu, conquerens sancto præsuli, consororem quandam magna corporis ægritudine deprimi, nec aliquam spem vitæ ejus haberi. Precatur suppliciter ut eam dignaretur visitare; dicitque se in Dei pietate et ejus meritis multum confidere, quod ei melius proveniret ex impositione manuum ejus.¹¹⁹ Requirit beatus pontifex causam morbi, didicitque¹²⁰ ab abbatissa illam in quarta luna sanguinem minuisse; turbatoque corporis statu, brachium ejus miserabiliter intumuisse. Protestatur, hoc comperto, esse factum imprudentius, memoratque se a Beato Theodoro archiepiscopo, magistro suo, audisse, cum puer esset et ejus discipulus, periculosissimam esse quartam¹²¹ lunam in minuendo sanguine;¹²² et non oportere hujusmodi curationes exercere in teneriori crescentis lunæ ætate, vel recenter erumpente fluentis pelagi rheumate. Victus tandem¹²³ lacrymis atque precibus mœrentis abbatissæ et consororum, infirmantis feminæ intrat cubiculum; visoque nimio tumore brachii, signum opponit crucis, prælibatque Deo intentius thura puræ orationis, consolatusque jacentem egreditur e domo. Sed cum languente femina efficax permanet benedictio, et omnis illa cum recedente episcopo recedit inflatio. Vix Sanctus consederat ad cibum, et Herburgis¹²⁴ (sic enim vocabatur) ad ejus diaconum Brithunum¹²⁵ suum mittit nuntium; petens ut illi suum præstaret¹²⁶ eloquium.¹²⁷ Petita ille episcopi benedictione cum iret, illam jam sanam obviam habet, dixitque¹²⁸ medelam curationis provenisse sibi in oratione¹²⁹ pontificis. Post hæc vixit sana longo tempore, jocunda frequentans relatione curationem sibi¹³⁰ a beato præsule¹³¹ impensam.¹³²

¹¹⁴ There is no heading in A. In B the heading is: *De Sanctimoniali curata meritis sancti Johannis*

¹¹⁵ *Alio*] *quoque*, ins. A, B.

¹¹⁶ *faceret*] *sanctus dei*, ins. A, B.

¹¹⁷ *Betendune*] *Yatadini*, A; *Peytendun* B.; (*Vetadun* in Bede *HE* v.3)

¹¹⁸ *Refert*] *ergo*, ins. A.

¹¹⁹ *manuum ejus*] *manus suæ*, A; *manuum suæ*, B.

¹²⁰ *didicitque*] *discitque*, A, B.

¹²¹ *quartam*] *quartanam*, B.

¹²² *quartam lunam in minuendo sanguine*] *in quarta luna imminutionem sanguinis*, A.

¹²³ *tandem*] *tamen*, C.

¹²⁴ *Herburgis*] *Capuburgis*, A; *Cyenburgis*, B; Bede says the name of the nun was Quœnburg. Herburgis was the abbess.

¹²⁵ *Brithunum*] *Bricthuno*, B.

¹²⁶ *præsteret*] *præsteretur*, C.

¹²⁷ *eloquium*] *colloquium*, A, B.

¹²⁸ *dixitque*] *discitque*, A, B, C.

¹²⁹ *in oratione*] *per orationem*, A.

¹³⁰ *sibi*] *sui*, B, C.

¹³¹ *præsule*] *pontifice*, C.

¹³² *impensam*] *om.* B, C.

Capitulum VI

*De quadam matrefamilias quam invitatus ad prandium sanavit.*¹³³

Invitatus quoque hic Deo electus pontifex ad dedicandam ecclesiam villæ, quæ Australis Burtun¹³⁴ dicitur, officii sui non instrenuus executor accessit, et¹³⁵ dedicavit; perfectisque, ut mos est, omnibus, ad propria redire voluit. Is vero, cujus villa erat, qui¹³⁶ eum invitaverat, precibus humillimis cum suis instabat¹³⁷ ut domum ejus intraret, et ex ejus obsequio prandium dignaretur accipere.¹³⁸ Cui cum sanctus Dei Johannes diceret magis episcopum decere ad monasterium redire, et Deo in suis pauperibus servire, quam per domos divitum convivare; promissis sub hac gratia eleemosynis pluribus, et maxime¹³⁹ Beato Berthuno¹⁴⁰ idem pollicente persuasus, assensum tandem præbuit poscentibus.

Materfamilias autem, uxor ejus qui eum invitaverat, gravi corporis invaletudine detinebatur,¹⁴¹ ita ut plus tribus septimanis lecto decumbens¹⁴² periclitaretur.¹⁴³ Quo comperto, vir Dei, verus medicus animarum et corporum, de aquis ad dedicandam ecclesiam consecratis jussit ad eam portari;¹⁴⁴ et ubi morbi dolor acrius urgebat, ex eadem aqua rigari. Quo facto omnis morbus subito fugatur, et illa in novum sanitatis vigorem reparatur. Surgit mulier continuo, parat se ornatu suo, ingrediensque petit benedictionem, et convivantibus læta exhibet servitutem; tantamque valetudinem sibi collatam adesse¹⁴⁵ cunctis innotuit, ut pio præsuli secumque sedentibus in potu fidelis pincerna serviens, nec¹⁴⁶ semel ut quiesceret resederit.¹⁴⁷ Videte, quæso, in Beato Johanne hic impletum, quod Christus promisit suis, ‘opera quæ ego facio, et vos facietis’.¹⁴⁸ Ipse¹⁴⁹ Dominus noster domum intravit, socrum Petri febricitantem invenit, febres depulit, illamque sibi ministrare præcepit.¹⁵⁰ Uterque unum et simile faciunt opus; sed ibi absque servo Dominus; hic vero per Dominum et cum Domino fidelis servus et prudens.

¹³³ There is no heading in A. In B. the heading is: *De dedicatione ecclesiæ de Burton iuxta Beverlacum et curatione matris familias*

¹³⁴ *Burtun*] *Burton*, A, B.

¹³⁵ *et*] om. B, C.

¹³⁶ *qui*] *quique*, B.

¹³⁷ *instabat*] *instat*, A, B.

¹³⁸ *accipere*] *suscipere*, A, B.

¹³⁹ *maxime*] *a*, ins. A, B; *et*, ins. C.

¹⁴⁰ *Berthuno*] *Brihtuno*, A.; *Bricthuno*, B.

¹⁴¹ *detinebatur*] *distinebatur*, A.

¹⁴² *decumbens*] *decubans*, C.

¹⁴³ *decumbens periclitaretur*] *decubans perclitaretur*, B.

¹⁴⁴ *jussit ad eam portari*] *jussit eam potari*, A, B.

¹⁴⁵ *adesse*] om. A, B.

¹⁴⁶ *nec*] *ne*, B.

¹⁴⁷ *resederit*] *recederet*, A.

¹⁴⁸ John 14.12.

¹⁴⁹ *Ipse*] *Ille*, A, B.

¹⁵⁰ Matthew 8.14-5.

Capitulum VII

*De quodam ægroto quem cum esset invitatus ad dedicandam ecclesiam oratione sanavit.*¹⁵¹

Clarificavit¹⁵² item Dominus servum suum, in simili opere, Johannem, cum per quendam divitem,¹⁵³ Adam¹⁵⁴ nomine, invitatur ad consecrandum ecclesiæ opus novum. Erat huic diviti quidam suorum, valde carus illi et utilis, qui ex incumbente morbo ad id pervenerat, ut juxta decumbentem in lecto feretrum corpori aptaretur, sudaria præpararentur,¹⁵⁵ et quæ funeri congruerent in præsentia languentis ad manum essent. Hic invitatur iterum ille homo Dei noster medicus, qui pressuris gravibus antidotis concurreret¹⁵⁶ validioribus: visisque more infirmi apparatibus funeris,¹⁵⁷ magnus orator totus introfertur cælestibus. Ut¹⁵⁸ rogata obtinuit, ad præmortuum¹⁵⁹ conversus, velociter eum sanari et surgere jussit, moxque recessit. Ille fugata morte¹⁶⁰ redditus vitæ, paululum hæsit stupens, utrum esset idem ipse. Caro ad vitam reparata cœpit exigere vitalia; mittit ad prandentem dominum, petitque ut aliquid sibi mittat ad bibendum. Exultant omnes, quod is petit bibere, de cujus paulo ante sollicitabantur funere. Porrigit ilico inclytus præsul calicem vini, jubetque sitibundum suum¹⁶¹ ex eo refocillare. Quo hausto, ille acceptis indumentis vestitur, ad convivantes ingreditur, et quia jam diu non manducaverat, esurire¹⁶² se fatetur, et escam postulat. Lætari solenniter videres omnes convivas pro consocio reddito vitæ; venerari sanctum Dei virum mundo tanta clarificatum sanctitate; laudare¹⁶³ Deum¹⁶⁴ procudubio, qui talia in suo Johanne favore operatur propitio.

Capitulum VIII

*De Herebaldo abbate, qui propter inobedientiam colliso corpore cum capite equo decedit, quem vir Dei precibus sanavit.*¹⁶⁵

Habuit etiam et alium testem signorum, quæ per eum propitia gessit divinitas, Herebaldum scilicet abbatem¹⁶⁶ Tinemuthensis¹⁶⁷ cænobii, qui ejus discipulus a puero et doctrina erat imbutus, comesque commanens¹⁶⁸ individuus. Testabatur hic sæpius, se bene etiam per seipsum

¹⁵¹ In B the heading is: *De dedicatione alterius ecclesiæ et curatione servi cuiusdam magnatis*. In C. the words *dedicatione alterius ecclesiæ* are added in the margin in a different hand.

¹⁵² *Clarificavit*] *Clarificat*, A, B. *Clarificavit*, C.

¹⁵³ *divitem*] *divitum*, B.

¹⁵⁴ *Adam*] *Addam*, B. *Addi* in Bede, *HE* v.5.

¹⁵⁵ *præpararentur*] *pararentur*, A, B.

¹⁵⁶ *concurreret*] *occurreret*, A, B.

¹⁵⁷ *more infirmi apparatibus funeris*] *ex more funereis apparatibus*, A.; *in ora infirmi funere is apparatibus*, B.

¹⁵⁸ *cælestibus*. *Ut*] *ad cælestia*, et, A.

¹⁵⁹ *præmortuum*] *præceptum*, *mox*, A.

¹⁶⁰ *morte*] *morbo*, A.

¹⁶¹ *sitibundum suum*] *sitibundam sitim*, A.

¹⁶² *esurire*] *esurire*, B.

¹⁶³ *laudare*] *laudantes*, A, B.

¹⁶⁴ *Deum*] *Dominum*, A.

¹⁶⁵ There is no heading in A., and this chapter is placed at the end of chapter XI. In B the heading is: *De Herebaldo clericico sancti Johannis et qualiter beatus Johannes ipsum de morte ad vitam reduxit*.

¹⁶⁶ *Abbatem*] *om.* A, B.

¹⁶⁷ *Tinemuthensis*] *Tenemuthensis*, A.; *Tynemuthensis*, B.

¹⁶⁸ *commanens*] *et*, *ins.* B.

comperisse, hunc Sanctum Johannem vere esse sanctissimæ vitæ; qui inter alia multis infirmis præstita beneficia, eum¹⁶⁹ de morte reduxit, et subitæ sospitati condonaverit. Dicebat semel contigisse convivantem cum suis hunc¹⁷⁰ carum Dei¹⁷¹ devenire in planioris viæ gratam seriem;¹⁷² cuius jocunda planitie delectati juvenes, militari consuetudine precantur hunc dominum suum, ut liceat eis equos suos in eodem probare inoffenso campi æquore.

Quod cum primo vir,¹⁷³ pro levitate ducens, denegaret, tandem petendo instantibus, 'Agite' inquit, 'ad libitum, Herebaldus vero maneat mecum'. Quod ille audiens juvenili cœpit tristari levitate,¹⁷⁴ quia recenter datum ab episcopo equum, cui insedebat,¹⁷⁵ volebat probare. Non omnes hoc¹⁷⁶ poterant ab ipso impetrare.¹⁷⁷ Tandem ergo cum laxis frænis omnis campus instreperet currentibus,¹⁷⁸ Herebaldus, ac si invitus et quasi incitatum equum retinere non posset, reclamante episcopo avolat,¹⁷⁹ volucrumque cornipedem laxioribus frænis ad cursum concitat. Testari solebat idem Herebaldus, se tunc audisse post tergum ab episcopo clamante: 'Male,' inquit, 'agis discedens a me, et hoc modo habes cognoscere.'¹⁸⁰ Vix finita comminatione viri sancti, equus labitur Herebaldi; excussusque Herebaldus super ingens saxum, ruina decedit præcipiti, capite confringitur, in¹⁸¹ interioribus discinditur, debilisque manu et pollice redditur. Turbati omnes eo concurrunt; relictis equis ad terram prosiliunt: sed is quem colligunt¹⁸² magis videtur absque sensu quam sapere; magis notatur¹⁸³ mori quam vivere. Tenditur super moribundum papilio, et ejus causa per spatiosum æquor cujusque frequentatur obumbratio. Dolent¹⁸⁴ omnes cucurrisse, sed nesciunt¹⁸⁵ quid de cursu providerit¹⁸⁶ Deus ipse.

Sanctus autem Dei de ruina mœret specialiter dilecti discipuli, compositisque saccis suis¹⁸⁷ in tentorio noctem insomnem ducit, propitiumque Dominum inobedienti suo propitiari precibus et lacrymis convenit. Et valde mane ad debilitatum carum ingreditur. Primum oratur, et deinde dulci affectu ex nomine appellatur.¹⁸⁸ Et mirum in modum, cum a præcedentis diei hora septima usque ad illud mane quasi exanimis jacuerit, a sancto Dei vocatus, quasi de¹⁸⁹ gravi somno excitatus, oculos aperit, et in virum Dei attendit.¹⁹⁰ Interrogat pius doctor utrum agnoscat

¹⁶⁹ eum] ipsum, A; cum, B.

¹⁷⁰ hunc] de, ins. B.

¹⁷¹ carum Dei] hominem, ins. A; Dei carum, B, C.

¹⁷² gratam seriem] grata spatia, A; grata serie, B.

¹⁷³ vir] dei, ins. A, B.

¹⁷⁴ levitate] levitatem et, B.

¹⁷⁵ insedebat] insidebat, B, C.

¹⁷⁶ Non omnes hoc] nec hoc omnes, B.

¹⁷⁷ Non . . . impetrare] om. A.

¹⁷⁸ instreperet currentibus] discurrentibus perstreperet, A; a currentibus instreperet, B.

¹⁷⁹ avolat] evolat, A.

¹⁸⁰ habes cognoscere] cognosces, A.

¹⁸¹ in] om. A, B.

¹⁸² quem colligunt] qui colliditur, A. I have followed A in translation.

¹⁸³ notatur] putatur, A. I have followed A in translation.

¹⁸⁴ Dolent] se, ins. C.

¹⁸⁵ nesciunt] nesciebant, A.

¹⁸⁶ providerit] providisset, A.

¹⁸⁷ suis] om. A.

¹⁸⁸ appellatur] compellatur Herebaldus, A; compellatur, B.

¹⁸⁹ de] a, C.

¹⁹⁰ attendit] intendit, A, B.

colloquentem sibi; moxque respondet ægrotus voce lacrymabili, 'Tu es,' inquit, 'Johannes episcopus, dilectissimus dominus meus.' Et ille;¹⁹¹ 'Putasne,' inquit, 'ex instanti periculo cum vita posse evadere?' 'Scio et credo,' ille inquit, 'si et¹⁹² per preces tuas hoc mihi Deus annuerit.' Quid plura? Imponit præsul Dei manus confracto capiti, sacratas aquas debilitato irrorat corpori; Deum invocans cernuus illi inspirat; deinde cruce signat, et subitam medelam Deus præstat. Hoc sæpius idem ipse referebat postea multa¹⁹³ vivens tempora;¹⁹⁴ maturiorque ætate, factus est abbas vigilantissimus eo in loco, ubi pelagus¹⁹⁵ influit Tyne¹⁹⁶ fluvius, unde et Tinemutha¹⁹⁷ idem dicitur locus.¹⁹⁸

Capitulum IX

*De tribus ydriis vino, mulso et cervisia impletis, quas Osredo rege benedixit, et indeficientes ad haustum reddidit.*¹⁹⁹

Magnificavit igitur²⁰⁰ Dominus servum suum Johannem²⁰¹ in conspectu regum, et in conventu principum ostendit illius gloriam et meritum. Regali edicto conveniunt primates regni; convenit etiam cum aliis et hic vir Dei. Affuit quoque et ipse²⁰² Osredus rex, vir religionis et fidei; et communi tractatu fidelium ordinationes ibi constituuntur²⁰³ multarum rerum utilium. Nam et injuriæ ibi corriguntur, leges Dei sanciantur,²⁰⁴ pacis æquitas firmatur, res ecclesiarum et monasteriorum regio²⁰⁵ munimine corroborantur. Quibus feliciter statutis, dominus²⁰⁶ archiepiscopus, Dei gratia et nomine et officio, Johannes, regem cum suis ad mensam²⁰⁷ suam invitat. Qui gratifice obaudit,²⁰⁸ ut decebat; comitatusque proceribus suis, discumbens ad nutum assedit pontificis, utiturque cum carnalibus epulis cælestium monitis. Quibus cunctis affluenter reffectis, audite, quæso, cordibus intentis, audite et hic operationem divinam.²⁰⁹ Videte et hic assertionem Evangelicam, 'Opera quæ ego facio et vos facietis'.²¹⁰ 'Implete,' ait Sanctus Johannes pincernis suis, 'Implete tres hydrias, unam vino,²¹¹ aliam mulso, tertiam cervisia.'

¹⁹¹ ille] ipse, A.

¹⁹² et] om. A, B. I have followed A and B in translation.

¹⁹³ multa] post ins. B.

¹⁹⁴ multa vivens tempora] longo vivens tempore, A. I have followed A in translation.

¹⁹⁵ pelagus] pelago, C.

¹⁹⁶ influit Tyne] influit Tina, A; inficit Tyna, B.

¹⁹⁷ Tinemutha] Tinemuta, A; Tynemutha, B.

¹⁹⁸ locus] om. A.

¹⁹⁹ The heading in A is *Alia miracula ante et post obitum. Tempus Sedis et mortis*. In B the heading is: *De convivio sancti Johannis ubi rex Osredus cum suis optimatibus assint*. In the MS the words *De convivio sancti Johannis ubi rex Osredus cum suis optimatibus assint* are added in another hand.

²⁰⁰ igitur] om. A, B.

²⁰¹ servum suum Johannem] illum, A, B.

²⁰² et ipse] om. C.

²⁰³ constituuntur] constituunt, A.

²⁰⁴ sanciantur] sanctiuntur, C.

²⁰⁵ regio] Regis, A.

²⁰⁶ dommus] Dominus, A.

²⁰⁷ mensam] mensem, B.

²⁰⁸ obaudit] obedit, A.

²⁰⁹ Divinam] Dominicam, A, B.

²¹⁰ John 14. 12.

²¹¹ unam vino] unam de vino, B.

Quibus impletis usque ad summum, Johannes, qui et gratia Dei, extensa manu benedixit,²¹² et propinari praecepit.²¹³ Hauriunt pincernae crescentia hydriarum fluentia fecundis calicibus, et per laetos convivas propinando redeunt frequentius; hauriunt inexhauste, nihilque apparet in hydriis totiens hausisse; nam semper redundant usque ad summum. Potus ipse potantes renovato capit nectare,²¹⁴ quodque bibunt mirantur crescere, et placita dulcedine et mirabili caelesti exundatione.

In hujus potus crescenti valentia recolite nuptias²¹⁵ in Cana Galileae,²¹⁶ nam ibi architrictinus vinum bonum esse reperit.²¹⁷ In exundatione autem hydriarium trium, mementote Dominicum convivium per²¹⁸ quinque millia hominum et eo amplius:²¹⁹ considerate in vestris cordibus, quid per Johannem²²⁰ operatur Dominus suus. Legitur ibi quia viso signo vini crediderunt in Jesum sui discipuli.²²¹ Hic quoque rex Osredus principesque sui experti sunt, viso hoc signo, esse in Johanne suo gratiam Dei: veneratusque Dei hominem,²²² vocat ad se ejus pincernam, Brithredum²²³ nomine; laetusque regia jocunditate, 'Optime,' inquit, 'perfecisti in²²⁴ servitute tuam,²²⁵ nam et optimo potu et mirabili a domino tuo refecti sumus affluentia,²²⁶ sanctitatisque ipsius certiores facti virtute²²⁷ quam vidimus, discedere nunc habemus cum ejus gratia.'

Capitulum X

*De vino, fracto flascone, per meritum Sancti servato.*²²⁸

Referebat etiam venerabilis vitae abbas Brithunus,²²⁹ cujus supra meminimus, quod quadam vice hic sanctus Dei Johannes Beverlicense²³⁰ monasterium adierit, duabus causis poscentibus; ut, scilicet, gregem Dei²³¹ inibi commorantem in obsequio Dei²³² commonefaceret salutis suae, et ut in temporalis substantiae administratione nihil illis abesset, quominus divinis intenderent. Ibi tum quoque²³³ manifestum dedit prompta Dei largitio, quantae integritatis praekonio apud se

²¹² *benedixit*] *benedicit*, B.

²¹³ *praecepit*] *praecipit*, B.

²¹⁴ *Potus . . . nectare*] *Potantes ipsi stupent renovato nectare*, A.

²¹⁵ *nuptias*] *nuptiarum*, B, C.

²¹⁶ John 2.1-10.

²¹⁷ *reperit*] *pronuntiat*, A; om. B.

²¹⁸ *Dominicum . . . per*] *Dominici convivii quo*, A.

²¹⁹ *amplius*] *satiavit, et*, ins. A.; *et*, ins. B. Matthew 14.17-21.

²²⁰ *Johannem*] *Joannem suum*, A.

²²¹ John 2.11.

²²² *hominem*] *fidelem*, B, C.

²²³ *Brithredum*] *Brithredum*, A; *Brihredum*, B.

²²⁴ *in*] om. C.

²²⁵ *perfecisti . . . tuam*] *praefecisti in servitute tua*, A; *profecisti servitute tua*, B.

²²⁶ *affluentia*] *affluenter*, A.

²²⁷ *sanctitatisque . . . virtute*] *sanctitateque Sancti laetificati*, A.

²²⁸ In A there is no heading, and this chapter is placed at the end of chapter VIII. The heading in B is: *De balneo sancti Johannis apud Beverlacum ubi vinum indivisum stabat vase tamen per medium fracto*.

²²⁹ *Brithunus*] *ille*, A.

²³⁰ *Beverlicense*] *Beverlacense*, A.

²³¹ *Dei*] *Domini*, C.

²³² *Dei*] *Domini*, B, C.

²³³ *tum quoque*] om. A.

constiterit²³⁴ hic suus magnus tyro.²³⁵ Paraverat idem venerabilis abbas balneum jam defesso ex instanti senio præsuli, ut tam ipse quam sui secretius possent ablui.²³⁶ Quo, post longius protractas ex more suo psalmodiarum et orationum celebrationes, abluto, postulat abbas ut cellarium ingrediatur, et quæ Deus ibi in usibus²³⁷ servorum suorum præstiterat, benedicere dignaretur.²³⁸ Quibus ad votum abbatis impletis, fessus senex consedit: quem abbas humiliter consulit, utrum post balneum aliquantulum vini degustare velit. At ille placido vultu dicit sibi placere, si ad manum sibi posset²³⁹ venire. Detulerat autem pridie quidam mercator²⁴⁰ a civitate eidem abbati flaschonem vini; quem lætus suscipiens, in cellario reponi jusserat ad opus ejusdem sanctissimi viri.

Accersitur Brichredus²⁴¹ pincerna, jubeturque ut vinum propinet episcopo in vitrea phiala. Qui dum festinus²⁴² paret jubenti, properantius²⁴³ agens ex affectu obsequii, incautius reliquit²⁴⁴ dependentem in pariete prædictum flasconem vini: qui altius²⁴⁵ corruens, per medium finditur,²⁴⁶ ita ut in duabus partibus²⁴⁷ divideretur. Sed quia is, cui potus ille servabatur,²⁴⁸ vas electæ integritatis Deo erat, ei nimirum²⁴⁹ ipse Deus potum illum in partibus vasis divisi conservabat.²⁵⁰ Nam hinc inde semota pars a parte stabat, vinumque in se quasi congelatum liquorem vel sectam²⁵¹ crystallum continebat. Ad²⁵² ruentis sonitum²⁵³ permotus idem pincerna Brithredus²⁵⁴ currit interius,²⁵⁵ invenitque quod ibi²⁵⁶ actum erat divinitus. Sed quia hujus rei relationem ingratam sciebat ei cujus agebatur meritis, accersitum quendam fratrem, Plechelmum nomine, introducit ad visionem rei inconsuetæ²⁵⁷ et mirabilis, ut testimonium haberet in tempore relationis. Suscipiunt ergo illud in alio vase, gratias agentes Deo, qui talia operatur in Sancto Johanne complacito vase inhabitationis sôuæ.

²³⁴ *constiterit*] *extiterit*, A.

²³⁵ *tyro*] *servus*, A.

²³⁶ *ut tam . . . ablui*] om. A.

²³⁷ *usibus*] *usus*, A.

²³⁸ *dignaretur*] *dignetur*, B, C.

²³⁹ *sibi posset*] *venire*, A.

²⁴⁰ *mercator*] *mercatorum*, B, C.

²⁴¹ *Brichredus*] *Brithredus*, A; *Brihtredus*, B.

²⁴² *festinus*] *festinis*, B.

²⁴³ *properantius*] *properans*, B.

²⁴⁴ *reliquit*] *reliquo*, C.

²⁴⁵ *altius*] *ex alto*, A.

²⁴⁶ *finditur*] *rumpitur*, A; *funditur*, B.

²⁴⁷ *duabus partibus*] *duas partes*, A.

²⁴⁸ *servabatur*] *servebatur*, B.

²⁴⁹ *ei nimirum*] *nil mirum quod*, A.

²⁵⁰ *divisi conservabat*] *divisis conservaret*, A.

²⁵¹ *sectam*] *solidam*, A; *sectum*, B.

²⁵² *Ad*] *a cujus*, A, B.

²⁵³ *sonitum*] *sonitu*, A, B.

²⁵⁴ *Brithredus*] *Brihtredus*, B.

²⁵⁵ *interius*] *intro*, A.

²⁵⁶ *ibi*] om. B.

²⁵⁷ *inconsuetæ*] *insuetæ*, A, B.

Capitulum XI

*De Spiritu Sancto super Sanctum orantem in specie columbæ viso, et de diacono pro visione multato pœna, et iterum a Sancto curato.*²⁵⁸

Audite, quæso, adhuc Dominum in exemplo sui mirificantem Johannem suum, exhibentemque novum sanctitatis ejus indicium. Siquando in metropoli Eboraco,²⁵⁹ archiepiscopatus scilicet sui sede, eum contigisset morari, amplectabatur valde basilicam Sancti Michælis Archangeli, ibique excubias celebrabat solliciti operis:²⁶⁰ contigua enim erat suæ mansioni. Unde accidit quadam vice ut eo latenter agente inibi illas orationes suas, visibiliter cernendum²⁶¹ se in specie candentis columbæ illi præberet Spiritus Sancti majestas, flammeo splendore corusca, supra caput orantis episcopi sedis suæ gloriam²⁶² dignata.

Deus æterne et benignissime, de quam mundo corde processerunt orationes illæ, quæ Sancti Spiritus præsentiam obtinuerunt; illam, inquam, eandem, quæ in Jesu Filio Dei baptizato apparuit in Jordane!²⁶³ Quam placitæ conscenderunt²⁶⁴ in²⁶⁵ conspectu²⁶⁶ divinitatis, fidelibus etiam perlata internuntiis, quæ tantum referunt effectum virtutis! Irradiat²⁶⁷ ergo per quæque foramina²⁶⁸ basilicæ illa immensa claritas majestatis inclusæ, ac si relicto æthere sol illuc²⁶⁹ commigrasset, splendoremque suum in ejus loci angustias inclusisset. Utque rei veritatem digna prosequamur laudum novitate, vere includebatur ibi sol justitiæ,²⁷⁰ in suo inclusus Johanne, illuminans eum gratia Spiritus Sancti,²⁷¹ nec eum ullo errore permittens obtenebrari.

Cuncti hoc videntes stupent, ut de re insolita, miranturque quæ esse possint²⁷² illa luminaria, unde tot lucis radii tanto elucerent²⁷³ splendore, tantaque emicarent claritate.

Accessit tandem Sigga ejus diaconus, pessuloque soluto ostium aperuit,²⁷⁴ participatque gloriam visionis. Videt sanctum pontificem, intentis in cælum luminibus, erectisque manibus, in conspectu Dei effundentem sicut aquam animam suam,²⁷⁵ et in capite ejus columbam super nivem candidam. Cujus viso candenti splendore, diaconus velut decoctus, facie contracta in

²⁵⁸ There is no heading in A. The heading in B is: *De apparitione spiritus sancti beato Johanni in porticu sancti Michælis in ecclesia ebor' et de Sigga diacono eius.*

²⁵⁹ Eboraco] Eboraca, B.

²⁶⁰ solliciti operis] soliti operis sui, A; soliti operis, B sui, ins. C.

²⁶¹ cernendum] cernendam, A, B.

²⁶² gloriam] the editor of A has inserted [ponere], and I have followed this in translation.

²⁶³ Matthew 3.16.

²⁶⁴ conscenderunt] ascenderunt, A.

²⁶⁵ in] om. B. In C this has been added in the margin.

²⁶⁶ conspectu] conspectum, A, B.

²⁶⁷ irradiat] Eradiat, B.

²⁶⁸ foramina] et fenestras, ins. A, B.

²⁶⁹ illuc] ibi, B, C.

²⁷⁰ justitiæ] Deus, ins. A, B.

²⁷¹ Sancti] Sui, B.

²⁷² possint] possent, C.

²⁷³ elucerent] lucerent, A; illucerent, B.

²⁷⁴ aperuit] aperit, A; apit, B.

²⁷⁵ Lamentations 2.19.

rugam²⁷⁶ tota cute pœnas excepit temeritatis illatæ. Sensit sanctus Dei diaconum participem visionis; et quamvis irritatus, habitum tamen non exuit²⁷⁷ mansuetæ intentionis. Accitum ergo ad se tactu emaculat dexteræ, compositaque in pristinum decorem²⁷⁸ facie obsecrat, protestatur, adjurat, ne, quoad ipse in hac vita viveret, visionem illam alicui mortalium detegeret.

Audistis Dominum Jesum, gloriam divinitatis suæ ostensam in monte²⁷⁹ Petro,²⁸⁰ Jacobo et Johanni, descendentibus illis commendantem taciturnitatem, donec Filius Hominis²⁸¹ resurrectione sua mortem calcaret, et vitam mortuis repararet.²⁸² Videtis et hic Johannem imitatore Domini sui, testem divinæ glorificationis suæ quasi mercede conducere, precibus alligare, ut visa conticeret, dum²⁸³ hoc mortale exueret, et beatæ immortalitatis gloriam indueret. Dubitandum ergo non est, quin²⁸⁴ hic sanctus Dei magnæ puritatis fuerit in conspectu Dei in cælis, qui tantæ claritatis compos factus sit coram hominibus in terris.

Capitulum XII

*De quodam mortuo a Sancto Johanne crismate linito et resuscitato.*²⁸⁵

²⁸⁶Igitur dum²⁸⁷ quadam die ad²⁸⁸ episcopum multa conveniret turba, ut sacri crismatis unctionem acciperent,²⁸⁹ quendam juvenem mortuum inter alios sacri crismatis unctione linivit, sicque²⁹⁰ de morte ad vitam reduxit.

O beatum pontificem mirabili præditum virtute, qui dum defunctum perungit crismate, illum ad statum reducit vitæ! Cælum quidem pia prece, manu corpus tangit exanime, et animam, quæ fuit egressa de corpore, ad statum reduxit præsentis vitæ.²⁹¹

²⁷⁶ rugam] rugas, A. I have followed A in translation.

²⁷⁷ exuit] exit, B.

²⁷⁸ decorem] statum, C.

²⁷⁹ monte] montem, B.

²⁸⁰ Petro] et, ins. B.

²⁸¹ Hominis] Johannis, B.

²⁸² Matthew 17.9.

²⁸³ dum] donec, A.

²⁸⁴ quin] quod, B, C.

²⁸⁵ The heading in B is: *De Sancto Wilfrido archiepiscopus quem Sanctus Johannes cum synodali consilio Haugustudunesis ecclesie pontificem ordinavit.* The following is inserted before the first paragraph: *Postquam igitur beatus Wilfridus episcopus qui longo tempore ab episcopatu suo ejectus fuit a romano consilio et a dompno papa agathone epistola accepta in patriam revenit et episcopatum Haugustaldensis ecclesie cum synodali consilio recepit; et sanctus iohannes in Eboracensi civitate episcopatum accepit et annis viginti tribus nobiliter tenuit.*

²⁸⁶ The following is inserted in A before this paragraph: *Multa quidem et alia signa per eundem Dominus operatus est. Quotquot enim vestimentum ejus cum fide tangebant, omnium infirmitatum suarum celerem sibi sanitatem advenisse gaudebant.*

²⁸⁷ Igitur dum] Dum autem, A.

²⁸⁸ ad] Sanctum Joannem, ins. A.

²⁸⁹ acciperent] acciperet, A, B.

²⁹⁰ sicque] et sic, A.

²⁹¹ This paragraph is omitted from A, B.

Similiter et dæmonem ab homine²⁹² expulit; insanos etiam et infirmos semper sanavit ubicunque invenit; et quotquot ejus vestimentum cum fide tangebant,²⁹³ celerem sibi sanitatem advenisse gaudebant;²⁹⁴ sed et tempestatum habebat potestatem per Spiritus Sancti vigorem.²⁹⁵

Capitulum XIII

*De obitu Sancti Johannis.*²⁹⁶

Vixit autem²⁹⁷ in episcopatu triginta²⁹⁸ tribus annis, et²⁹⁹ octo mensibus, et tredecim diebus; et postea,³⁰⁰ cum jam episcopatum³⁰¹ circuire non poterat,³⁰² suo sacerdoti Wilfrido, cum totius populi electione, pontificatum commisit Eboracensem; et ipse³⁰³ cum concilio Sancti Bricthuni,³⁰⁴ abbatis sui, Beverlic³⁰⁵ petiit; ibique³⁰⁶ diu in Dei servitute persistens, nonas³⁰⁷ Maii vitam feliciter finivit,³⁰⁸ sepultusque³⁰⁹ in porticu Sancti Joannis Evangelistæ;³¹⁰ ubi³¹¹ per ejus merita³¹² infirmi sanantur, dæmones effugantur, cæci illuminantur, surdis aures reserantur, mutis verba reparantur, claudis vestigia condonantur, cuncta genera dolorum³¹³ effugantur; ejusque³¹⁴ interventu crimina nostra deleantur, et gaudia cælica concedantur, præstante illo, cui condita³¹⁵ cuncta famulantur.

Explicit Vita Sancti Johannis archiepiscopi

*Incipiunt Miracula ejusdem*³¹⁶

²⁹² homine] quodam, ins. A, B.

²⁹³ Matthew 9.21.

²⁹⁴ et quotquot . . . gaudebant] om. A.

²⁹⁵ In B the following is inserted after this paragraph: *Multa quadam et alia signa per eum dominus operatus est in vita sua et post mortem mira copiosa ut de illo veraciter dici possit illud sapientis. Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua monstra fecit et in morte sua operatus est mirabilia. Ipseque episcopus omnes ad se venientes ad viam veritatis assiduis monitis convertit et pro grege sibi commisso omnique populo Christiano vigiter(vigilanter?) sine intermissione oravit.* In both A. and B. another chapter has been interpolated here - see Appendix 7.

²⁹⁶ There is no heading in A. The heading in B is: *Qualiter Sanctus Iohannes de hic vita migravit ad Christum.*

²⁹⁷ autem] Sanctus Iohannes, ins. B.

²⁹⁸ Vixit autem in episcopatu] Mansit autem in Episcopatu hic Christi athleta Joannes, A.

²⁹⁹ et] om. A.

³⁰⁰ postea] om. B.

³⁰¹ episcopatum] præ majore senectute, ins. A.

³⁰² poterat] posset, A.

³⁰³ et ipse] ipseque, C.

³⁰⁴ Bricthuni] Brithuni, A.

³⁰⁵ Beverlic] Beverlacum, A.

³⁰⁶ ibique] et ibi, A.

³⁰⁷ nonas] nonis, A.

³⁰⁸ finivit] et sic ad cælestia regna conscendens, ins. A.

³⁰⁹ sepultusque] sepultus est, A.

³¹⁰ Evangelistæ] in monasterio suo, anno ab Incarnatione Domini septingentesimo vicesimo primo. In eodem autem loco ubi sepultus est, ins. A.

³¹¹ ubi] om. A.

³¹² et postea, cum jam episcopatum . . . per ejus merita] om. B. Inserted in its place is: *'Et cum ad ultimam usque senectutem ecclesiam eboracensem gloriosis sive rexisset et ad ministrando archiepiscopatu minus sufficeret electo et ordinato pro se cum totius cleri et populi unanimitate ad sedem eboracensis ecclesie Wilfrido iuniori presbitero suo ipse cum consilio fratri Beati Brithuni abbatis ad monasterium suum quod apud Beverlacum fundaverat secessit. Ibique quatuor annis in angelica vita conversatione degens miraculorum gratia insignis vitam in pace feliciter terminavit. Anno ab incarnatione Domini septingentesimo vicessimo primo sepultus qui est in porticu Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ ubi postea per ejus merita multa miracula peracta sunt.'*

³¹³ cuncta genera dolorum] genera dolorum cuncta, B, C.

³¹⁴ ejusque] suoque, B. & C.

³¹⁵ condita] om. A.

³¹⁶ In A and B the miracles in Appendix 7A, Nos. 1, 2, 3 follow on.

APPENDIX 1B

LIFE OF SAINT JOHN, BISHOP OF YORK

AUTHOR

FOLCARD

Here begins the Prologue to the Life of St John the archbishop.

To his lord in Christ, most worthy of all reverence, blessed lamp of the metropolitan church of York, and a light shining in a dark place, Ealdred archbishop of the English people, brother Folcard, the least of his devoted servants, gives greeting with faithful obedience.

In submitting to the command of your divine ministry, my most reverent father and lord, this insignificant self must remember not only long-standing friendship and frequent favours, but also (which is more important than these things) your authority, whereby you are God's anointed among men. Supported by so great a claim as the gift of grace, you of course have the weight of command, which also means that the penalty for resisting you is far more grave. And since these things persuade my insignificant self to submit to your command, his feast day which will be celebrated by you tomorrow in the faithful service of commemoration especially comes to mind.

When the sea of my storm-tossed community was troubled, and almost all the dearest children of the monastery were grieving that the one who had the role of shepherd and physician had sought from me, his weak lamb, not retribution for a sin but the old penalty for a domestic hatred; and when my brother monks tried, with all their strength and might, to protect a fellow sheep, oh sorrow, from the all too domestic wolf who was attacking, he falsely acquired secular power and plunged the outcast from the monastic ship into the waves of the sea. And when the waves were rushing and tumbling together, when nothing less than destruction threatened and there was no hope of survival, at length this woman, like the star of the sea,¹ shone with a kindly light, and took her shipwrecked man into the haven of her compassion. And since she pitied the pains of the still open and recent wounds, with a maternal escort she sent him to you, as though to a skilful physician, to be looked after and comforted for a time. Being faithful to God, the woman had, of course, followed the example of that divine Samaritan who, feeling pity, approached a man who had been wounded by robbers and neglected by a priest and a Levite. He bathed the wounded man with wine, he massaged him with oil, he conscientiously bound up

¹ 'Stella Maris' is a title given to the Virgin Mary, and is defined in the *OED* as 'protectress, a guiding spirit'.

his wounds, he entrusted the sick man to an innkeeper with the promise of payment.² And so that all future generations should know of so much goodness, I say this woman is the queen, whose fine qualities could not be described by the eloquence of even the most accomplished orator. Consequently, we believe her to have been joined to the king's side by divine decree so that the great skill of her attentive diligence should benefit the present realm.

However, let me return to the previous matter. Through your care and treatment, my most beloved father, the wounds have indeed been staunched, but I dread the hidden treacherous darts of certain malicious people nearby. Nevertheless, I breathe freely, having been placed under your protection through the recommendation of such a great patroness. Nor, by the grace of God, should it be feared, with you as our protector, or rather guide, that any storm, however menacing and treacherous, would overwhelm us. For I will always place my trust in the supreme grace of God, in the shadow of your wings, until the calamities of all treacherous attacks should pass.³ But enough of this. Because of this obligation, now let my writing turn to the burden of your command, which will first mention briefly, in due order, through what improvements of divine service the holy church of York cast off its former lack of sophistication during your time in office and, in praising God, grew decently in its immature new state, having been admonished by your teachings. I would say that it is a divinely inspired magnification of your crown that the clergy, having been divested of the secular clothing which it had worn improperly up until now, celebrates the praises of God in nuptial vestments, and attends the assembly of the synod in ankle-length tunics; and also, the clergy carries out the work of mercy in alms, which has been overly neglected, and in the washing of the poor, and that you have impressed upon them the remembrance of the faithful departed through constant services of commendation. I say this, not so that I may toss a noose of flattery to you, but rather (if it has to be said by me) so that I may inspire you to such things which you know that you assuredly owe to God, because of the burden and attendant dignity of the office which you have taken up.

In this you are also proving yourself a worthy successor of the holy preceding bishops of your see, when you devote yourself diligently to celebrating their deeds and lives, and commemorating them in written records. Whence it happened that when, at your command, I had composed, to the best of my poor ability, the responsaries of St John, you ordained that my pen be turned towards beginning his life. Which work, the more it is recognized as being difficult and hard so, without doubt, the more famous it will become. Therefore, in the name of the Lord, pull your oars, spread your sails, commit our voyage to God. By this attaching of his favour to your prayers, reaching the shore, we will happily set foot on the sand of the safe

² Luke 10.30-5.

³ Psalm 56.2.

beach, resisting the attacks of the barking dogs of the sea who, the more they raise their hackles in barking, the more nature betrays them to be the feebler.

Here ends the Prologue. Here begins the Life of St John Archbishop of York.

Chapter 1

The eternal compassion of a merciful God, giving succour to a fallen world through his Incarnate Son, destroyed the former judgement of human damnation so that, just as we became the sons of death and hell through Adam sinning, so we were restored as the sons of life to the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom through Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God and the Virgin. Through Christ reigning together with him in heaven, and men living together on earth, God unlocked the mysteries of his scheme. In what great compassion did God decide to save the sons of men, since he delivered up his only son unto death to restore them to life. For, having endured the injustice of violence inflicted [upon him], he applied the principle of mercy to those that despised him so that wherever sin abounded, more copious examples of his mercy would superabound.⁴ And so, since his disciples, our teachers, had been strengthened in the doctrine of divine precepts, he designated almost the whole world under the name Christian, from his name; and their words have penetrated to the limits and corners of the world; whence also the faith came to be known by all languages. As it was passed on by the faithful report of the fathers, since the whole of Gaul had been illuminated by faith long since, the word of God was carried rather late to this island of Britain. Since it followed the example of that older son of the Gospel who at first resisted his father's orders, but afterwards, guided by repentance, stood firm even more zealously in tending the fruits of his father's vineyard,⁵ it began to advance even more devotedly in the religion it had received, the later it saw itself to have arrived at the faith of Christ.

Then merciful goodness began to produce the sweet fruits of the fig tree in spiny plants, to multiply fine clusters of fruits in the bramble bush, and to make fruitful the stock of his new race with the offspring of his blessed sons. Accordingly, amongst the other lamps of Britain which God had lit very brightly, which in those days had been brought by divine agency to drive away ancient errors, this blessed boy John shone forth, just like the morning star. From the time he was baptized into the grace of Christ, a glorious soldier of God, he continued resolutely in the service of Christ right to the end. To begin with he placed his hand under the rod of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, through whose teachings, since he had been meticulously instructed by the finest teacher, he rose to the topmost pinnacle of philosophical

⁴ Romans 5.20.

⁵ Matthew 21.28-9.

thought. Summoned on account of this excellence, he was retained in the monastery of Whitby for quite some time by Abbess Hilda. But since merciful God did not permit so much light to be shut up in a small place, he withdrew the light from the middle of the hiding place, and placed it upon a candelabrum so that it might give light to those entering into his house.⁶

Chapter 2

About the preaching and teaching of St John before his episcopate.

Then, having been forcibly reminded by brotherly love, he left that place and began to preach the word of God to the still ignorant English people. Moreover, amply endowed by divine largesse, he was an eloquent rhetorician. Also, the holy life provided suitable support for his assiduous preaching, since the model of behaviour he, himself, presented did not in any way depart from the rule of life which he had studied. Furthermore, the goodness of God attended the goodness of his word, and through him all the weak were restored to health, so that Christ's promise was strengthened in this, his faithful servant. 'Mark,' he said, 'the works that I do you shall do also, and greater works than these you shall do'.⁷ Moreover, having been enriched by so much of God's grace, in various ways he multiplied at interest the talent he had received from his Lord,⁸ so that he should enter into the joy of his Lord in [his] happy calling.

Indeed, having been imbued with a rich abundance of learning, he pressed on with skilful attention in teaching his pupils, amongst whom Bede, who is famous among the teachers of the church, he embraced with dear affection for the force of his power of comprehension. Having followed him, having been amply instructed by so great a teacher, the industrious beginner shone forth a great man, both from the Gospels which he had expounded, and in historical writings; and in very precise calculations of times of the year and chronology, he cleared away the ancestral ignorance of the people of Britain, and he caused the excellence of his writings to be renowned by acquiring the approval of the Roman see. And what is greater than these things, having preserved his chastity, he ceaselessly devoted himself to be pleasing to God, so that, with the saint, he might be holy and might remain in [his] choice of the condition of disciple of Christ with his chosen master, the most holy John. Afterwards this Bede, whom [John] had delivered up to God from the first ranks of holy orders, he advanced to the dignity of the priesthood with certain other worthy men of his rule, as representatives to God, so that they might cleave as extremely tenaciously to Christ their grapevine, as their vine was extremely tightly embraced. However, because we must record some of those relevant facts of the rest of his life, let us return to relating the deeds of the story we have begun.

⁶ Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 11.33.

⁷ John 14.12.

⁸ Matthew 25.14-30.

Chapter 3

About the time of his election to the episcopate.

When the renowned King Aldred of the English people was reigning, and when Bishop Eata, a man of good life, had died, with everyone's earnestly imploring prayers, John, beloved of God, God's almighty will most certainly bringing it about, succeeded to his bishopric; the apostolic shepherd, with the authority of the pontificate, mounting the master's throne as a reward for his life, a worthy leader of the church and experienced in the law. Afterwards blessed Bishop Wilfrid, who had been expelled from his episcopate for a long time, returned to his homeland having received a letter from the Roman assembly and the Lord Pope, and regained the bishopric of the church of Hexham with the resolution of the synod, and held it splendidly for thirty-three years.⁹

Chapter 4

How he gave speech to someone who was mute from birth, and he cured this same person of his diseased head, which was covered with ringworm.

Since he was first anointed in Christ the Lord, he increased his works of mercy and faith, which were unquestionably appropriate to such a great order and divine worthiness. Although we cannot recount all these works, because there are so many of them, at least let us prepare to give an account of some of those we have learnt, to the honour and glory of the Lord, because they were reported by truthful witnesses, and in particular by blessed Berthun, who was first his deacon, and afterwards, through [John's] gift and consecration, ruled as a most worthy abbot over the monastery which [John] had founded, which was called Beverley.

This same beloved bishop had dedicated a church to God in honour of St Michael the Archangel, in a village called *Herneshou*, not far from the flowing torrent of the river Tyne. Here, very often, and especially in Lent, because the place was fairly remote from the common crowd, St John remained in fasting and prayer, and attentive to the dispensing of alms. When on one occasion, as was his usual custom, he had ordered a crowd of poor men in need of consolation to be fetched, some form of a wretched man came together with them. He was both dumb from birth, and so very loathsome, with a ghastly repulsiveness of the head, since the whole crown of his head had been infested by ringworm; he bristled because the hairs were thinly spaced and like the coarse hairs of pigs. The holy bishop knew him well, because he had often seen him at his almsgiving amongst other paupers. So at length, as such an appearance of misery was very deeply moving, it very gently touched the soul beloved to God. Having laid on

⁹ See Appendix 1A, n.86 re the corruption of this chapter. According to A, the last sentence should read, '... with the resolution of the synod, and Saint John was appointed bishop in the city of York, and held [it] splendidly for thirty-three years'.

his hand, as he was most generous, he took hold of the pauper by the chin, he spoke kindly, and in the name of the Lord he commanded him to speak. The bishop led the way by speaking certain letters and words; the man who was dumb, the function of his tongue having been loosened, followed after by speaking in accordance with the bishop's voice. And finally, after the words, he gradually tackled the sentences of speech, just as the holiness of the bishop demanded. Also that dreadful disease of his head was banished from him, and [his head] was covered with a curly black mop of hair. And so, the remaining paupers having been consoled by food alone, he returned having been enriched through the merit of St John with many times as much wealth of God's mercy.

Chapter 5

How he cured a nun of a very great swelling of the arm and a most dangerous illness.

Another time, when he went on a journey, he came to a village called Watton where, at that time, there was a monastery of Christ's nuns over which an abbess called Hereburg presided, a woman full of faith who, together with her daughters in Christ, was extremely joyful because of the arrival of the man of God. At once the devout mother announced sorrowfully, lamenting to the holy bishop, that one of the nuns was afflicted with a grievous bodily illness and there was no hope of her living. She humbly begged that he deign to visit her, and said she strongly believed in the mercy of God and his merits, that she would greatly improve as a result of the laying on of his hands. The blessed bishop inquired after the cause of the illness and learned from the abbess that she had been bled on the fourth day of the moon and, the condition of her body having been disrupted, her arm became woefully swollen. When he learned this, he protested that it had been done very unwisely and recalled that he had heard from the blessed Archbishop Theodore, his master, when he was a boy and his pupil, that it was extremely dangerous to bleed [someone] on the fourth day of the moon, and it was not proper to carry out treatments of this kind in the earlier period of the waxing moon, or near the time of the rushing tide of the flowing sea. At last, overcome by the weeping and prayers of the mournful abbess and nuns, he entered the bedchamber of the sick woman, and when he saw the excessive swelling of her arm he made the sign of the cross and very earnestly offered incense of pure prayer to God, and having offered solace to the recumbent nun he left the room. But the powerful blessing remained with the languishing woman, and all the swelling receded with the receding bishop. Scarcely had the saint sat down to his meal when Hereburg (as she was called) sent her messenger to his deacon, Berthun, requesting that he speak with her. Because a blessing had been asked of the bishop, when he went to her he found her already healed, and she said that the cure had come to her through the prayer of the bishop. After this she lived healthy for a long time, joyfully repeating the cure brought to her by the blessed bishop.

Chapter 6

About a married woman whom he cured when he had been invited to dine.

Also when this bishop, who was chosen by God, was invited to dedicate the church of the estate called South Burton, as he was an enthusiastic executor of his duty, he agreed and dedicated it, and when everything had been carried out according to custom he wanted to go back to his monastery. However, the estate owner who had invited him, with very humble entreaties, joined by his family, insisted that he enter his house and indulge him by deigning to accept dinner. Whereupon John, the holy man of God, said to him that it was more fitting that a bishop should return to his monastery and serve God through his poor, rather than be feasted in the homes of wealthy people. The host promised a great many alms subject to this favour, and, having been especially persuaded by blessed Berthun promising the same thing, at last St John acquiesced to the insistent men.

Now the woman, the wife of the man who had invited him, was suffering from a serious disease of the body, with the result that she had lain dangerously ill in bed for more than three weeks. When he learned this, the man of God, a true physician of souls and bodies, ordered some of the water consecrated for the church dedication to be taken to her and to be poured where the pain of the disease was worst. When this had been done, suddenly all the disease disappeared and she was restored to the renewed vigour of health. The woman immediately arose, got dressed and, going in, sought a blessing, and happily served those who were dining. And everyone learned that such great health had been bestowed on her that, as a faithful cupbearer serving the holy priest and those sitting drinking with him, she did not once remain sitting so that she might rest. I beg you, see here fulfilled in St John that which Christ promised to his disciples: the works which I do, you also will do'.¹⁰ Our Lord entered the house, came upon Peter's mother-in-law sick with a fever, drove away the fever, and enjoined her to minister to him.¹¹ Both of them performed one and the same deed; but there the Lord acted without a servant; here, truly, the faithful and prudent servant acted through the Lord and with the Lord.

Chapter 7

About a sick man whom he cured by prayer when he was invited to dedicate a church.

Furthermore, the Lord made his servant, John, famous through a similar work when he was invited to consecrate a newly built church by a rich man called Adam. Here was one of the rich man's servants, extremely dear and useful to him, who had been brought to such a stage through a dangerous illness that a coffin had been put in position beside the bed-ridden man, cloths had

¹⁰ John 14.12.

¹¹ Matthew 8.14-5.

been made ready, and those things which were needed for a funeral were at hand in the presence of the sick man. Here again, that man of God, our physician, who was to fight the grievous pressures with powerful remedies, was invited, and when he saw the customary funeral preparations for the weak man, the great petitioner became completely absorbed in prayer. When he had obtained the things he had asked for, he turned to the dead man and told him to get well quickly and to get up, and soon he left. When death had been driven off and the man restored to life, he remained confused for a while as to whether he was the same man. As the flesh had been restored to life, it began to need sustenance; he sent to his master who was dining, and asked that something be sent to him to drink. Everyone rejoiced that he whose funeral they had been worrying about a little time before was asking to have a drink. At once the renowned priest stretched out a cup of wine and bid that his thirsty man be revived thereafter. When he had drunk this, he was dressed in the robes he had been given, and went in to those dining, and because he had not eaten now for a long time he said he felt hungry and asked for food. You would have seen all the guests solemnly rejoice for their companion who had been restored to life; venerate the holy man of God famous for so much virtue on earth; without doubt praise God who performs such works through his John with gracious favour.

Chapter 8

About abbot Herebald who, because of disobedience, fell from his horse, his body and head were crushed, and he was cured with prayers by the man of God.

He also had another witness of the signs which gracious God revealed through him, namely Herebald, abbot of Tynemouth monastery, who was his disciple from boyhood and had been given instruction in learning, and remained an inseparable follower. This man often used to testify that he had learned, and also particularly on his very own account, that this St John truly led a most holy life. Among other benefits conferred on many invalids, he brought him, himself, back from the dead, and restored him to immediate health. He used to say that once, when this beloved man of God was accompanied by members of his household, they happened to arrive at a pleasant stretch of level road. The young men, delighted by the welcome smooth surface, begged their master that they be allowed to try out their horses in that open space of level ground, in accordance with military custom. Considering this to be foolish he refused at first but, in the end, because they begged insistently, he said, 'Go on, please yourselves, but let Herebald stay with me.' Hearing this, Herebald began to be dejected in a childish foolish way, because he wanted to try out the horse he was riding, which had just recently been given to him by the bishop. No-one could get this granted by the bishop. Therefore at last, when all the plain reverberated with the noise of the horses galloping with loose reins, Herebald, as if reluctant, and as if he was unable to restrain his excited horse, with the bishop protesting, he charged away and with loose reins urged the flying horse on to a gallop. Herebald used to claim that he

just then heard the bishop shouting out behind his back: 'Wickedly,' he said, 'you are riding away from me and you have to learn in this way.' Scarcely had the threat of the saintly man been concluded when Herebald's horse tumbled over and, thrown onto a huge stone, Herebald fell down in a headlong plunge. He suffered a fractured skull, was damaged internally, and was punished with a maimed hand and thumb. As everyone was worried about him they came galloping; they leapt to the ground from their abandoned horses: but he who was crushed seemed to be insensible rather than conscious; he was thought more likely to die than to live. A tent was erected over the dying man, and for his sake every space on the whole field was taken for shelter. Everyone was sorry for having galloped, but they did not know what God himself had decreed about the accident.

The holy man of God especially grieved over the fall of his beloved disciple and, having arranged his bags, he spent a sleepless night in the tent, and with prayers and tears he importuned our gracious Lord to be merciful to his disobedient servant. In the early morning he went in to the sick man. First he prayed over him, and then called him by name with sweet affection. Amazingly, although he had lain as if he were dead from one o'clock in the afternoon of the preceding day right up to that morning, called by the holy man of God, woken up as though from a heavy sleep, he opened his eyes and paid attention to the man of God. The holy doctor asked whether he knew who was talking to him, and soon the sick man replied in a tearful voice, 'You are,' he said, 'Bishop John, my most beloved master.' The bishop replied, 'Do you think that you can escape from this serious danger with your life?' 'I know and I believe,' he said, 'God will grant me this through your prayers.' What more? God's priest placed his hands upon the fractured skull, sprinkled holy water on the weak body; calling upon God and bending forwards he breathed on him, then made the sign of the cross, and God brought about an immediate cure. He himself, living for a long time after, very often repeated this, and when he was older, he became a most vigilant abbot in that place where the river Tyne flows into the sea, from which this place is called Tynemouth.

Chapter 9

About three jars filled with wine, mead and beer, which he blessed when Osred was king, and he rendered them inexhaustible.

Then the Lord glorified his servant John in the sight of kings, and in a council of nobles he revealed his glory and merit. Nobles of the realm assembled by royal edict, and this man of God also came with the others. And King Osred himself also attended, a religious and faithful man, and through joint discussions of the loyal men, decisions were made there about many things serving the public interest. For, in truth, crimes were remedied there, the laws of God were sanctioned, just laws of peace were confirmed, the possessions of churches and

monasteries were fortified by royal protection. When these things had been settled successfully, the Lord Archbishop John, by the grace of God both in name and service, invited the king to his table with his household. He kindly consented, as was proper and, accompanied by his nobles, taking his place at table, he sat down at the bishop's invitation and enjoyed himself with heavenly advice as well as with earthly food. When everyone had been abundantly refreshed, hear, I pray you, hear with earnest hearts about the divine act in this place. Understand, even here, the evangelical declaration: 'the works that I do, you also will do'.¹² 'Fill,' said St John to his cupbearers, 'Fill three jars, one with wine, another with mead, the third with beer.'

When these jars had been filled all the way to the brim John, who was blessed by the grace of God, blessed them with his stretched out hand and ordered them to be poured. The cupbearers poured from the free-flowing increase of the jars into the fruitful cups, and they returned repeatedly among the happy guests pouring out drink. They poured inexhaustibly, and there was no sign in the jars that they had poured out so many times, and [the jars] always overflowed all the way to the brim. The drink itself captivated the drinkers with the replenished nectar: they were amazed that that which they drank increased both in delicious sweetness of flavour and extraordinary heavenly profusion.

In the growing power of this drink recollect the wedding in Cana of Galilee, for there the host found his wine to be good.¹³ Moreover, in the overflowing of the jars, remember the Lord's banquet for more than five thousand people:¹⁴ consider in your hearts what his Lord performed through John. One reads that, having seen the sign, his disciples believed in Jesus.¹⁵ Here too, King Osred and his nobles learned from experience, having seen the sign, that the grace of God was in their John: and paying homage to the man of God, he called to him his steward, Brithred by name, and, happy with royal delight, said, 'You have carried out your service most satisfactorily, for we are refreshed both by the excellent drink and the miraculous abundance from your master, and having been made more certain of his holiness by the miraculous power we have seen, now we have to leave with his blessing'.

Chapter 10

About wine preserved intact through the merit of the saint, although the flask was broken.

The venerable Abbot Berthun, whom we mentioned above, also related that on one occasion John, this holy man of God, visited the monastery at Beverley for two pressing reasons: namely to remind God's community, which was living there in the service of God, of its salvation, and

¹² John 14.12.

¹³ John 2.1-10.

¹⁴ Matthew 14.17-21.

¹⁵ John 2.11.

that it would lack nothing in the management of its temporal property that would prevent it from applying itself to things divine. There, too, at that time, the generous largesse of God gave a clear sign with a declaration of how much purity there was in his great recruit. This same venerable abbot had prepared a room for bathing for the bishop, who was now exhausted because of pressing old age, so that both he and his followers could wash more privately. After the celebrations of singing psalms and prayers had gone on for a very long time according to his custom, when the bishop had washed, the abbot asked him to enter the store room and deign to bless those things which God had provided there for the use of his servants. When he had done this in accordance with the abbot's wish, the weary old man sat down; the abbot very humbly asked him whether he wished to taste a little wine after his bath. But with a calm face he said that he would like to if it could be brought to him. Moreover, on the previous day some merchant from the city had brought a flask of wine to the abbot, which he was happy to receive, and which he had ordered to be stored away in the cellar for the need of this very holy man.

Brithred, the steward, was summoned, and was told that he should serve the wine to the bishop in a glass dish. Since he hurriedly obeyed the order, acting very hastily out of eagerness to obey, he very incautiously left behind the aforesaid flask of wine hanging on the wall. Falling down from a great height, it was split open through the middle so that it was broken into two parts. But because he, for whom that drink was reserved, was a vessel of purity chosen for God, without doubt God himself preserved that drink for him in the fragments of the divided vessel. For one part was over here, the other part over there some distance away, yet it continued to retain the wine in itself as if it were frozen liquid or fragmented crystal. Dismayed at the sound of the falling flask, the steward Brithred ran inside and found what had been done there by divine agency. But because he knew that telling this tale would not be welcome to the one for whose merits it was done, he showed the unusual and marvellous thing to a brother by the name of Plechelmus, whom he had sent for, so that he would have proof when he told the story. So they put [the wine] into another vessel, giving thanks to God, who performs such things in St John, the chosen vessel of his indwelling.

Chapter 11

About the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, which was seen above the saint while he was praying, and about the deacon who was punished because of the vision, and then cured by the saint.

Hear about the Lord, I pray you, in an example of him further glorifying his John, and showing a new sign of his holiness. If ever he chanced to stay in the city of York, the metropolis of his see, he specially loved the church of St Michael the Archangel, and he diligently celebrated his offices there as it was near to his lodging. At one time it happened that, whilst privately

engaged in prayer there, the majesty of the Holy Spirit deigned to reveal itself to him visibly in the likeness of a shining white dove glittering with fiery radiance, and to set the glory of his throne above the head of the praying bishop.

Eternal and most benevolent God, from how pure a heart those prayers have proceeded which have gained the presence of the Holy Spirit; that same presence, I say, which appeared in Jesus, the baptized Son of God, in Jordan!¹⁶ How pleasing they [the prayers] rose in the sight of God, conveyed by faithful messengers, which announced so great a demonstration of virtue! Consequently that immense brilliance of confined majesty shone through every aperture of the church as if the sun, having forsaken the sky, had entered there and had enclosed its splendour in the confines of this place. And so that we should glorify the truth of the matter with worthy new praises, the sun of justice was truly enclosed there, enclosed in his John, illuminating him with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and not allowing him to be overshadowed by any sin.

Everyone who saw this was astonished by the strange event and wondered what those lamps could be from which so many rays of light shone forth with so much splendour and with so much brilliance.

At last Sigga, his deacon, approached and, having drawn the bolt, opened the door and beheld the glory of the vision. He saw the holy bishop, his eyes and hands uplifted to heaven, pouring forth his soul just like water in the sight of God,¹⁷ and on his head a dove more dazzling white than snow. At the sight of this radiant splendour, the deacon or rather “cooked one”,¹⁸ the whole skin of his face having contracted into wrinkles, received punishment for the recklessness he had shown. The holy man of God sensed the deacon participating in the vision, and even though he was moved to anger, nevertheless he did not cease his attitude of gentle concentration. Then he called the man to him and healed him with a touch of his right hand, and when the face had been restored to its previous appearance, the bishop entreated, he protested and begged that he would not reveal that vision to any mortal while he himself remained alive.

You have heard about the Lord Jesus, after the glory of his divinity was revealed to Peter, James and John on the mountain, committing those men to silence when they went back down, until such time that the Son of Man should defeat death by his resurrection, and should restore the dead to life.¹⁹ And you have seen here John, an imitator of his Lord, as if he were bribing the witness of his divine glorification, binding him with prayers that he should be silent about what

¹⁶ Matthew 3.16.

¹⁷ Lamentations 2.19.

¹⁸ In the Latin text this is a pun: ‘diaconus velut decoctus’.

¹⁹ Matthew 17.9.

he had seen until he should leave this mortal life and assume the glory of blessed immortality. There is no doubt that this saint of God was of great purity in the sight of God in heaven seeing that he was endowed with so much glory in the presence of men on earth.

Chapter 12

About a dead person anointed with chrism and revived by St John.

Then one day, when a great crowd of people assembled before the bishop in order to receive the ointment of the sacred chrism, among others he anointed a dead youth with the ointment, and thus brought him back to life from death.

O blessed bishop, endowed with extraordinary virtue, who by anointing a dead youth with chrism restored him to life! Indeed he touched heaven through devout prayer, he touched the dead body with his hand and brought back the soul which had departed from the body to the condition of the present life. Similarly he also expelled a demon from a man; yet again he always cured madmen and cripples wherever he went; and however many touched his clothing with faith,²⁰ rejoiced that swift health came to them; and what is more he had power over storms through the vigour of the Holy Spirit.²¹

Chapter 13

About the death of St John.

He lived in the episcopate for thirty-three years, eight months, and thirteen days, and afterwards, when he no longer sought to make the circuit of the episcopate, he committed the see of York, through the choice of its entire people, to his priest Wilfrid. With the advice of St Berthun, his abbot, he himself went to Beverley, and continuing there steadfastly for a long time in the service of God, he happily ended his life on the seventh of May, and was buried in the chapel of St John the Evangelist where, through his merits, cripples were cured, demons were banished, the blind were made to see, the deaf were made to hear, the mute were made to speak, the lame were made to walk, all kinds of ailments were put to flight; and our sins wiped out through his intervention, and celestial joys granted, through the intervention of him to whom all creation is subject.

Here ends the Life of St John the archbishop.

Here begins his Miracles²²

²⁰ Matthew 9.21.

²¹ In both A and B another chapter has been interpolated here - see Appendix 7, No. 3.

²² In A and B the miracles in Appendix 7, Nos. 1 and 2 follow.

APPENDIX 2A

**MIRACULA SANCTI JOHANNIS,
EBORACENSIS EPISCOPI.
AUCTORE, WILLELMO KECELLO**

Ex¹ multo tempore quædam Beati Joannis miracula, quæ præsens vidi, vel veridicis agnovi comprobata testibus, memoriæ desideraveram commendare; ex intimo cupiens tanti tamque beati patris miraculorum insignia circumquaque divulgari, ne sub modio tecta laterent,² vel temporum labilitate omnimodis incognita transirent. Timens vero ne præsumptionis arguerer, si coram sapientioribus ad sapientis officium qualiscunque dictator accederem, a diu desiderato retraxi manus officio. Sunt enim quamplures, qui reprehensionis jaculo simplicium facta confodiunt, et venenosæ³ detractionis invidia tabescentes, aliorum laudabiliter gestis derogare contendunt; ad redarguendam quorumlibet vitam satis curiosi, sed tamen ad sui correptionem desidiosi; ad blasphemiarum contumeliam prompti; alterius dicta nulla laude prosecuturi: in quorum consilio⁴ non veniat anima mea, et in cœtu illorum non sit gloria mea.⁵ Licet vero⁶ perorationis verba non habeam, quibus tanti patris facta Tulliano⁷ digna stylo commemorem; hinc debitæ servitutis obligatus obsequio, hinc mutuæ dilectionis non obsequium dare nolens⁸ imperio, vestræ benignitatis dispositionibus supplex obtempero. Existimo enim fraternæ⁹ caritatis¹⁰ dulcedinem ad hoc opusculum mihi maxime profuturam; cum minus doctum, ex¹¹ solo dilectionis instinctu ad scribendum compellitis; ad onus subeundum meam imbecillitatem discernitis, vestra quidem firmiter¹² sustentandum prudentia, et solerti proficiendum¹³ eloquentia.

Sed ne videar, si non obtemperavero, vestrum offendere dilectionis affectum; misericordia præeunte divina, et beatissimi Johannis, de quo sermo fiet, subsesquente gratia, injuncto caritatis vinculo, libens colla submitto. More itaque navigantium cymbam fragilem fluctibus

¹ The heading in A is: *Alia miracula, auctore Willelmo Kecello, Clerico Beverlacensi. Proæmium.* The chapter begins, *Dominis amicis suis, Christo præposito et magistro Jesu, Ethel. Et Thur., Willelmus B. Joannis clericorum minimus, salutem cum totius bonæ voluntatis affectu.* This chapter is not in B.

² Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 11.33.

³ *venenosæ*] *venelosæ*, C.

⁴ *consilio*] *consilium*, A.

⁵ Genesis 49.6.

⁶ *vero*] *rhetoricæ*, ins. A.

⁷ *Tulliano*] *Ciceroniano*, A. This is a reference to Tullius Cicero.

⁸ *nolens*] *volens*, A.

⁹ *fraternæ*] om. A.

¹⁰ *caritatis*] *vestræ*, ins. A.

¹¹ *ex*] om. A.

¹² *quidem firmiter*] *quadamtenus*, A.

¹³ *proficiendum*] *perficiendum*, A.

inducam; nec in¹⁴ sublime carbasa tendens, humili fultus¹⁵ remigio, juxta placata sulcabo littora; ne in altum prorumpens navicula, procellosi maris subruatur fluctibus, et incauta Charybdis¹⁶ absorbeatur voragine, quæ tutius sedato vehetur littoris in margine. Ne igitur humilitatis meæ devotioni¹⁷ desit¹⁸ adminiculum, egregius pater Johannes et clemens patronus noster, opus suum suo corroboret patrocínio, animumque scribentis æquo gubernet moderamine; et ne per devia vagando a tramite veritatis exorbitet, ipse docendo laboris adsit exordio; ipse regendo laudis suæ præconia concedat terminari fine gratuito.¹⁹ Si quid vero verborum meorum serie incompertum, vel plebeio²⁰ paratum stylo, amica²¹ senserit solertia; scriptoris²² insolentia, corporisque languor, cum non minima mentis, quibus graviter crucior,²³ excuset molestia; quem²⁴ citius deliniri spero largiflua viri Dei clementia, si ægrotantis mens et manus²⁵ pro posse laboraverit in illius propaganda laudis et exaltationis gloria.

Capitulum I

*Quomodo rex Edelstanus per merita et per auxilium Sancti Johannis regem Scotiæ ad deditionem cœgit.*²⁶

Regnante Adelstano rege Christianissimo, Edwardi Senioris filio, reliquiæ Danorum more suo nefandum contra eum erigunt caput, sed contriti sunt sub pedibus ejus, et redacti in pulverem. Rebellabant ei Norhanhymbri et Scoti, et fœdus quod cum eo pepigerant prævaricati sunt. Rex vero cum maximum congregasset exercitum, terra marique impios expugnaturus progreditur. Cum venisset autem in provincia Lindissæ, obviam habuit pauperum et mediocrium turbam non modicam. Sciscitanti unde venissent, respondent, ‘de Beverlaco,’ ubi ad visitandas Beati Johannis reliquias spe salutis advenerant. Quæsit rex si quem voti sui obtinuissent effectum. Et unus illorum, ‘Ego,’ inquit, ‘cæcus natus, ad sanctissimi viri corpus lumen cepi.’ et alter: ‘Ego, claudus ex utero matris, Sancti Johannis orationibus, ut ipse vides, sanus incedo.’ Audiens hæc et his similia rex Christianissimus, ‘Magnus est,’ inquit, ‘iste Johannes, et utile credo in hoc magno negotio, tanti viri nobis reconciliare gratiam, et auxilium impetrare. Quoniam igitur fas non est talem nos regni nostri invisitatum præterire patronum, procedat exercitus noster in via regia. Ego cum paucis sepulcrum ejus de quo tanta audio, ejus misericordiam invocaturus, adire curabo.’ Veniens deinde ad sancti tumulum rex illustrissimus,

¹⁴ in] om. A.

¹⁵ fultus] fretus, C.

¹⁶ Charybdis] caribdis, C. This is a whirlpool mentioned in Homer’s *Odyssey*, chapter 12. . For a translation and edition see Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. E. V. Rieu (Middlesex, 1985).

¹⁷ devotioni] devotione, A. divinum, ins. C.

¹⁸ desit] om. C.

¹⁹ terminari fine gratuito] fine terminare felici, A.

²⁰ plebeio] rudi, A.

²¹ amica] vestra, A.

²² scriptoris] scriptionis, A.

²³ crucior] afficior, A.

²⁴ quem] quam, A; que, C.

²⁵ et manus] om. A.

²⁶ This chapter is not in A in this form.

post excubias more patrio celebratas, post orationes corde supplici fusas, cum pavimentum devotissimis lacrymis profudisset, protractum e vagina cultellum sacris imposuit altaribus: ‘Ecce,’ inquit, ‘beatissime Johannes, sponsionis meae vadium ut, cum auxilio tuo subactis hostibus cum prosperitate rediero, digno illud pretio redimam, et, quoad vixero, tibi gratus et devotus existam.’ Revertitur deinde ad exercitum suum rex, et mox hostium fines potentur invadit. Et jam tempus advenerat praeliandi, cum praecedenti nocte rex oppressus somno Johannem sibi aspicit assistentem, et ut secure congredere hortantem, ‘Devotionem,’ inquit, ‘tuam quam circa sepulcrum meum exhibuisti gratanter amplectens, oravi pro te Deum meum, et exaudivit vocem meam. Observa igitur et audi vocem meam ut ambules in viis patrum tuorum, et inimicus ero inimicis tuis,²⁷ et affligentes te affligam, et custodiet te gratia Dei’. Hæc dicens disparuit. Mane autem facto, rex in hostes irruit, potitusque victoria, regem Scotiæ ad deditionem cœgit. Cumque situm terræ illius non parvo tempore explorasset, accepto obside regis filio, reversus est Eboracum. Inde tendens Beverlacum, cultellum suum multarum possessionum, maximæque libertatis largitione redemit.

Capitulum II

Quomodo quodam milite²⁸ qui pacem ecclesiæ Beverlaci infregerat Divinitus pœna multato, rex Willelmus timore correptus clericis ejusdem ecclesiæ convocatis benigne satisfecerit.²⁹

Postquam Anglorum regimen³⁰ Willelmo³¹ Normannorum Duci, militi quidem strenuissimo et egregio viro, volente vel permittente Dei dispositione, bello subjugatum est, devicto rege, et totius regni fere superatis primatibus et interfectis; potita³² victoria, princeps memoratus Angliæ adeptus est gubernacula; et, non multo post, evoluto temporis intervallo, a bonæ memoriæ Aldredo, venerabili Eboracæ metropoli³³ archipræsule, sceptro sublimatus regio, regni diadema suscepit. Hic³⁴ vigilanti cura³⁵ et militaris exercitii³⁶ studio, quo erat præditus, post bellici tumultus sævitiam reformandæ pacis laboribus insudavit, ut, restituto rege, et primoribus sibi pacificatis, pacificaretur et regnum; et totius patriæ populus, redintegrato pacis fœdere, unius principis subjugaretur imperio. Invidiosa vero venenosi serpentis instigante nequitia, quæ³⁷ destituendæ³⁸ pacis et concordiæ favoribus³⁹ suis vires a primordio callida subministravit

²⁷ Exodus 23.22.

²⁸ milite] mili, C.

²⁹ The heading in B is: *Quomodo Willelmus dux Normannorum civitatem Eboracensis cum adiacenti provincia gladio et flamma crudeliter devastavit.*

³⁰ regimen] regnum, A.

³¹ Willelmo] Willemmo, C.

³² potita] potitus, C.

³³ metropoli] metropolis, A, B.

³⁴ Hic] Hinc, A.

³⁵ cura] cum, B.

³⁶ exercitii] excercitii, C.

³⁷ quæ] qui, C.

³⁸ destituendæ] destruendæ, A.

³⁹ favoribus] fautoribus, A.

versutia, plebs Aquilonis⁴⁰ provinciæ, (quoniam ab Aquilone pandetur omne malum,)⁴¹ barbaræ nationis feritate vesana, novi principis dispositionibus⁴² renuit mancipari; ex infausta priorum consuetudine, tumultus magis quam pacis, discordiæ⁴³ libentius quam concordiæ cupiens exercitationibus⁴⁴ insistere. Doluit discreta principis mansuetudo super indiscreta plebis animositate; et quam pacis unitati nulla lenitate⁴⁵ valuit subjicere,⁴⁶ hostili devastatione decrevit penitus⁴⁷ exterminare; ne partis illius⁴⁸ contagio totius⁴⁹ contaminaretur⁵⁰ integritas.

Congregata igitur non minima multitudine populi,⁵¹ rex, gravem commotus in iram, ad Eboracum usque pervenit, eamque violenti⁵² bellantium expugnavit audacia, funditusque devastavit incendii sævitia, non sine magna civium strage, quibus præclaræ civitatis regebatur opulentia. Deinde voti compos, locum, sed non propositum mutans, per adjacentes provincias pertransiit, et regali edicto feroci præcepit exercitui, ut castra, villas, et vicos cum omni habitatore suo, ferro, flamma, fame⁵³ persequerentur; nec prius ab incepto desisterent, donec jam devictæ plebis residuum hostili pessumdaretur exterminio; et a facie totius regionis eorum deinceps deleteretur memoria, qui primo regalia parvipendebant⁵⁴ instituta.

Hujus tempestatis sæviente procella, ab homine usque ad pecus, periit quicunque repertus est a civitate Eboracensi usque ad maris orientalis confinia; præter illos qui ad ecclesiam Beati Joannis, Beverlacum,⁵⁵ quasi ad azylum,⁵⁶ confugerant. Præcedentium namque regum temporibus, maxime Adelstani regis Anglorum egregii, largiflua libertate, pro pacis tuitione prætaxata, celebris habebatur ecclesia; unde et ab incolis frequentabatur sæpius, et honorabatur attentius.

Cum autem⁵⁷ fama divulgante, inter hostes publicaretur desolatæ plebis magnitudinem⁵⁸ inibi⁵⁹ pacis habere refugium (regis enim et exercitus sui⁶⁰ haud procul inde tentoria habebantur), quidam cæca cupiditate percussi, et infrunitæ⁶¹ rapacitatis sollicitudinibus assueti, Beverlacum

⁴⁰ *Aquilonis*] *Aquilonalis*, A.

⁴¹ Jeremiah 1.14.

⁴² *dispositionibus*] *dispositioni*, C.

⁴³ *discordiæ*] *secordiæ*, A.

⁴⁴ *exercitationibus*] *exercita cædibus*, A.

⁴⁵ *lenitate*] *teneritate*, A.

⁴⁶ *subjicere*] *subicere*, B, C.

⁴⁷ *penitus*] om. A.

⁴⁸ *illius*] *unius*, C.

⁴⁹ *totius*] om. A.

⁵⁰ *contaminaretur*] *regni totius*, ins. A.

⁵¹ *multitudine populi*] *populi multitudine*, C.

⁵² *violentii*] *violenta*, A, C.

⁵³ *fame*] om. C.

⁵⁴ *parvipendebant*] *parvipenderent*, A.

⁵⁵ *Beverlacum*] *Beverlacensis*, A.

⁵⁶ *azylum*] *auxilium*, B.

⁵⁷ *Cum autem*] *Cumque*, A.

⁵⁸ *magnitudinem*] *multitudinem*, A; interlined in C as also noted by Raine.

⁵⁹ *inibi*] *ibi*, B.

⁶⁰ *sui*] *et*, ins. B.

⁶¹ *infrunitæ*] *infirmirate*, C as also noted by Raine.

petierunt, cupientes inermis populi spolia sæva crudelitate⁶² diripere; ingressique villam, cum neminem nequitiae suae resistantem invenissent,⁶³ intus avaritia, foris armorum virtute furentes, ad septa cœmeterii,⁶⁴ quo territa⁶⁵ populi multitudo tutius confluxerat, ausu nefario progrediuntur. Inter quos qui⁶⁶ primicerius⁶⁷ erat, Thurstinus⁶⁸ (sic enim⁶⁹ vocabatur nomen ejus), quendam spoliare volens, irrui in miserum,⁷⁰ quam⁷¹ celerius ad munimina pacis tendentem; abstracto quo erat⁷² præinctus gladio, per medium plebis attonitæ super emissarium furens insequitur. Sed quia fugientem extra ecclesiam nequaquam impedire potuit,⁷³ non dedit honorem Deo; sed jamjamque Dei miseratione evadentem intra valvas ecclesiæ usque subsequitur.

Fit subito trepidantis populi concursus,⁷⁴ cum clamore, Beati Joannis solliciti pectoris sui subsidia⁷⁵ unanimiter⁷⁶ implorantis. Nec mora. Pauperum suorum miserantis Dei miserta⁷⁷ propitiatio; et in pacis violatorem Dei ulciscentis subsecuta est ultio. Qui enim paulo ante ferocitatis frendebat furiis, equo quo residebat attonitus corruit;⁷⁸ et facie jam deformi post tergum versa, manibus pedibusque retortis, velut monstrum informe, cunctorum qui aderant in se admirantium ora convertit. Plebs itaque lætabunda multimodas prorumpit⁷⁹ in laudes; et in beati sacerdotis sui Johannis virtutibus Salvatoris omnipotentiam unanimi voce magnificabant. Stupefacti vero milites, qui simul advenerant, et⁸⁰ per sanctum antistitem perpetrata Dei videntes magnalia, projectis quibus induebantur⁸¹ armis, sævitiaeque mentis mitigata, qui prius ad diripienda grassabantur spolia, nunc⁸² ad impetranda viri Dei convertuntur suffragia: dein⁸³ cum summa festinatione ad exercitum revertentes, erroris sui crimen regis sollicitudini patefaciunt. Cognita virtute sancti confessoris, rex non mediocriter constrictatus est super infortunio dilecti militis sui; verensque ne de suis supradictis consimiles in similem laberentur⁸⁴ offensam,⁸⁵ quod deliquerat imprudens militaris audacia, regia providit pacificare prudentia.

⁶² crudelitate] cupiditate, C.

⁶³ invenissent] invenerit, A; invenisset, C.

⁶⁴ cœmeterii] cimiterii, C.

⁶⁵ territa] tanta, B.

⁶⁶ qui] om. A.

⁶⁷ primicerius] dignitas militaris, *Ducange*.

⁶⁸ Thurstinus] Turstinus, A, B.

⁶⁹ enim] om. A.

⁷⁰ in miserum] miserumque, B, C.

⁷¹ quam] om. B, C.

⁷² erat] fuerat, C.

⁷³ potuit] poterat, A.

⁷⁴ concursus] cursus, A.

⁷⁵ solliciti pectoris sui subsidia] soliti protectoris sui subsidium, A.

⁷⁶ implorantis] implorantes, B, C.

⁷⁷ miserta] est, ins. A.

⁷⁸ corruit] horruit, A.

⁷⁹ prorumpit] prorupit, B.

⁸⁰ et] om. A & B.

⁸¹ induebantur] induebantur, B.

⁸² spolia, nunc] om. A.

⁸³ dein] Deinde, B.

⁸⁴ laberentur] labentur, B.

⁸⁵ offensam] et, ins. B.

Accersitis igitur ad se sapientioribus ecclesiæ præmemoratæ viris, sanctitatis insignia præelecti sacerdotis Dei diligenter illis narrantibus didicit; qualiterque⁸⁶ Beverlacensis ecclesia, nobilium temporibus regum, excellentissime⁸⁷ et libertatis honoribus fuerat sublimata, solerter⁸⁸ investigavit; et ne præcedentium patrum munificentis⁸⁹ impar existeret, quæcunque⁹⁰ principum liberalitate,⁹¹ vel priorum quorumlibet pia donatione⁹² præfata fuerant ecclesiæ collata, regiæ majestatis nutu corroboravit, et auctoritate sigilli sui firmavit. Præterea manu largiflua præmemoratam donariis decoravit ecclesiam,⁹³ possessionibus amplificavit;⁹⁴ quatenus beati confessoris suffragantibus meritis, suarum culparum consequeretur⁹⁵ veniam; et post temporum curricula celebris suæ donationis haberetur memoria. Porro ne ferocis exercitus sui vicinitate,⁹⁶ sicut solet, firmata pacis dissolveretur constantia, procul inde figi tentoria præcepit prudens principis providentia. Lætati⁹⁷ vero, admirantes tanti⁹⁸ viri benignitatem et sermonum humilitatem, cum gaudio reversi sunt; oblatisque Deo beneficiis, quæ a rege susceperunt,⁹⁹ suspensa cleri populique corda confirmaverunt: et cujus nuper imperii formidant¹⁰⁰ potentiam, nunc supplices pro illius prosperitate Salvatoris flagitabant clementiam. Fiebat interea pro supradicti militis excessu supplicantis familiæ frequens oratio; quem jam seminecem salutifero correctionis verberibus castigatum, cum sæpius ante sepulcrum viri Dei deferrent, divinæ propitiationis respexit miseratio; propulsoque languore per merita sancti pontificis, non post multos dies pristina restituitur incolumitati. Qui sospitate recuperata, ad propria reversus, non est oblitus quin rediret et daret gloriam Deo; et dum vitales carperet auras, munus, quasi capitis sui tributum, liberatori suo Johanni, beneficii memor accepti, quolibet¹⁰¹ anno sollicitè persolveret.

⁸⁶ *qualiterque*] *qualiter*, B, C.

⁸⁷ *excellentissime*] *excellentia*, A.

⁸⁸ *solerter*] *solliciter*, B.

⁸⁹ *munificentis*] *munificentia*, A.

⁹⁰ *quæcunque*] *quicumque*, B.

⁹¹ *liberalitate*] *libertate*, C, as noted by Raine.

⁹² *donatione*] *devotione*, A.

⁹³ *ecclesiam*] *et*, ins. A, B.

⁹⁴ *amplificavit*] *ampliavit*, B, C.

⁹⁵ *consequeretur*] *sequeretur*, A.

⁹⁶ *vicinitate*] *in civitate*, A.

⁹⁷ *Lætati*] *Legati*, A.

⁹⁸ *tanti*] *tantam*, C.

⁹⁹ *susceperunt*] *suscepta est*, A; *susceperant*, B, C.

¹⁰⁰ *formidant*] *formidabant*, A.

¹⁰¹ *quolibet*] *quoquo*, C.

Capitulum III

*De pluvia Beati Johannis meritis suffragantibus in tempore siccitatis exhibita.*¹⁰²

Attendat caritas vestra, et piæ devotionis affectu percipiat, quam excellentis meriti fuerit apud Deum vir¹⁰³ iste, qui non solum quorumlibet oppressorum¹⁰⁴ animi corporisque molestias¹⁰⁵ solita depellit misericordia; verum etiam æris incommoditates prosperantur illius intercessionis gratia.¹⁰⁶ Quodam namque¹⁰⁷ tempore,¹⁰⁸ peccatis filiorum hominum exigentibus, intemperati solis ardor tantus terræ superficiem torrebat, tantaque siccitas æris imminebat, ut fructuum segetumque spes¹⁰⁹ omnis pæne frustraretur;¹¹⁰ et per totum verni temporis spatium nulla pluviarum effusione terra longo solis ardore combusta fecundaretur: unde penitus defectis¹¹¹ humoribus pluviarum,¹¹² crepidine¹¹³ circumquaque¹¹⁴ dehiscens, transeuntium iter impediabat; et languentibus herbis pascua pecoribus deficiebant. Cumque populus, omni consolatione remota, iræ Dei comminantis tædio languesceret, nec aliquod urgentis infortunii remedium exspectaret,¹¹⁵ quidam viri religiosi, Eboracensis ecclesiæ canonici, communi fratrum devotione ad impetranda Beati Johannis sæpius probata suffragia Beverlacum venerunt; ut illius meritis perurgente propulsa calamitate, luctuosa cunctorum querimonia¹¹⁶ verteretur¹¹⁷ in gaudium. Et quoniam sancti pontificis dies solennis instabat, affectu supplici rogant, et rogando benigne collaudant,¹¹⁸ ut beati viri corpus, circa ecclesiam, licet tali die non consuevissent, honore debito deferretur; quatenus duplicato tantæ¹¹⁹ solennitatis gaudio, coadunatæ¹²⁰ plebis augmentaretur devotio. Complacuit universis pia virorum sollicitudo; et communiter amplectuntur illorum vota, temporis ærumnosi periculis profutura. Præparatis igitur omnibus, prout diei¹²¹ dignitas exigebat, beati corporis sarcinam¹²² piis subeuntes humeris, clerus laudabunda¹²³ voce, plebs summa cum¹²⁴ devotione, utrique¹²⁵ cum non minima cordis contritione, progrediuntur. Tanta quippe serenitas in ære perlucebat, ut nulla prorsus nubium vestigia per omnem cæli ambitum apparerent.

¹⁰² There is no heading in A. In B the heading is: *De pluvia celitus impetrata meritis beati pontificis tempore maxime siccitatis.* Inserted in B is a chapter headed *De sancto Bricthuno quem sanctus Johannes in monasterio suo quod Beverlic dicitur abbatem sanctimonialis vitæ constituit.*

¹⁰³ vir] sanctus, A.

¹⁰⁴ quorumlibet oppressorum] qualibet oppressos, A.

¹⁰⁵ molestias] molestia, A.

¹⁰⁶ Attendat caritas . . . gratia] om. B.

¹⁰⁷ namque] om. B.

¹⁰⁸ tempore] post translationem sancti Johannis, ins. B.

¹⁰⁹ spes] species, A.

¹¹⁰ frustraretur] frustrarentur, A.

¹¹¹ defectis] deficcatis, B.

¹¹² pluviarum] rimarum, A, B.

¹¹³ crepidine] crepidines, C.

¹¹⁴ circumquaque] om. B.

¹¹⁵ nec aliquod . . . exspectaret] om. B.

¹¹⁶ querimonia] commune, ins. A, B.

¹¹⁷ verteretur] converteretur, C.

¹¹⁸ et rogando benigne collaudant] om. B.

¹¹⁹ tantæ] om. C.

¹²⁰ coadunatæ] coadjuvante, A.

¹²¹ diei] dei, B.

¹²² sarcinam] reliquias, B.

¹²³ laudabunda] lætabunda, A.

¹²⁴ summa cum] cum summa, C.

¹²⁵ utrique] om. B.

Jam modicum processerant, cum subito parvula nubes, imbriferis concitata¹²⁶ ventis, visa est; quæ crescens, et sinus in latus¹²⁷ extendens, mirabili cum¹²⁸ festinatione præcedentem obfuscavit serenitatem, et solis irradiantem obtenebravit faciem. Mirantur universi qui aderant subitam¹²⁹ temporis mutationem;¹³⁰ non¹³¹ hæsitantes quin esset mutatio¹³² dextræ Excelsi: altitudinem cæli lacrymosis attingunt clamoribus, et summi Judicis iram sancti pontificis opitulatione assiduis avertunt precibus. Cum jam¹³³ partes ecclesiæ transissent orientales, mirabile dictu, tanta subsecuta est¹³⁴ inundatio, ut, antequam regrederentur, ornamenta quibus festive clerus decorabatur, et cunctorum commeantium vestes largifluis distillarent imbribus; nullum tamen deteriorationis signum in ecclesiasticis apparuit indumentis: nec prius cessavit mitis¹³⁵ Dei manus a salutifero pluviarum stillicidio, et¹³⁶ sanctus a solito sustentationis¹³⁷ patrocinio, quoadusque terræ sitientis ariditas aquis redundaret uberibus.

O inæstimabilis¹³⁸ divinæ¹³⁹ consolationis¹⁴⁰ propitiatio! O admirabilis et¹⁴¹ pia sancti sacerdotis apud Deum impetratio! qui dum summo sacerdoti supplicantis¹⁴² populi precum odora menta libat, æris fugatur austeritas, et rediviva frugum inopinata redit fertilitas; elementorum etiam¹⁴³ intemperie¹⁴⁴ modificata, corporum animorumque successit optata prosperitas. In hujus digne memorandi perpetratione miraculi beatum pontificem alterum reputamus¹⁴⁵ Eliam,¹⁴⁶ qui priscis patrum temporibus, inspirationis divinæ prophetia perspicuus,¹⁴⁷ apud Deum precibus obtinuit, ut, eliminata prolixi temporis siccitate qua populus tabescebat,¹⁴⁸ cælum pluviā, et terra fructuum fertilitatem tribueret:¹⁴⁹ quod prodigium, pro sui magnitudine celeberrimum, universalis prædicat ecclesia. Hic autem verus¹⁵⁰ Israëlita, sub temporibus gratiæ Dei gratia plenus, Dominici gregis oves, non dissimili vexatas morbo, simili sanavit orationis antidoto;

¹²⁶ *concitata*] *concita*, A.

¹²⁷ *latus*] *latum*, A.

¹²⁸ *cum*] om. A.

¹²⁹ *subitam*] *subitaneam*, A.

¹³⁰ *mutationem*] *immutationem*, A.

¹³¹ *non*] *nec*, A.

¹³² *mutatio*] *immutatio*, A.

¹³³ *jam*] om. C; *enim*, B.

¹³⁴ *subsecuta est*] [*facta*] *est* [*pluviae*], A.

¹³⁵ *nec prius cessavit mitis*] [*nec cessavit*], A.

¹³⁶ *et*] *nec*, A.

¹³⁷ *sustentationis*] om. B.

¹³⁸ *inæstimabilis*] *inenarrabilis*, A.

¹³⁹ *divinæ*] *Dei*, B.

¹⁴⁰ *consolationis*] om. B.

¹⁴¹ *admirabilis et*] om. B.

¹⁴² *supplicantis*] om. B.

¹⁴³ *elementorum etiam*] *elementorumque*, A.

¹⁴⁴ *intemperie*] *est temperies*, C.

¹⁴⁵ *reputamus*] *reputatum*, A.

¹⁴⁶ *Eliam*] *heliā*, C.

¹⁴⁷ *perspicuus*] *propitius*, A.

¹⁴⁸ *tabescebat*] *jacebat*, A.

¹⁴⁹ 1 Kings 18.

¹⁵⁰ *verus*] om. A.

cujus piæ¹⁵¹ petitioni cælum per cæli Dominatorem obedivit in pluvia, terra vero paruit in redditione fructifera.¹⁵²

Capitulum IV

*Quomodo puerum a nativitate mutum et ulcerosa deformem tinea sanaverit.*¹⁵³

Crescebat quotidie viri Dei miraculorum fama, crebrisque¹⁵⁴ ejus circumquaque colebatur memoria; unde non solum vicini, verum et¹⁵⁵ de remotis terrarum partibus quamplures, corporis animæque remedia postulantes, ad ipsius assidue confluebant ecclesiam. Inter quos puerulus quidam quasi¹⁵⁶ septennis allatus est de pago Haugulstaldensi,¹⁵⁷ qui a nativitate cæcus fuerat. Et licet incredibile multis videretur ut a nativitate¹⁵⁸ cæcus¹⁵⁹ lumen reciperet, parentes tamen cæci, dulci quadam familiaritate sanctum Dei¹⁶⁰ Johannem confidenter amplectebantur, quoniam¹⁶¹ multis referentibus cognoverant, qualiter de eodem pago puerum a nativitate mutum, et ulcerosa deformem tinea, sanaverit, dum Haugulstaldensi præsideret ecclesiæ,¹⁶² sicut Anglorum refert Historia.¹⁶³ Hoc piæ devotionis affectu, parens uterque, cum non minima populi multitudine, Beverlacum venientes, ante sepulcrum, quo beati viri corpus prius humatum fuerat, cæcum suum, in magna mentis contritione, non sine lacrymarum effusione, statuerunt; ut, a sinu matris¹⁶⁴ avulsus, a fonte misericordiæ Christo¹⁶⁵ hauriret remedium. Cumque cæcus flendo vociferaret, et vociferando brachia matri, ut susciperetur, extenderet; materque pro filii salute animam suam, quasi aquam,¹⁶⁶ coram Deo et sancto suo¹⁶⁷ Johanne supplex effunderet, cæcus lacrymosis ejulans clamoribus¹⁶⁸ prosternitur, ac deinde in admiratione omnium lugentis¹⁶⁹ ocelli sereno vestiuntur lumine; sicque super filium refulgente gratia Dei Omnipotentis, materna misericorditer supplentur vota, eliminata prorsus qua detinebatur pro filio mæstitia.¹⁷⁰

Fit subito concursus hominum; et, non minima populi admirantis circumstante corona, ad inconsueta sibi obstupescunt magnalia; Deique Salvatoris unanimiter collaudant, per dilectum

¹⁵¹ piæ] diæ, A.

¹⁵² elementorum etiam . . . fructifera] om. B.

¹⁵³ The heading is incorrect as it refers to the miracle described by Bede (*HE* v.i) and not this one. There is no heading in A. The heading in B is: *De puero quadam septenni et cæco nato meritis hujus sancti mirabiliter illuminato*, which does relate to this miracle.

¹⁵⁴ crebrisque] celebris, qua, A.

¹⁵⁵ et] etiam, B, C.

¹⁵⁶ quasi] om. A.

¹⁵⁷ Haugulstaldensi] Hagulstadensi, A; Augustaldensi, B.

¹⁵⁸ cæcus . . . nativitate] om. A.

¹⁵⁹ fuerat . . . cæcus] om. B.

¹⁶⁰ dei] domini, A.

¹⁶¹ quoniam] quem, A.

¹⁶² ecclesiæ] om. A.

¹⁶³ Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, 5.2.

¹⁶⁴ matris] æger, ins. C.

¹⁶⁵ Christo] sospitatis, ins. A.

¹⁶⁶ Lamentations 2.19.

¹⁶⁷ sancto suo] om. A.

¹⁶⁸ clamoribus] sermonibus, A.

¹⁶⁹ lugentis] lugentes, A.

¹⁷⁰ mæstitia] tristitia, C.

sibi pontificem perpetrata, tantæ virtutis insignia. Obstupescebat¹⁷¹ puer ad¹⁷² omnia, novo suscepto lumine: mirabatur populus, pro inusitati operis magnitudine: jocundabatur¹⁷³ mater gaudio inæstimabili, pro dilecti filii sui divinitus impetrata salute: omnes communi devotione Deum, universitatis Conditorum, mirificum prædicabant in beato confessore suo, Johanne. Audistis, evangelica veritate testante, quod a sæculo non fuerat auditum, hominem, videlicet, a nativitate cæcum, nisi¹⁷⁴ a Domino illuminatum fuisse.¹⁷⁵ Audite nostro quoque tempore virum prudentem, imitorem Domini sui, per Dominum, similiter¹⁷⁶ vexatum debilitate puerum sanasse; unde liquido patet, eum in terris fidelem verbi Dei dispensatorem effulsisse, Dominique præceptis fideliter obtemperasse, et vitiorum persecutorem perpetuæque vitæ doctorem extitisse, cum post mortem, meritis illius suffragantibus, membra lethali sopore sepulta vitali fruuntur aura, debilibus salus optata restauratur, mæsti consolationis¹⁷⁷ remedio relevantur, indeficientia æternæ vitæ præmia per eum a Domino impetrantur. Hujus¹⁷⁸ ineffabiliter jocunda, quam desideraverat, fruitur præsentia cum electis, cælesti residens gratulabundus convivio, festivo et interminabili dilatus gaudio; pro suis impetraturus quidquid¹⁷⁹ petierit a Rege, cui digne servivit, æterno.¹⁸⁰

Capitulum V

*De Gillone infirmo et informi, qui formosus et sanus per meritum Sancti effectus est.*¹⁸¹

Accidit quoque, non multi temporis intervallo transacto, ut quidam de Scotia oriundus, Gillo¹⁸² nomine, recuperandæ salutis gratia ad præfatam viri¹⁸³ conveniret ecclesiam. Hic per aliquot dies ante sancti solennitatem, quo populus unoquoque¹⁸⁴ anno venire consueverat, divinæ miserationis gratiam exspectans, quampluribus risui, universis ostentui¹⁸⁵ habebatur. Erat autem in interiore¹⁸⁶ homine, ut exterior enuntiabat, totius expers prudentiæ, puerilibus¹⁸⁷ per omnia, non puer, intendens lusibus; ita ut insensati capitis homo ab omnibus putaretur,¹⁸⁸ nulli tamen nisi sibi nocivus.¹⁸⁹ Informe vero corpus sibi condecencia gestabat membra, caput turpe et magnum, collum gracile, femora, crura, pedes velut pueri prodigiose retorta, officioque suo penitus carentia; infelicem videlicet et infructuosam corporis sarcinam, quæ nunquam usui,

¹⁷¹ *Obstupescerebat*] *ergo*, ins. B.

¹⁷² *ad*] *per*, B.

¹⁷³ *jocundabatur*] *et*, ins. B.

¹⁷⁴ *nisi*] om. A.

¹⁷⁵ John 9.32.

¹⁷⁶ *similiter*] *simili*, C.

¹⁷⁷ *consolationis*] *consolaminis*, A.

¹⁷⁸ *Hujus*] *cujus*, A.

¹⁷⁹ *quidquid*] *quicquid*, C.

¹⁸⁰ *Audistis, Evangelica . . . æterno*] om. B.

¹⁸¹ There is no heading in A. This miracle does not appear in B.

¹⁸² *Gillo*] *Guillo*, A.

¹⁸³ *vir*] *dei*, ins. C.

¹⁸⁴ *unoquoque*] *quoque*, A.

¹⁸⁵ *ostentui*] *ostentatui*, A.

¹⁸⁶ *autem in interiore*] *enim in interiori*, C.

¹⁸⁷ *puerilibus*] *vero*, ins. A.

¹⁸⁸ *omnibus putaretur*] *hominibus æstimaretur*, A.

¹⁸⁹ *nocivus*] *nocuus*, A.

semper oneri a primævo¹⁹⁰ sibi extiterat: et quoniam pauper erat et alienigena, libentius illi¹⁹¹ dabantur ab incolis vitæ necessaria, quam si foret indigena; desiderantibus et pia prece Deum exorantibus, ut, horribili infirmitate¹⁹² illa propulsa, per merita sancti sui pontificis,¹⁹³ miseri membra humanæ pulchritudini perficerentur conformia. Adveniente vero solennitatis die, in parte secretiori¹⁹⁴ pernoctavit prædictus¹⁹⁵ miser ille, ne a multitudine plebis innumeri,¹⁹⁶ quæ¹⁹⁷ solito confluxerat, debilis opprimeretur.

Cumque clerus nocturnis insisteret jubilationibus, cœpit informis ille¹⁹⁸ anxiis vexari cruciatibus, et furibundis clamare vocibus. Accurrit illico¹⁹⁹ pars cleri, relictis quibus intendebat chori modulationibus; jamjamque irrumpentis populi non sine labore pacificavit instantiam, donec facturæ suæ jam miserantis Dei viderent et collaudarent misericordiam et gloriam. Dum autem miserabilis homo, tantæ vexationis impatiens, hinc et inde velut amens volutaretur; et a circumstantibus instanter pro illo gemebundæ preces ad Deum effunderentur; res miranda! Nervorum contractus quibusdam audientibus extenditur, membrorumque compago dissoluta consolidatur; virtus inopinata succedit; directa corpori membra conformantur; fitque de moribundo sanus, de insensato sapiens, de vili et paulo ante despecto carus, de monstruoso formosus; sicque spatio brevi temporis evoluto, corporis animique congrua potitus est valitudine; et quoniam multis enotuerat,²⁰⁰ dum debilitaretur, fama salvationis ejus celeberrima²⁰¹ diffundebatur. Unde quamplures, qui orationis causa ad prædictam²⁰² sancti Dei veniebant ecclesiam, hunc videre, ejusque colloquio frui desiderabant; cum admiratione aspicientes juvenem jam formosum, quem sæpius viderant debilem et insensatum.

Opera hæc misericordiæ tuæ,²⁰³ Deus! Qui percutis et sanas, vulneras et misericorditer mederis;²⁰⁴ qui formam humanæ complexionis pulcherrimam, culpis nostræ mortalitatis exigentibus, in deformitatem elabi²⁰⁵ permittis; deinde imperscrutabili tua dispositione,²⁰⁶ ad cordis nostri compunctionem et morum meliorationem, mirabili virtutis tuæ magnitudine, in pristinæ pulchritudinis naturam reducis; quatenus mentis nostræ duritia retundatur,²⁰⁷ ac potius per hæc humanæ reformationis miracula convertamur ad te, Domine, quem in omnibus creaturis

¹⁹⁰ *primævo*] *tempore*, ins. A.

¹⁹¹ *illi*] om. A.

¹⁹² *infirmitate*] *deformitate*, A.

¹⁹³ *pontificis*] om. A.

¹⁹⁴ *secretiori*] *ecclesiæ*, ins. C.

¹⁹⁵ *prædictus*] *perditus*, A.

¹⁹⁶ *innumeri*] *innumera*, A; *innumeræ*, C.

¹⁹⁷ *quæ*] *[more]*, ins. A.

¹⁹⁸ *ille*] om. A.

¹⁹⁹ *illico*] *itaque*, A.

²⁰⁰ *enotuerat*] *notus erat*, A; *notuerat*, C.

²⁰¹ *celeberrima*] *procul*, ins. A.

²⁰² *prædictam*] *sæpe dictam*, A.

²⁰³ *Opera hæc misericordiæ Tuæ*] *O pia misericordia tua*, A.

²⁰⁴ Job 5.18.

²⁰⁵ *elabi*] *labi*, A.

²⁰⁶ *dispositione*] *dispensatione*, A.

²⁰⁷ *retundatur*] *recludatur*, A.

tuis²⁰⁸ conspicimus; et tamen ab iniquitatibus, quæ supergressæ sunt²⁰⁹ capita nostra, nequaquam resipiscimus. Desideras vitæ nostræ provectionem,²¹⁰ et eam male vivendo confundimus. Vocas, et non audimus. Clamas, et aures intelligentiæ obturamus. Mones, et contemnimus. Doces, et despicias. Jubes, et non obtemperamus. Ad ostium cordis nostri pie pulsas, et non aperimus. Tonas, et nequaquam expavescimus. Minaris, et parvipendimus. Paterno misereris affectu, et miserationum tuarum, quæ a sæculo sunt,²¹¹ immemores, transitori temporis hujus et penitus perituri sollicitudinibus occupamur, non satis considerantes quoniam unum est necessarium.²¹²

Capitulum VI

*Homo a puero flagitiosus, ideoque suspendendus, a Sancto Johanne liberatus.*²¹³

Operæ pretium est, et²¹⁴ interioris hominis jocunda recreatio,²¹⁵ exterioris quoque et²¹⁶ morum saluberrima²¹⁷ reformatio, inenarrabilia divinæ magnificentiae opera sedulo contemplari; et miserationum Eius et misericordiarum, qua a sæculo sunt,²¹⁸ assidue reminisci; quæ maxime sub temporibus gratiæ, Dei Filius ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui et sanctorum suorum exaltationem et honorem, longe lateque dignatus est operari; qui pro talento sibi credito fideliter multiplicato, Domini sui feliciter fruuntur gaudio, in cælesti civium supernorum contubernio.²¹⁹

Homo quidam, ab adolescentia sua, vel ex quo boni et mali discretionem habere potuit, oblitus est,²²⁰ Dei Creatoris sui, derelictaque²²¹ justitiæ et veritatis semita, diabolo et servitio ejus, furando, rapiendo, et alia plura quæ recitare longissimum est, patrando,²²² tota mentis intentione adhærere studuit. Qui tandem in servitio deceptoris²²³ sui, videlicet diaboli, a quo humana fragilitas nunquam satis tuta constitit, captus et religatus est; et quoniam manifestum est illum a pueritia filium iniquitatis esse, clamabant²²⁴ omnes qui aderant, hunc ipsum iniquitatis filium justo judicio debere crucis tormenta sustinere. Constitutum est etiam tempus pœnæ, videlicet dies crastina; et quanto supplicii tempus erat propinquius, tanto reus maleficii vinculis et

²⁰⁸ *Tuis*] *ita pium*, ins. A.

²⁰⁹ Psalm 37.5.

²¹⁰ *provectionem*] *perfectionem*, A.

²¹¹ Psalm 24.6.

²¹² Luke 10.42.

²¹³ There is no heading in C. The heading in B is: *De quodam flagicioso condemnato at patibulum miraculose liberato per interventum eiusdem pontificis.*

²¹⁴ *et*] *[quando]*, A.

²¹⁵ *jocunda recreatio*] *jucundæ recreationis*, A.

²¹⁶ *et*] om. A.

²¹⁷ *saluberrima*] *[jungitur]*, ins. A.

²¹⁸ Psalm 24.6.

²¹⁹ This paragraph is not in B.

²²⁰ *est*] om. A, B.

²²¹ *derelictaque*] *via*, ins. A, B.

²²² *patrando*] *perpetrando*, B, C.

²²³ *deceptoris*] *debitoris*, A.

²²⁴ *clamabant*] *clamant*, A; *clamavit ut*, B.

compedibus constrictus est acrius; et, ne pœnam sibi præparatam alioquo modo posset²²⁵ effugere, datus est illis²²⁶ in custodiam, quos antea delectabatur exspoliare.²²⁷

Sed Deus, cujus medicina numquam fallitur, cujus auxilium justa petentibus non denegatur, a cujus misericordia nemo²²⁸ nisi infidelis excluditur, non est passus imaginem suam ab humani generis insidiatore condemnari. Medio etenim noctis silentio, postquam custodum somnus laxaverat artus, cæcitatibus illius aliquantisper aperti sunt oculi; cœpitque in²²⁹ lacrymis a Deo flagitare præsidium.²³⁰ Recordatusque sancti²³¹ Johannis, in cujus parochia pœnam sui latrocinii,²³² videlicet crucem, die crastina persolvendus²³³ erat; erecto²³⁴ sursum vultu, nam geminas arcebant vincula palmas,²³⁵ dixit: 'Languentium curator, Johannes, si vere²³⁶ Christi servus es, si vera sunt quæ de magnitudine tuæ virtutis audivi, mihi misero,²³⁷ quamvis sero pœnitenti, succurre; et de confinio hujus tam inopinatæ mortis tua intercessione me²³⁸ eripe; et ego deinceps diabolo et servitio ejus non solum abrenuntio, verum etiam malorum abstinentiam te auxiliante²³⁹ polliceor.'

Nulla in medium mora: vincula brachiorum omnia²⁴⁰ dissolvuntur; et quoniam manus fideles ministræ sunt membrorum totius corporis credendum est²⁴¹ idcirco a Deo primitus fuisse dissolutas, ut cætera membra quæ subsequuntur²⁴² dissolverentur per ipsas.²⁴³ Videns vero homo, invocato nomine Dei sanctique sui Johannis, manus suas, quæ ad tergum religatæ fuerant, totumque corpus suum a vinculis absolutum esse,²⁴⁴ cum magna admiratione surrexit, ac per medios circumjacentes hostes discessit. Qui egressus, ad templum famuli Dei (quod inde non minus quam per duodecim milliaria²⁴⁵ restabat) per obscuræ noctis²⁴⁶ tenebras iter direxit; sicque illucescente²⁴⁷ die ad ecclesiam diu²⁴⁸ desideratam pervenit. Mox introgressus, ante sepulchrum viri Dei projectis suis compedibus et vinculis, gratias agens, narravit ecclesiæ servitoribus, universisque aliis²⁴⁹ audire desiderantibus, qualiter de confinio mortis, illo

²²⁵ *præparatam aliquo modo posset*] *præparatam posset aliquo modo*, C.

²²⁶ *datus est illis*] *dati sunt illi*, C, as also noted by Raine.

²²⁷ *exspoliare*] *spoliare*, A.

²²⁸ *nemo*] *non*, C.

²²⁹ *in*] *cum*, A, B.

²³⁰ *præsidium*] *subsidiū*, C.

²³¹ *sancti*] *confessoris*, ins. A, B.

²³² *latrocinii*] *criminis*, A, B.

²³³ *persolvendus*] *persoluturus*, A.

²³⁴ *erecto*] *erecto*que, B.

²³⁵ *palmas*] *manus*, C.

²³⁶ *vere*] *verus*, A, B.

²³⁷ *misero*] *miserrimo*, A, B.

²³⁸ *me*] om. A, B.

²³⁹ *te auxiliante*] om. C.

²⁴⁰ *omnia*] *nimia*, B; *manuumque*, C.

²⁴¹ *est*] *has*, ins. A, B.

²⁴² *subsequuntur*] *subsequentur*, B, C.

²⁴³ *ipsas*] *illas*, A.

²⁴⁴ *esse*] *fuisse*, C.

²⁴⁵ *per duodecim milliaria restabat*] om. B.

²⁴⁶ *obscuræ noctis*] *obscuras*, A, B.

²⁴⁷ *illucescente*] *illucente*, A, B.

²⁴⁸ *diu*] om. A, B.

²⁴⁹ *aliis*] om. B.

suffragante, liberatus esset. Qui dum per aliquot dies cum canonicis ecclesiæ moraretur, interventu dilecti sui²⁵⁰ Johannis, de raptore pacificus, et de lupo effectus est agnus. Et quoniam exigentibus peccatis pœnam crucis invitus debuit²⁵¹ sustinere, pro peccatis suis crucem Domini,²⁵² signum videlicet pœnitentiæ, bajulabat²⁵³ spontanea voluntate.

Capitulum VII

*Hiberniensis quidam per Sanctum Johannem sanatur.*²⁵⁴

Cum autem sancti pontificis mira laudum præconia per circumjacentes divulgarentur provincias, Hiberniensis quidam, lingua dissertus²⁵⁵ et eloquens, ea fama motus, de regione sua Beverlacum venire disposuit. Ipse etenim²⁵⁶ per totum corpus apoplexia gravi tactus, adeo infirmabatur, ut se²⁵⁷ dimovere non valeret, nisi ministrantium subveheretur²⁵⁸ adminiculo. Præparatis igitur omnibus, quæ languentis debilitati et itineris longitudini congruebant, vehiculo ponitur homo; et bajulantium et trahentium manibus, non sine magna difficultate, Beverlacum usque perductus est. Hujus in adventu sanctæ Ascensionis Domini dies solennis imminebat, quæ ab incolis festivius²⁵⁹ feriabatur;²⁶⁰ quoniam eo die reliquiæ sancti, post peractum tantæ solennitatis²⁶¹ consonum²⁶² officium, ad introitum ecclesiæ sustentari honorifice solebat,²⁶³ donec clerus et populus humili devotione transiret.²⁶⁴ Et cum hæc agerentur,²⁶⁵ prædictus æger, solito sustentationis vehiculo inter alios allatus, seorsum juxta reliquias sancti confessoris se²⁶⁶ deponi²⁶⁷ præcepit; ut, cum maxima quæ confluerat turba transisset, adipiscendæ sospitatis gratia miser transiret. Et quoniam artificiali verborum compositione²⁶⁸ perspicuus inventor fuerat, sanctum Dei, velut corporaliter viventem videret, multimodis et satis facietis²⁶⁹ eloquiis,²⁷⁰ ex intimo tamen profusis, ut sui misereretur exorans, alloqui²⁷¹ cœpit; et nunc se²⁷² alienigenam a remotis mundi partibus adventantem, nunc itineris asperitatem et nimiam prolixitatem, nunc corporis sui incommoditatem prætendebat;²⁷³ fiducialiter non sine lacrymis

²⁵⁰ sui] Dei, A & B.

²⁵¹ invitus debuit] debuit invitus, C.

²⁵² crucem Domini] [Crucem] Dei, A.

²⁵³ bajulabat] bajulat, A, B.

²⁵⁴ In A the heading is: *Apoplexia curata. Libido carnis restincta. Muto loquela reddita. Naufragi adjuti*. In B the heading is: *De quodam Ibernico gravi apoplexia percusso qui umbra capcelli in quo sacrum corpus confessoris reconditur intuentem populo pristina restituitur sanitati*, but appears later in the manuscript. There is no heading in C, but a space is left for one.

²⁵⁵ dissertus] desertus, B.

²⁵⁶ etenim] enim, C.

²⁵⁷ se] quoquam, ins. A; quamquam, ins. B.

²⁵⁸ subveheretur] subveniretur, A.

²⁵⁹ festivus] festivus, C.

²⁶⁰ feriabatur] feriebat, B, C.

²⁶¹ solennitatis] solennitati, C.

²⁶² consonum] processionis, ins. A, B.

²⁶³ sustentari honorifice solebat] honorifice sustentari solebant, B, C.

²⁶⁴ transiret] transisset, A; transirent, B.

²⁶⁵ hæc agerentur] id ageretur, A; hæc ageretur, B.

²⁶⁶ se] om. B.

²⁶⁷ deponi] poni, A.

²⁶⁸ compositione] composito, A.

²⁶⁹ facietis] facundis, A.

²⁷⁰ facietis eloquiis] facundis eloquiis, A; famosæ eloquentiæ verbis, B; facietis sermonibus, C.

²⁷¹ alloqui] sancti, ins. B.

²⁷² se] ad, ins. C.

²⁷³ prætendebat] et, ins. B.

postulans, ne spei suæ magnitudo frustraretur, sed²⁷⁴ tantæ ægrotationis suæ, illo interveniente, remedio potiretur.

Hujus verborum affluentia circumstantium in se convertit²⁷⁵ ora, qui ad salutis ejus impetrationem pietatis affecti²⁷⁶ dulcedine unanimiter conversi sunt. Post hæc, subeunte populi non minima multitudine, præfatus æger se sub feretro in vehiculo jussit deferri, ut ultimus transiret. Quem ut umbra capelli,²⁷⁷ in quo sanctum corpus ferebatur, obumbravit, cœpit²⁷⁸ paulatim convalescere, turba hominum circumstante, et cum admiratione aspiciente. Nec mora. Quidam, apprehensa jam convalescentis ægri manu, levi ducatu illum per medium ecclesiæ et chori, populo et clero aspiciente²⁷⁹ refertum, ad altare perduxit,²⁸⁰ gaudendo non mediocriter. Miratur homo corpus suum jam senile,²⁸¹ et languoris longanimitate prostratum, subito pedum insolito regimine sustentari, et regi: et quoniam ex insperato convaluit, et spem salutis jam desperatæ promeruit, Deum in operibus dilecti sui Johannis benedixit, et quales potuit ubique²⁸² in restitutione insperatæ sospitatis gratias egit.

Audivimus, fratres, evangelista in Actibus Apostolorum referente Luca, qualiter per beatum apostolorum principem Petrum hierosolymis ab utero matris claudo divinitus restituta sit sanitas, quod miraculum in facie universalis ecclesiæ pro magnitudine sui celeberrimum²⁸³ prædicatur.²⁸⁴ Vidimus et nos, circa jam senescentis mundi tempora, hominem, non tantum pedum sustentamine²⁸⁵ carentem, sed et totius²⁸⁶ corporis sospitate fere destitutum, ad introitum²⁸⁷ portarum ecclesiæ, solita Dei præeunte misericordia, per successorem apostolorum sibi dilectum Johannem, a longo in quo jacuerat liberatum languore. Cujus miraculi famosa notitia, non solum in Eboracensi provincia, verum et²⁸⁸ celebris habetur in Hiberniensium patria.

Capitulum VIII

*Scholasticus quidam a libidine carnis curatur.*²⁸⁹

Sanctus et præcipua veneratione dignus confessor iste Johannes, non solum exterioris hominis quælibet²⁹⁰ imbecillitatis incommoda, et diversarum ægritudinum genera, divino depellebat

²⁷⁴ sed] *potius*, ins. B.

²⁷⁵ convertit] *vertit*, C.

²⁷⁶ affecti] *affectus*, C.

²⁷⁷ capelli] *capselli*, A, B, C.

²⁷⁸ cœpit] *homo*, ins. C.

²⁷⁹ aspiciente] *om.* A, B.

²⁸⁰ perduxit] *perduxere*, A.

²⁸¹ jam senile] *in se vile*, A.

²⁸² ubique] *utrique*, A, B.

²⁸³ sui celeberrimum] *sua celebre*, A.

²⁸⁴ Acts 3.1-8

²⁸⁵ sustentamine] *sustentamento*, A.

²⁸⁶ et totius] *potius*, B.

²⁸⁷ ad introitum] *in introitu*, A.

²⁸⁸ et] *etiam*, B, C.

²⁸⁹ There is no heading in A or C. In B the heading is *De quodam hujus monasterii clerico simul et scholarum magistro qui sancti antistitis invocato auxilio ab omni infirmitate penitus est curatus*.

²⁹⁰ quælibet] *cujuslibet*, A, as also noted by Raine.

adminiculo; verum etiam quibusdam²⁹¹ mentibus diabolicæ machinationis illusionibus compressis et penitus desolatis, malitiosi dæmonis propulsata²⁹² versutia, piæ consolationis remedia pietatis amator impendebat. De multis igitur unum producamus in medium, præfati pontificis ope mirabiliter a dæmoniacæ perversionis artibus²⁹³ liberatum; et quod ab ejus ore veredico²⁹⁴ sæpius accepimus, ad laudem Dei Omnipotentis, et ad memoriam sancti sui, reducere satagamus.²⁹⁵

Scholasticus quidam ejusdem temporis intervallo Beverlacum petiit, cupiens ibidem, quoniam locus ille clericorum abundabat²⁹⁶ copia, scholasticæ disciplinæ studium regere: qui unanimi devotione a prælatis ejusdem ecclesiæ susceptus est. Hinc²⁹⁷ quoniam literatoria pollebat disciplina, hinc²⁹⁸ quia²⁹⁹ morum honestate nobilitabatur,³⁰⁰ placuit mox omnibus illius conversatio, quoniam humilis et benigna; placuit artis peritia, quoniam dulci et sollicita exercitatione et jocunda³⁰¹ severitate condita. Regebat assidue³⁰² scholarum frequentiam exterius, et chori curam moderabatur concorditer interius, in utroque non segnis provisor, sed officialis egregius. Sed quid inter homines placitum est Deo omnium Salvatori, quod non displiceat humani generis nefando insidiatori? vel quid virtutis³⁰³ habet humanæ excellentiæ dignitas, cui venenoso corde non invidet dæmonis virulentia³⁰⁴ et versuta calliditas?

Præfati itaque doctoris morum³⁰⁵ piæ sollicitudini mox³⁰⁶ insidias fraudulenter inimicus obtendit, et incautum, solito more suo, non ad decipiendum piger, illaqueavit. Injecit enim juvenis ille oculos in cujusdam formosæ virginis faciem, mox et eam cœpit juvenili dilectione³⁰⁷ concupiscere: crevit quotidie male cœpta suggestio, et voluntati multimodas vires administrans,³⁰⁸ adimplendæ voluptatis facinus cor hominis nequiter illexit, si facultas virtusque desiderio suppeteret. Hinc timor et verecundia, hinc furentis et inconsueti amoris lascivia jam interius³⁰⁹ ægotantis perstringebant³¹⁰ pectora.³¹¹ Occultabat jam miser effectus homo cæci furoris libidinem, qui quanto occultior tanto ad nocendum perniciosior. Cœpit illico rigor disciplinæ³¹² scholasticæ mollescere, fervorque studii literalis tepescere; putaresque hominem

²⁹¹ *quibusdam*] *quorundam*, A, as also noted by Raine.

²⁹² *propulsata*] *propulsa*, C.

²⁹³ *artibus*] *actibus*, A.

²⁹⁴ *ore veredico*] *oris indicio*, A.

²⁹⁵ This paragraph is omitted from B.

²⁹⁶ *abundabat*] *habundabat*, B, C.

²⁹⁷ *hinc*] *Hic*, A.

²⁹⁸ *hinc*] *et*, A.

²⁹⁹ *quia*] *et via*, B.

³⁰⁰ *nobilitabatur*] *nobilitabat*, B; *nobililitabatur*, C.

³⁰¹ *et jocunda*] *jucundaque*, A; *erat*, ins. C.

³⁰² *assidue*] *itaque*, A, B.

³⁰³ *virtutis*] *virtuti*, C.

³⁰⁴ *virulentia*] *virulenta*, B, C.

³⁰⁵ *morum*] om. B, C.

³⁰⁶ *mox*] om. A.

³⁰⁷ *dilectione*] *amore*, C.

³⁰⁸ *administrans*] *ad*, ins. B, C.

³⁰⁹ *interius*] *intus*, C.

³¹⁰ *perstringebant*] *pertingebant*, A.

³¹¹ *pectora*] *præcordia*, A, B.

³¹² *rigor disciplinæ*] *ille disciplinæ rigor*, C.

non minima infirmitate languentem,³¹³ cujus pallor et fœda macies juvenilem dehonestaverat faciem. Quid faceret, vel quod potissimum infortunio tanto solamen existeret, penitus ignorabat; quoniam jam sui inkompos, imminenti pœnæ vel mortis periculum utrinque³¹⁴ formidabat; aut enim spiritui³¹⁵ fornicationis, cujus furiis agitabatur interius, obtemperaret, et efficeretur sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus,³¹⁶ aut fornicationem fugiens, quam totius immunditiæ suggestor quibuscunque ad Deum anhelantibus³¹⁷ exitiale ponit offendiculum, corporalis detrimenti pœnam, vel potius irrevocabilis vitæ finem lacrymabilem, nequaquam evaderet.

Non pertulit divinæ propitiationis misericors misericordia hominem interiorem, imagini sui ipsius impressum, fraude diabolica circumventum et atrociter vulneratum, ulterius, ne penitus pessumdaretur, fatigari. Divino itaque commonitus instinctu, interius, exteriusque non mediocriter ægrotans, ad potentis³¹⁸ medici suffragium, quasi ad asylum³¹⁹ confugit, beatissimum videlicet Johannem; qui divina potentia potens, quamplures quarumlibet infirmitatum inkommodis obsessos, a suis ægritudinibus, illo præsente et admirante,³²⁰ potenter eripuerat;³²¹ et ut commodius virum Dei exoraret, et ab illo, quasi a fideli medico,³²² salutiferæ curationis³²³ antidotum tantæ ægritudini congruum impetraret; post peractam matutinalis officii psalmodiam, more solito discedente clero, in choro solus remansit, quatenus ibidem secretius Omnipotenti Deo, per servum suum, se diabolica suggestionem circumventum, et usque ad animam dæmonis fraude ostenderet vulneratum. Projecit se illico³²⁴ coram altari, lamentis, cordisque cruciatibus³²⁵ creberrimis quibus poterat anxius incumbens; velut aquam misericordii Deo effudit animam suam, ut viri Dei, ad quem³²⁶ confugerat, mediante misericordia, reatus sui et languoris consequeretur allevamen. Tanta fuit orationis intimæ prolixitas, tantaque, lachrymarum de fonte cordis ubertim profluens abundantia,³²⁷ ut inter orandum gemendumque afflictionibus indulgens et suspiriis, totus in illis fere³²⁸ deficeret.

Commota sunt statim³²⁹ paternæ pietatis viscera super³³⁰ contritione³³¹ pœnitentis et veniam postulantis filii, et pie pulsantis ægroti vulnera verus animarum et corporum medicus oleo

³¹³ *languentem*] *languescere*, A, B.

³¹⁴ *utrinque*] *utrumque*, B. I have followed B in translation.

³¹⁵ *spiritui*] *spiritum*, B.

³¹⁶ Psalm 31.9.

³¹⁷ *anhelantibus*] *advolantibus*, A; *hanellantibus*, B.

³¹⁸ *potentis*] *petendum*, A.

³¹⁹ *asylum*] *auxilium*, A.

³²⁰ *admirante*] *administrante*, A, B.

³²¹ *eripuerat*] *arripuerat*, B.

³²² *quasi a fideli medico*] *medio*, A.

³²³ *curationis*] *orationis*, A.

³²⁴ *illico*] om. C.

³²⁵ *lamentis, cordisque cruciatibus*] *lamentisque cordis, cruciatibusque*, A, B.

³²⁶ *quem*] *quam*, B.

³²⁷ Lamentations, 2.19.

³²⁸ *fere*] om. A, B.

³²⁹ *statim*] om. A, B.

³³⁰ *super*] *sancta*, A.

³³¹ *contritione*] *contritionem*, B.

misericiordiæ refocillare non distulit. Finitis itaque precibus et singultibus lachrymosis, cum ab oratione surrexisset, mirabile dictu! a³³² languoribus et dæmoniacæ deceptionis, quibus opprimebatur, laqueis dissolutus:³³³ nulla in medium mora, divinum sensit juvamen, et totius molestiæ diu perpressæ pium et efficax allevamen.³³⁴ Propulsa etenim utriusque hominis qua detinebatur mœstitia, spiritualis et lætabunda subsecuta est exhilaratio; æstus quoque cordis letiferi, misericordis medicinæ³³⁵ rore salutifero perfusi, penitus consumuntur. Convaluit ægrotus, de cælo suscepta medela, sanctissimi Johannis solita subveniente gratia; lætatur et exultat homo, pristinæ jam redditus sospitati,³³⁶ qui paulo ante moribundus, omnem recuperandæ salutis utriusque spem³³⁷ amiserat. Refriguit mox calor pestilens, a spiritu fornicationis et immunditiæ circa vitalia succensus; mundato³³⁸ per compunctionis lachrymas cordis domicilio, quasi a gravi somno languentis reviviscit animus, divinæ visitationis lumine perlustratus, ac salutifera Sancti Spiritus invocatione³³⁹ delibutus. Mirabantur qui aderant tam subitæ meliorationis³⁴⁰ medelam; ignorantes quod in tribulatione sua Deum invocaverat, qui eum in contritione cordis humiliati³⁴¹ de templo sancto suo exaudierit,³⁴² et laqueo³⁴³ mortis præoccupatum, per mirifici pontificis merita, potenter eripuerit.³⁴⁴

Capitulum IX

*Muto cuidam puero pro Sanctum Johannem loquela redditur.*³⁴⁵

Eodem³⁴⁶ tempore negotiator quidam, in Eboracensi manens civitate, habebat filium, intimæ dilectionis affectu non mediocriter patri carum, quoniam, in³⁴⁷ ipso jam pubescentis ævi tempore, vita moresque pueri non minimum futuræ probitatis prætendebant indicium. Erat enim³⁴⁸ satis capaxis ingenii, et docilitatis gratia,³⁴⁹ in quantum ætas illius tenerrima permittebat,³⁵⁰ insignis; unde literatoriæ exercitationis haud³⁵¹ segnis³⁵² puerulus iter cœperat, et de die in diem ad paternæ jocunditatis et lætitiæ solamen proficiebat. Sed quæ mundi hujus prosperitatis commoditas, quam in aliqua non subsequatur calamitatis adversitas? Quæve

³³² a] et, A, B.

³³³ dissolutus] dissolutis, A.

³³⁴ allevamen] levamen, A, B.

³³⁵ medicinæ] medici, C.

³³⁶ sospitati] sanitati, A, B.

³³⁷ spem] penitus, ins. C.

³³⁸ mundato] mundatoque, A.

³³⁹ invocatione] unccione, B.

³⁴⁰ meliorationis] memorationis, B.

³⁴¹ humiliate] humilitate, C, as also noted by Raine; existentem, ins. C.

³⁴² Psalms 17.7.

³⁴³ laqueo] laqueis, A, B.

³⁴⁴ eripuerit] eripuit, C, as also noted by Raine.

³⁴⁵ There is no heading in A. In B the heading is: *De filio cujusdam civis Eboracensis muto apud Beverlacum per sancti Johannis meritum loquelæ restituto*. There is no heading in C.

³⁴⁶ Eodem] quippe, ins. A, B.

³⁴⁷ in] om. A, B.

³⁴⁸ enim] om. A, B.

³⁴⁹ gratia] om. A; generi, B.

³⁵⁰ permittebat] promittebat, B.

³⁵¹ haud] aut, B; haut, C.

³⁵² segnis] signis, B.

tantæ³⁵³ jocunditatis serenitas, quam in hoc salo vitæ saltem finetenus non obfuscet amara perturbatæ mentis obscuritas? Præfato siquidem puero utrique³⁵⁴ parenti ob hoc³⁵⁵ inæstimabiliter lamentabilis causa contigit; ut paulatim linguæ privaretur officio, sicque brevis spatii termino³⁵⁶ mutus efficitur.³⁵⁷ Condoluit itaque et usque ad animam contristatus est, super inopinata dilecti filii contritione, paternæ dilectionis affectus; et quanto filii calamitas celerior, tanto patris animus ad consolandum immaturior.³⁵⁸ Quærit circumquaque paterna sollicitudo, si quid muto prodesset filio; sed nihil proficit. Laborat medicorum intentio; diversa conficiunt medicamentorum pigmenta, sed absque ullo ægrotantis remedio vel medela. Non enim poterat humana manus vel cura proficere, nec peritorum quorumlibet medentium noverat scientia³⁵⁹ restaurare,³⁶⁰ quod divina dispensatio ad reformandum et mirifice sanandum³⁶¹ reservaverat ineffabili et admirandæ virtuti Suæ. Evoluto temporis spatio, cœpit aliquantisper paternus dolor deliniri pro vita sibi reddita pueri; sed ad plenum nequaquam poterat consolari pro tam³⁶² longa et incurabili taciturnitate dilecti filii sui. Frustratis igitur universis medicinarum curationibus filiorum hominum, placuit piæ patris sollicitudini divinum pro filio sibi indeficiens³⁶³ flagitare subsidium.

Et quoniam innumera miraculorum insignia apud Beverlacum per Beatum Johannem perpetrata multorum testificatione veridicorum³⁶⁴ cognoverat; non supersedit pater, nec diu dilatavit, quod multorum hortatu proposuerat; imo quantocius fiducialiter, non sine pia mentis devotione, dulci³⁶⁵ comitatus filio, ad dilectum³⁶⁶ Johannem iter arripuit. Cum autem una cum multis qui ad festivitatem circumquaque confluerant, in ecclesia simul pernctassent pater et filius, et pro³⁶⁷ filii curatione universorum Conditori Deo, coram dilecto sibi Johanne, pietatis preces pater effunderet; cœpit coram assidentibus, sicut consueverat cum filio colloqui, quoniam puer, licet linguæ moderamine destitutus, alloquentium verba patulo advertebat³⁶⁸ auditu, et in quibus poterat libens patris parebat imperio. Sed dum pater attenderet, ut³⁶⁹ manuum³⁷⁰ indicio solito more suo filius patri innueret; et signis, quia verbis non poterat, cordis secreta reseraret; in admiratione multorum puer patri pro signis mox inconsueta³⁷¹ protulit verba, solvunturque diu

³⁵³ *tantæ*] *tanta*, B; *momentaniæ*, ins. C.

³⁵⁴ *utrique*] *utroque*, B, C.

³⁵⁵ *ob hoc*] om. A, B.

³⁵⁶ *sicque brevis spatii termino*] *et in termino*, A.

³⁵⁷ *efficitur*] *efficeretur*, A.

³⁵⁸ *immaturior*] *maturior*, A, B.

³⁵⁹ *scientia*] om. B.

³⁶⁰ *restaurare*] *muto restituere*, A; *restituere*, B.

³⁶¹ *et mirifice sanandum*] om. B.

³⁶² *pro tam*] *de*, A.

³⁶³ *indeficiens*] *dilecto indeficienter*, A.

³⁶⁴ *veridicorum*] *indiciorum*, A, B.

³⁶⁵ *dulci*] *dilecti*, B.

³⁶⁶ *dilectum*] *Dei*, ins. A, B.

³⁶⁷ *pro*] om. B.

³⁶⁸ *advertebat*] *averteat*, B.

³⁶⁹ *ut*] *in*, ins. C.

³⁷⁰ *manuum*] *manus*, A, B.

³⁷¹ *inconsueta*] *consueta*, A, B.

clausa linguæ³⁷² repagula; restituuntur³⁷³ solita Dei misericordia linguæ dudum amissa gubernacula, per sancti pontificis sui suffragia. Obstupuit illico patris animus, et ultra quam credi potest admirans, totus in lachrymas, non doloris, sed gaudii; non mœroris, sed exultationis, liquefactus est. Non poterat satiari pater in diu desiderata verborum³⁷⁴ affluentia, desiderabatque filium audire loquentem, quem per prolixi temporis spatium graviter sustinuerat tacentem. Patris fides et firma mentis devotio intercessit, ut loqueretur filius: inopinata filii tam repentina curatio continuum et insolabilem mentis languorem a paterna penitus propulsavit anima³⁷⁵. Accurrit, quæ aderat, non modica plebs,³⁷⁶ admirans³⁷⁷ admiratione digna Dei per sanctum suum perpetrata magnalia. Clerus quoque, viso quod factum fuerat miraculo, hymnisonis concrepat³⁷⁸ laudibus. His itaque mirifice gestis, cum ad civitatem gratulabundus pater, adepta filii sospitate reverteretur, et qualiter actum³⁷⁹ esset, per adjacentem divulgaretur provinciam; universi gratias agentes Deo, congratulati sunt ei, quoniam divina propitiatio magnificaverat misericordiam suam cum illo. Et quotiens ordinem rei desiderantibus audire referebat filius, duplicata est patris lætitia de³⁸⁰ divinitus restituta, qua diu destitutus fuerat, loquela.

Capitulum X

*De negotiatoribus Eboracensibus per Beatum Johannem a periculo maris liberatis.*³⁸¹

Quidam Eboracæ³⁸² civitatis negotiatores, unoquoque³⁸³ anno semel devotionis causa Beati Johannis ecclesiam consueverant visitare; quoniam inter diversa et satis periculosa mundi et maxime maris discrimina, invocato nomine ejus, efficax et pium sæpius sensere solatium.³⁸⁴ Præparatis itaque³⁸⁵ omnibus ad navigationem pertinentibus, magna pars civium præfatæ civitatis navem diversis oneratam mercibus ascendunt, ventoque flante secundo consuetum iter maris arripiunt, ad Scotiam usque properantes. Sed quoniam³⁸⁶ velut humana prosperitas, sic et æris serenitas multoties³⁸⁷ sicut umbra transit, et nihil rerum mundanarum diu durat, nec in eodem statu permanet. Æris mox commoditas, qua læti nautæ pacata sulcabant æquora, cœpit ingravescere; deinde nubes imbriferæ serenam cæli obfuscant ærem;³⁸⁸ furentis ventus turbinis

³⁷² clausa linguæ] linguæ clausa, C.

³⁷³ restituuntur] muto, ins. B, C.

³⁷⁴ verborum] filii, ins. C.

³⁷⁵ anima] animo, A, B.

³⁷⁶ plebs] gens, C.

³⁷⁷ admirans] admirantur, A, B.

³⁷⁸ concrepat] concrepant, B.

³⁷⁹ actum] om. B; [res acta], A.

³⁸⁰ de] sibi, A; et sibi, B.

³⁸¹ There is no heading in A. The heading in B is: *De quibusdam civibus eiusdem civitatis per mare navigantibus et valde miraculosæ a periculo liberatis.*

³⁸² Eboracæ] Eboracensis, B; Eboracæ, C.

³⁸³ unoquoque] quoque, A; quoquo, B.

³⁸⁴ solatium] solamen, B, C.

³⁸⁵ itaque] igitur, A, B.

³⁸⁶ quoniam] om. A.

³⁸⁷ multoties] multotiens, B.

³⁸⁸ ærem] faciem, A, B.

jam nimis³⁸⁹ extensa discindit vela; nimiam maris conturbationem terribilis subsequitur tempestas; truces fluctuum flatibus concitæ³⁹⁰ moles, fragilia navis latera hinc et inde sæviter³⁹¹ concutiunt; nunc vela³⁹² fere discissa pendulas videntur tangere nubes; modo maris ima carinam formidabant attingere; quassata malus simul et carbasa sævientibus undarum impulsione deiciuntur: sola spes periclitantium erat in gubernatore, sed tempestatis ingruente³⁹³ procella franguntur gubernacula, navisque remige³⁹⁴ aliisque armamentis penitus destituta, nullis miserantibus,³⁹⁵ exponitur æstuantis pelagi fluctibus. Fit subito dolor lachrymabilis, hinc timor et mentis defectio, hinc luctus³⁹⁶ gravis lamentatio; undique malum, undique mœror; nihil superest nisi mortis imago. Oppugnant³⁹⁷ miserandi nautæ pro posse sævientibus undis; sed invalescentibus tempestatum turbinibus superati deficiunt; mortisque timore tabescentes, nullam³⁹⁸ salutis vel solatii spem habentes, ad sæpius probata beati confessoris subsidia unanimiter convertuntur. Vociferantes ergo, gemebundis replent æra clamoribus; voces fessasque manus ad sidera tollunt; et Beati Johannis nomen in necessitatibus et periculis, non tantum sibi sed et quampluribus notum,³⁹⁹ multotiens ingeminantes.

Non distulit pius pater misericordiarum et totius consolationis Deus⁴⁰⁰ oppressis et in tanta tribulatione laborantibus manum misericordiæ porrigere. Elegit itaque Summi Patris clementia de misericordia sua præsumentibus, et in se toto corde sperantibus, potius misereri quam irasci; et⁴⁰¹ quos diu passus est calamitatibus commoveri,⁴⁰² paternæ dispensationis remedio voluit consolari. Sedata enim⁴⁰³ horrenda⁴⁰⁴ commotione, fluctuumque furore pacificato, æris ilico subsecuta est temperies; faciesque cæli, prius imbriferis obscura⁴⁰⁵ nubibus, nunc solis illustrata radiis, serena refulsit. Congratulabantur ultra quam credi potest nautæ de tam subita et inopinata dextræ⁴⁰⁶ Excelsi mutatione, ignorantes penitus qualiter, solita Dei præeunte clementia, per sancti antititis⁴⁰⁷ sui Johannis suffragia evasissent miserandæ mortis supplicia; et ut dignum admiratione miraculum pluribus insinuaretur; et⁴⁰⁸ modus misericordiæ et liberationis sub silentio non absconderetur.⁴⁰⁹

³⁸⁹ *Jam nimis*] om. A.

³⁹⁰ *concitæ*] *concitata*, C.

³⁹¹ *sæviter*] *serviliter*, A.

³⁹² *vela*] *iam*, ins. A, B.

³⁹³ *ingruente*] *urgente*, A.

³⁹⁴ *remige*] *remigio*, A.

³⁹⁵ *nullis miserantibus*] *multis*, A.

³⁹⁶ *luctus*] *et*, ins. A, B.

³⁹⁷ *Oppugnant*] *Repugnant*, A.

³⁹⁸ *nullam*] *nullamque*, A; *ullamque*, B.

³⁹⁹ *notum multotiens*] [*exposcunt*] *votum multoties*, A; *votum/notum multotiens*, B.

⁴⁰⁰ 2 Corinthians 1.3.

⁴⁰¹ *et*] om. A & B.

⁴⁰² *calamitatibus commoveri*] *calamitate conteri*, A, B.

⁴⁰³ *enim*] *etenim*, C.

⁴⁰⁴ *horrenda*] *ventorum*, ins. A, B.

⁴⁰⁵ *obscura*] *obfuscata*, A.

⁴⁰⁶ *dextræ*] *dexteræ*, B, C.

⁴⁰⁷ *antititis*] *antistitis*, A, B, C.

⁴⁰⁸ *et*] om. A, B.

⁴⁰⁹ *absconderetur*] *abscondetur*, A.

De nautis unus, furente⁴¹⁰ tempestatis procella, ferventis pelagi motus mirabiles nimis ægre ferens, prostratus in medio, et velut in exstasi positus, sui ipsius incompos, moribundus occubuerat. Hic, cessante maris ærisque perturbatione, quasi de gravi somno expergefactus, nautas admirantes⁴¹¹ alloquitur: 'Ne dubitetis,' inquit, 'fratres et consodales mei, de jam transactæ turbationis⁴¹² angustis, per Dei gratiam, nos inpræsentiarum⁴¹³ liberari. Non enim, ut sæpissime⁴¹⁴ solet, fortuito casu contigit tam prospera et jocunda post tot labores turbinis marisque pacificatio; sed Dei miserantis est, quam cernitis, solita⁴¹⁵ super afflictione filiorum Suorum⁴¹⁶ clemens et benigna miseratio. Dum etenim⁴¹⁷ paulo ante, corporis sensibus alienatis, quasi mortuus accumberem,⁴¹⁸ videbatur mihi terribilium turba⁴¹⁹ adesse dæmonum, qui ad subversionem et interitum,⁴²⁰ ad quod venerant, impie properantes, horribiliter intendebant. Subsequitur illico venerandæ staturæ persona viri, candentibus refulgens indumentis; habitu, vultuque pontifici simillimus;⁴²¹ qui baculo pastoralis quem tenebat, protervam ad perniciem hominum adstantium catervam malignorum interrupt spirituum; eamque per navis medium persequens, imperavit discedere, et a nostro penitus propulsavit consortio. Sed ut verborum meorum veritas certitudinis alicujus indicio comprobetur, invenietis anchoram recenti funiculo subnixam, quem⁴²² præfatus pater attulit, disruptis paulo ante tempestatum furore quibus anchora sustentabatur funibus.

Audita visionis serie obstupescunt nautæ; et ultra quam credi potest admirantes, sermonibus fidem adhibere contemnunt, donec evidentissimæ manifestationis veritas admirabilem viri visionem confirmaret; ipsaque res omnem a cordibus adstantium dubitationis nebulam eliminaret. Quibus cognitis, extollunt mox continuas⁴²³ ad sidera laudes; omniumque Salvatori Deo, et⁴²⁴ manifesto liberatori⁴²⁵ suo Johanni grates non cessant solvere multiplices. Præparatis iterum navis armamentis, carbasa tendunt, et ad iter interceptum⁴²⁶ se quique succincti⁴²⁷ præparant;⁴²⁸ sicque leniter respirantibus⁴²⁹ auris, prospere quo intenderant navigantes, Scotiæ littus attingunt; deinde mercimonii sui perpetrato⁴³⁰ negotio navigationem maturantes, vela vertunt ad patriam; sibi que jam famulatrices ad votum æquoreas persulcantes undas, felici

⁴¹⁰ *furente*] *furentis*, B.

⁴¹¹ *admirantes*] *sic*, ins. A, B.

⁴¹² *turbationis*] *tribulationis*, A.

⁴¹³ *inpræsentiarum*] *præsentia jam*, A.

⁴¹⁴ *sæpissime*] *pessime*, B.

⁴¹⁵ *solita*] om. A, B.

⁴¹⁶ *Suorum*] *miser cordia*, ins. A, B.

⁴¹⁷ *etenim*] *enim*, A, B.

⁴¹⁸ *accumberem*] *occumberem*, A.

⁴¹⁹ *turba*] *turbam*, B, C.

⁴²⁰ *interitum*] [*navis*], ins. A.

⁴²¹ *vultuque pontifici simillimus*] *vultu pontificis*, A; *vultu pontificis forma*, B.

⁴²² *quem*] *quam*, B.

⁴²³ *continuas*] om. C.

⁴²⁴ *et*] *jam*, A; *in*, B.

⁴²⁵ *liberatori*] *liberatorique*, A, B.

⁴²⁶ *interceptum*] *inceptum*, A.

⁴²⁷ *succincti*] *succinctæ*, A.

⁴²⁸ *præparant*] *præparat*, A, B.

⁴²⁹ *leniter respirantibus*] *leviter spirantibus*, A; *leniter/leviter spirantibus*, B.

⁴³⁰ *perpetrato*] *præparato*, B.

cursum diu desiderata patriæ in brevi delabuntur⁴³¹ ad littora. Non multo post, semota dilatione, Beverlacum usque festinantes, precum vota Deo sanctoque suo Johanni sanctæ devotionis affectu persolvunt. Accersitis denique fratribus ecclesiæ, quid⁴³² inter navigandum acciderat, qualiter, suffragantibus⁴³³ beati pontificis orationibus et meritis, a naufragii periculis, diræque mortis faucibus solita Salvatoris clementia liberati essent, seriatim in communi proferunt audientia; funiculumque, quem secum ad tanti miraculi manifestationem⁴³⁴ attulerant, clero plebique non mediocriter admirantibus ostendunt. Obstupescunt qui aderant ad inauditam tanti eventus novitatem, admirantes quod⁴³⁵ sævientibus pelagi turbinibus anchoræ præmaxima moles tam subtili posset sustentari funiculo. Considerantes vero Deum in creaturis suis mirabilem, ad incomprehensibilem Illius omnipotentiam, mirificamque sancti pontificis sui Johannis potentiam unanimiter laudandam et extollendam convertuntur; qui solus terræ marisque potestatibus imperat et dominatur,⁴³⁶ motum fluctuum ejus mitigat, et mirabiliter cœrcet: Cui semper sit laus, honor, imperium, pax perpetua,⁴³⁷ et omnis gloria, per infinita sæculorum sæcula. Amen.

⁴³¹ *desiderata patriæ in brevi delabuntur*] *desiderati portus brevi delabuntur*, A;
delabuntur] *delebantur*, B.

⁴³² *quid*] *quod*, A.

⁴³³ *suffragantibus*] C ends here.

⁴³⁴ *manifestationem*] *vel certificationem*, B.

⁴³⁵ *quod*] *qualiter*, B.

⁴³⁶ *dominatur*] *et*, ins. B.

⁴³⁷ *perpetua*] *perpes*, A, B.

APPENDIX 2B

MIRACLES OF SAINT JOHN, BISHOP OF YORK.

AUTHOR, WILLIAM KETELL

For a long time I had wanted to commit to posterity certain miracles of St John which I saw personally, or I knew had been proven by truthful witnesses, profoundly wishing that the marks of honour of the miracles of so great and so blessed a father be made public everywhere; that they should not lie hidden concealed under a bushel,¹ or should pass by wholly unknown through the lapse of time. Indeed, fearing lest I should be accused of presumption if, in the presence of wiser men, I should accede to the task of a wise man like any old scribe, I have withheld my hand for a long time from the task for which I yearned. There are very many people who damage the deeds of sincere men with a dart of criticism, and being corrupted by the odium of poisonous slander, strive to detract from the praiseworthy deeds of others; sufficiently diligent to attack the life of anyone they please, but nevertheless lazy at censuring themselves; quick to the affront of blasphemy; ready to withhold praise on the writings of anyone else: my soul will not come unto their assembly, and my honour will not be united.² Although I may not, in truth, possess the words of eloquence with which to record the worthy deeds of so great a father in Tullian³ style, on one side being obliged to compliance by a debt of servitude, on the other being unwilling to disobey the command of mutual love, I submit as a suppliant to the decrees of your benevolence. Moreover, I believe that the sweetness of brotherly love will be most helpful to me in the execution of this little work, seeing that you compel one less learned to write from the sole inspiration of love; you discern my inadequacy to take up the burden, which will assuredly be supported more firmly by your wisdom, and advanced by your skilful eloquence.

But lest I seem to offend against your love if I do not obey, with divine mercy leading the way, and the grace of the most blessed John following behind, about whom we shall speak, I freely submit my neck to the chain of love which has been imposed. Accordingly, in the customary way of sailing men, I will take a fragile little boat into the waves, not stretching out the sails in the air, being supported by a humble crew of rowers, I will cleave beside the calm shores lest the small boat, which will be borne more safely in the untroubled edge of the shore, by bursting forth into the open sea should be destroyed by the waves of a stormy sea and, incautious, should

¹ Matthew 5.15; Mark 4.21; Luke 11.33.

² Genesis 49.6.

³ This is a reference to Tullius Cicero.

be devoured by the whirlpool of Charybdis. Therefore, so that my devoted humility should not lack support, may John, illustrious father and our merciful patron, strengthen his work with his patronage, and may he steer the mind of the writer on an even course; and so that it should not turn aside from the path of truth to wander through lonely unfrequented places, may he himself give support to the work's prologue by teaching; may he, by steering it, allow the sounding of his praise to be finished by a happy ending. Indeed, if a friendly vigilance notices something unrefined in the content of my words, or something prepared in a plebeian style, the unfamiliarity of the scribe, and illness of the body, together with not a little affliction of the mind, with which I am harshly tormented, may excuse. I hope to be quickly soothed by the copious clemency of the man of God, if the mind and hand of the ill man have laboured according to his ability in spreading the glory of his praise and exaltation.

Chapter 1

How, through the merit and help of St John, King Athelstan forced the king of Scotland to surrender.

When the most Christian king, Athelstan son of Edward the Elder, was on the throne, the surviving Danes, in accordance with their custom, raised their evil head against him, but they were trampled under his feet, and reduced to dust. The Northumbrians and Scots were rebelling against him, and they violated the treaty which they had made with him. The king, having assembled a very large army, advanced by land and by sea, ready to subdue the wicked men. However, when he arrived in the province of Lindsey he met with a considerable crowd of poor and mean people. When he asked them where they came from, they replied, 'From Beverley,' where they had gone to visit the relics of St John in the hope of salvation. The king enquired if their prayers had been fulfilled. And one of them said, 'I, who was born blind, obtained the power of sight at the body of that most holy man'. And another said, 'I, who have been crippled from birth, as you see for yourself, am walking, physically sound, through the prayers of St John'. Hearing this, and other similar stories, the most Christian king said, 'That John of yours is a great man, and I believe it to be advantageous to win over the favour of such a man to us, and obtain assistance in this important business. Therefore, in view of the fact that it is not the will of heaven that we pass by such a patron of our realm unvisited, let our army proceed on the king's highway. I, together with a few companions, will undertake to visit his tomb, about which I have heard so much, since I am ready to pray for his mercy'. Then when the most illustrious king arrived at the tomb of the saint, after a solemn vigil in accordance with ancient custom, after prayers had been poured forth from a humble heart, when he had drenched the pavement with the most devoted tears, having drawn his dagger out of its scabbard, he placed it on the sacred altar saying, 'Behold, most blessed John, a guarantee of my solemn promise, that if I return after successfully subduing my enemies with your help, I will redeem it at a worthy

price and, for as long as I live, I will prove to be grateful and devoted to you'. The king then returned to his army, and soon invaded the enemies' borders with great force. And now, when the time to attack had arrived, after the king had fallen asleep on the preceding night he saw John standing by him and encouraging him to fight fearlessly, saying, 'Joyfully embracing your devotion which you demonstrated at my tomb, I have entreated my God on your behalf, and he has heard my voice. Therefore attend and hear my voice so that you may walk in the ways of your fathers, and I shall be an enemy to your enemies,⁴ and I shall strike those who strike you, and the grace of God will protect you'. Saying this he disappeared. When morning dawned, the king attacked his enemies, and when he had achieved victory he forced the king of the Scots to surrender. And after he had explored the lie of this land for quite a long time, having taken the son of the king hostage, he returned to York. Making his way to Beverley from there, he redeemed his dagger by granting many gifts and the greatest liberty.

Chapter 2

How, when a soldier who had violated the sanctuary of the church at Beverley had been punished through divine intervention, King William who had been seized with fear, benevolently made amends to the assembled priests of that church.

After the English realm was subjugated through warfare, by decree of God's will or sanction, to William, Duke of Normandy, an extremely vigorous soldier and distinguished man, the king having been defeated, and nearly all the nobles of the entire realm having been conquered and killed, the aforesaid victorious prince gained possession of the English realm. And following a short interval of time, as he had been elevated to royal sovereignty, he received the crown of kingship from Ealdred of blessed memory, the venerable archbishop of the metropolitan see of York. After the violence of rebellious warfare, this man, with vigilant attention and exertion of the military skill with which he was endowed, sweated hard to restore peace so that, as he had been restored as king, and the leaders had been subdued, the realm would be pacified; and as the peace treaty had been renewed, the people of the whole country would be made subject to the supreme authority of the prince alone. At the instigation of the odious vileness of a very poisonous serpent, which since the beginning very cunningly reinforced its prejudices in favour of abandoning peace and harmony, the people of the northern province (seeing that all evil is revealed from the north),⁵ in the frenzied savagery of a barbarous race, refused to be subjected to the decrees of the new prince. Because of the accursed custom of their ancestors they preferred rather to pursue the activities of war rather than of peace, of discord rather than of harmony. The discriminating clemency of the prince grieved over the indiscriminating enmity of the people, and those whom he could not subject to the unity of peace through any leniency,

⁴ Exodus 23.22.

⁵ Reference to Jeremiah 1.14.

he decided to destroy utterly with hostile devastation, so that the integrity of all would not be corrupted by the pollution of that part.

Therefore, when he had assembled a large number of men, the furious king, in a violent rage, went all the way to York and stormed the city with violent, warlike aggression, and laid it waste to the ground with the savageness of fire, and with much slaughter of the citizens who controlled the riches of this magnificent city. Then, having been granted his wish, changing the place but not the purpose, he passed through the adjacent provinces, and by a ferocious royal edict he ordered his army to harry the camps, towns, and villages together with all their inhabitants with sword, fire, and starvation. Nor were they to stop until the remainder of the defeated people had been completely destroyed, and from then on the memory of those people, who previously so little valued royal intentions, would be wiped from the face of the whole region.

While the storm of this tempest was raging, whatever man or beast was discovered, from the city of York all the way to the coast of the eastern sea, perished, except for those who fled to the church of St John at Beverley for asylum. For during the times of earlier kings, especially the illustrious English king, Athelstan, when liberty flowed freely, the famous church was cherished for the aforementioned preservation of peace, so that it was often visited by the inhabitants, and was honoured conscientiously.

However, since the news spread, it became known among the enemy that a large number of the devastated populace had taken sanctuary there (indeed the tents of the king and his army were pitched not very far away). Some, who had been struck by blind avarice and who were accustomed to inane greed, made their way to Beverley eager to plunder the possessions of unarmed people with cruel savagery. They entered the town, and since they found no-one opposing their villainy, raging with avarice within, and by virtue of arms without, they proceeded with wicked boldness to the enclosure of the churchyard where a large number of terrified people had gathered together more safely. Amongst them was their leader, Thurstan (as he was called) who, wishing to rob someone, attacked a wretch who was trying to reach the safety of the sanctuary as fast as he could. Having drawn the sword with which he was girded, he gave chase through the middle of the stunned people on his horse. But because he was unable to lay hold of the fugitive outside the church, he did not give honour to God but pursued the man who, by the mercy of God, was at this very moment escaping all the way inside the doors of the church.

Suddenly there was a gathering of trembling people shouting, unanimously imploring the help of St John in his concern for his people. No time was lost. The compassionate mercy of God

pitying his poor people, and the retribution of God taking revenge on the violator of the peace, followed immediately. Indeed he, who a short time before had gnashed his teeth in rage in a frenzy of ferocity, fell down paralysed from the horse he was riding and his misshapen face having been twisted behind his back, and his hands and feet bent back, just like an ugly monster, he drew the eyes of all the astonished people who were there. Then the joyful people broke out into many praises, and in one voice glorified the almighty power of the Saviour, which showed itself in the virtues of his blessed priest, John. The stupefied soldiers, who had arrived at the same time, seeing the great works of God performed through the holy patron, threw away their weapons and, with the savageness of their minds assuaged, they who at first had run amok to plunder spoils, now directed themselves to obtain the help of the man of God. Then, hastening back to the army, they confessed their offence to the concerned king. Having learned of the virtue of the holy confessor, the king was greatly saddened over the misfortune of his beloved soldier. Because reckless military daring had caused offence, and fearing that others of his abovementioned soldiers might blunder into similar wrongdoing, with kingly wisdom he set about making peace.

Having summoned to him very wise men of the aforementioned church, he earnestly learned from them about the signs of sanctity of the pre-elected priest of God; and so he shrewdly found out how the church of Beverley, during the time of illustrious kings, had been elevated most highly to the honours of liberty. And so that he should not be unequal to the munificence of preceding fathers, he reinforced with royal assent, and confirmed with the authority of his seal, whatever had been given to the aforesaid church through the liberality of princes or in the devout gift of any former prince whomsoever. Furthermore, with a generous hand he adorned the aforementioned church with votive offerings and enlarged the church with lands so that he might achieve forgiveness for his sins through the assisting merits of the blessed confessor, and so that in later years his famous donation would be remembered. Moreover, lest through the vicinity of his warlike army the peace agreement should be destroyed, as often happens, with prudent forethought the prince commanded that the tents be pitched far away from Beverley. Delighted, those admiring the generosity and humility of speech of such a great man returned home with joy, and having given to God the gifts that they had received from the king, they reassured the anxious hearts of the clergy and the people. And, as suppliants, they now begged the clemency of the Saviour for the success of him whose power of command they had recently feared. Meanwhile, his household, begging humbly for the life of the abovementioned soldier, prayed frequently. When they repeatedly carried the half-dead man, who had been castigated by the health-giving blow of reproof, before the tomb of the man of God, the compassion of God's mercy turned towards him. And when his illness was driven off through the merits of the holy bishop, not many days later he was restored to his former sound health. After he had returned home when he had regained his health, he did not forget to return and give glory to God and, for

as long as he lived, to make a gift every year without fail, like a ransom for his life, to his deliverer, John, in memory of the kindness he had received.

Chapter 3

About rain which was produced in a time of drought through the assisting merits of St John.

Your love will observe, and will understand with pious devotion, how this man was of exceedingly outstanding merit with God: a man who, with his usual compassion, drives away troubles from all those who are oppressed in the spirit and the body, and also the misfortunes of the weather turn to good thanks to his intercession. For once upon a time, when the sins of the sons of men so demanded, such a great fierce heat of the intemperate sun scorched the surface of the land, and such a long period of dry weather threatened, that practically all hope of fruits and crops was lost. Throughout the whole of springtime the land, which had been burned by the prolonged fierce heat of the sun, was not made fertile by any rainfall so that, since the moisture of the rains had completely dried up, the land, splitting open all round at the edges, impeded the way for travellers, and because the grass was wilting, the pastures were not sufficient for the animals. And when the people, having lost all hope, grew weak with weariness of God's threatening anger, and did not expect any remedy from their oppressing misfortune, some religious men, canons of the church of York, with the brothers' communal devotion, came to Beverley to obtain the oft-proved help of St John so that, when the oppressing disaster had been driven off by his merit, everyone's grievous complaint would be turned into joy. And since it would soon be the holy bishop's feast day, they begged with humble devotion, and they praised earnestly while begging that the body of the holy man should be carried around the church with due honour, although this had not been the usual custom on such a day, so that the devotion of the united people would be increased with the doubled joy of such a great ceremony. The pious concern of these men moved everyone, and they gladly accepted their wishes, since they would be beneficial as regards the perils of this calamitous time. Therefore, everything having been made ready insofar as the importance of the day required, supporting the burden of the blessed body on their dutiful shoulders, everyone proceeded with great contrition of the heart, the clergy praising greatly, the people with the greatest devotion. To be sure, the weather was so fine that absolutely no traces of clouds were to be seen throughout the whole expanse of the sky.

Now they had progressed a short way when suddenly a tiny cloud was seen which had been brought about by rain-bearing winds, which, growing bigger and spreading out wide, darkened the previously clear sky with extraordinary speed and obscured the radiant face of the sun. All who were there were amazed at the sudden change of weather, having no doubt that the change was the work of the Most High. Their tearful clamours reached the roof of the sky, and through their unremitting prayers they averted the anger of the supreme Judge with the assistance of the

holy bishop. When they had passed by the eastern side of the church, marvellous to say, so great a downpour followed that before they went back the ornaments with which the clergy were festively decorated, and the clothes of everyone in the procession, became drenched with the torrential downpour. However, no sign of deterioration was evident in their ecclesiastical garments. The merciful hand of God did not stay the health-giving fall of rain earlier, and the saint did not cease from his customary patronage of support, until such time as the dryness of the parched earth overflowed with copious streams.

O inestimable propitiation of divine consolation! O wondrous and pious procurement from God by the holy priest! Whilst he offers the aromatic spices of the prayers of beseeching people to the Supreme Priest, the harshness of the sky is driven off, and the fruitfulness of the crops is unexpectedly restored. Also, with the intemperance of the elements having been restrained, the wished-for prosperity of bodies and minds ensues. In his performing this fittingly memorable miracle, the blessed bishop is considered by us to be a second Elijah who, in the ancient times of our fathers, clear-sighted in divinely inspired prophecy, obtained from God through prayer that, when the prolonged drought by which the people were wasting away had been eliminated, the sky was granted rain and the earth fertility of crops; the universal church proclaims this miracle most celebrated for its greatness.⁶ Moreover this genuine Israelite, full of the grace of God in times of grace, by a similar remedy of prayer healed, from a flock belonging to the Lord, sheep which were beset by a not dissimilar affliction; from his pious request, through the Lord of heaven, the sky obeyed in a fall of rain, and the earth complied with a fruitful harvest.

Chapter 4

*How he cured a boy who had been mute from birth and disfigured by ulcerous ringworm.*⁷

The fame of the miracles of the man of God increased daily such that his celebrated memory was venerated everywhere, because of which, not only local people, but also very many people from distant parts of the earth continually gathered at his church asking for cures of the body and mind. Amongst these people, a small boy of about seven years old, who had been blind from birth, was brought from the district of Hexham. And although it seemed incredible to many people that a person blind from birth could acquire the power of sight, his parents, who were also blind, confidently embraced John, the holy man of God, with affectionate familiarity, seeing that they had heard very many people repeating how, when he presided over the church of Hexham, he had cured a boy from that district who had been mute from birth, as is recounted in the *History of the English People*.⁸ With this feeling of pious devotion, coming to Beverley with a large crowd of people, both parents caused their blind son to stand before the tomb where

⁶ 1 Kings 18.

⁷ This heading is misleading and refers to the miracle first related by Bede in *HE* v.2 and repeated by Folcard in *Vita* iv. The miracle recounted here relates to a boy who was blind from birth.

the body of the blessed man had formerly been buried, in great contrition of heart, with tears streaming forth, so that, wrenched away from his mother's breast, he would draw a cure from Christ, the fount of mercy. When the blind boy cried out in grief and, in crying out, stretched out his arms to his mother to be picked up, the suppliant mother poured out her soul as if it were water before God and his saint John for the well-being of her son.⁹ The blind boy, who was wailing with tearful cries, was caused to fall prostrate and then, to the astonishment of everyone, the little eyes of the weeping boy were bathed in a clear light, and in this way, by the shining grace of Almighty God, the maternal prayers over her son were mercifully fulfilled, the grief with which she was absorbed on behalf of her son having been completely banished.

Suddenly a crowd gathered, and the large circle of amazed people standing around were astounded at the extraordinary miracles, and they unanimously praised the works of God the Saviour, the outward signs of so much virtue, which had been performed through his beloved bishop. The boy was stupefied at everything, being able to see for the first time; the people were amazed at the magnitude of the unusual work; the mother rejoiced with inestimable joy for the health of her beloved son, which had been obtained by divine agency; everyone in common devotion proclaimed God, the Creator of the universe, glorious in his blessed confessor, John. You have heard the gospel truth testifying that which had not been heard since the world began, namely that a man born blind has been given the power of sight only by the Lord.¹⁰ Hear also that a wise man in our time, an emulator of his Lord has, through the Lord, cured a boy afflicted with infirmity in a similar manner. From this it is patently obvious that he shone forth in the world as a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and faithfully obeyed the teachings of the Lord, and stood out as a persecutor of sins and teacher of everlasting life. After his death, through his assisting merits, when bodies are interred in deadly sleep they are blessed with life-giving air, longed-for physical wholeness is restored to the crippled, mourners are comforted by the cure of consolation, the unfailing rewards of eternal life are obtained from the Lord through him. He enjoyed, with the elect, his ineffably joyful presence, which he had longed for, sitting rejoicing with the heavenly guests, inspired by joyous and eternal delight; ready to obtain on behalf of his people whatever he sought from the King, whom he has served worthily, evermore.

⁸ HE v.2.

⁹ Lamentations 2.19.

¹⁰ John 9.32.

Chapter 5

About Giles, infirm and disfigured, who was made handsome and healthy through the virtue of the saint.

Not long after it also happened that a man called Giles, from Scotland, visited the aforesaid church of the holy man for a cure. Here, for several days before the feast day of the saint, where the people used to come each year hoping for the favour of divine mercy, he suffered the laughter of a great many people, an object of exhibition for everybody. Moreover, inside he was just like the outside declared: lacking in all practical understanding; not a boy, yet tending towards childlike games in everything, with the result that he was regarded by everyone as a man who was mad in the head, yet harmful to no-one but himself. Indeed the disfigured body bore limbs which were suitable to it: a huge and loathsome head, a skinny neck, thighs, legs and feet just like a boy's, monstrously contorted, and completely useless, namely, the wretched and useless burden of the body, which from childhood had never been of any use but had always been a handicap. Since he was a pauper and a foreigner the essentials of life were more willingly given to him by the inhabitants than if he were a local; those people requesting and prevailing upon God with devout prayer to drive off the monstrous infirmity so that the limbs of the wretch be given some semblance of human beauty. When the day of celebration arrived, the aforesaid miserable wretch spent the night in a secluded place so that, because he was crippled, he should not be crushed by the innumerable multitude of people who had assembled as usual.

And when the clergy began the nocturnal celebrations, that unsightly man began to be troubled by distressing pains, and began to cry out frenziedly. Some of the clergy immediately hurried over, abandoning their singing in the choir; and now they pacified, not without a struggle, the insistence of the people who were bursting in in order to see and praise the pity and glory of a God who has compassion on his creation. While the pitiful man, unable to bear so much distress, rolled about here and there as though insane, and sighing prayers were urgently poured forth to God for him by those standing around, what a wondrous thing! In the hearing of some people the contraction of the muscles was distended, the skeleton of the disjointed limbs was consolidated. Unexpected vigour ensued; the straight limbs were shaped to the body, and he became physically sound from being at the point of death, sane from being deranged, valued from being worthless and, having been despised a little before, handsome after being monstrous. And so, in the space of a short time, he acquired good health in both body and mind. And because many people had observed him while he was crippled, the celebrated news of his salvation was spread over a wide area. Because of this, very many people who came to the aforesaid church of God's saint in order to pray desired to see him and to enjoy his conversation, gazing with astonishment upon the now handsome young man, whom they had frequently seen crippled and out of his mind.

These works of your mercy, O God! who strike dead and restore to health, wound and mercifully cure,¹¹ who allows the very beautiful form of the human body to be disjoined into deformity because the sins of our mortality demand it. Then you bring us back to remorse of our heart and improvement of our morals by your inscrutable decree, and to the natural appearance of our former beauty by the wonderful magnitude of your goodness in order that the hardness of our minds may be weakened, and also that, through these miracles of human transformation, we may be turned back to you, Lord, whom we see in the whole of your creation, and yet we do not repent for our sins which are gone over our heads.¹² You desire the advancement of our lives, and we ruin them by living sinfully. You call, and we do not hear. you shout, and we refuse to listen. You warn, and we ignore. You teach, and we disdain. You command, and we do not obey. You knock piously at the doors of our hearts, and we do not open them. You thunder, and we do not fear at all. You threaten and we regard it as of little importance. You show mercy with paternal devotion, and forgetful of your compassion, which endures forever,¹³ we are occupied by concerns of the present time which is transitory and is going to perish utterly, not thinking enough that only one thing is necessary.¹⁴

Chapter 6

St John freed a man who had been a criminal since he was a boy, and because of that was going to be hanged.

It is worthwhile contemplating the delightful restoration of both the inner and outer man, and the healthy reformation of morals, the indescribable work of divine magnificence; and to remember constantly his sorrows and compassion, which endure forever.¹⁵ Especially in times of grace, the Son of God deigned to perform these works far and wide to the praise and glory of his name, and to the exaltation and honour of his saints, who, in return for silver talents loaned to them which they have faithfully multiplied, delight in the joy of their Lord in the fellowship of angels in heaven.¹⁶

A certain man, either from his youth or from the time he was able to distinguish between good and evil, was forgetful of God his Creator, having forsaken the path of justice and truth, devoted himself to the devil and his service with complete concentration of purpose by stealing, plundering, and doing other things which it is far too laborious to recount. After some time in the service of his betrayer, namely the devil, from whom human frailty has never been adequately protected, he was captured and bound fast, and since it was plain that he had been a son of iniquity since boyhood, everyone who was present proclaimed that this same son of

¹¹ Job 5.18.

¹² Psalm 37.5.

¹³ Psalm 24.6.

¹⁴ Luke 10.42.

¹⁵ Psalm 24.6.

iniquity, by lawful judgement, should undergo the penalty of crucifixion. Furthermore, the following day was appointed as the time of punishment, and as this time drew nearer, so the guilty man was more heavily bound up in chains and fetters. And so that he could not in any way escape the punishment that had been planned for him, he was handed over into the custody of those people from whom he previously enjoyed stealing.

But God, whose healing never fails, whose help is never refused to those striving for justice, from whose mercy nobody except unbelievers is shut out, did not allow his image to be condemned by the deceiver of the human race. Accordingly, in the silence in the middle of the night, after sleep had relaxed the limbs of the guards, the eyes of his blindness were opened for a while, and in tears he began to solicit help from God. And mindful of St John, in whose parish the penalty for his villainy, namely death by crucifixion, was to be carried out the next day, raising up his face, for chains bound his two hands, he said, ‘O John, guardian of the weak, if you are truly a servant of Christ, if what I have heard about the greatness of your virtue is true, hurry to assist miserable me, although I am repenting at a late hour; and deliver me by your intercession from the brink of so untimely a death; and I in turn not only renounce the devil and his service, but also promise that, with your help, I will abstain from all evil’.

Immediately, all the chains on his arms fell off and, as the hands are the faithful servants of the entire body, one must believe that God had undone them first so that those same hands would subsequently undo the rest of the limbs. And the man seeing, after he had invoked the name of God and his saint John, that his hands, which had been tied behind his back, and his entire body had been freed from chains, rose to his feet with great astonishment and withdrew through the middle of his enemies who were all round him. When he had gone outside, he made his way through the darkness of the night towards the sanctuary of the servant of God (which was not less than twelve miles from there); and so at dawn he arrived at the church he had long sought. Soon, having gone inside, having held out his fetters and chains before the tomb of the man of God, giving thanks, he told the servants of the church, and everyone else who wanted to hear, how he had been freed from the jaws of death by that benefactor. During the several days he stayed with the church clergy, he was made peaceable from being a plunderer, and a lamb from being a wolf, through the intervention of his beloved John. And since he had been bound against his will to endure the penalty of crucifixion because of his sins, as a clear sign of penitence, of his own free will, he embraced the cross of the Lord for his sins.

¹⁶ Luke 19.12-26.

Chapter 7*An Irishman was cured through St John.*

Now when the remarkable reports of the praises of the holy bishop were made known throughout the surrounding provinces, a certain Irishman, articulate and eloquent in speech, aroused by the news, arranged to come to Beverley from his region. Indeed, he was affected by grievous apoplexy through his whole body such that he was so crippled that he did not have the strength to move himself about unless he was conveyed by the support of helpers. Therefore, when everything appropriate to the infirmity of the weak man and the length of the journey had been made ready, the man was put on a conveyance and, not without great difficulty, he was brought all the way to Beverley, by people carrying and dragging [it]. When he arrived, the solemn day of the holy Ascension of the Lord was imminent, which was kept very joyously as a festival by the inhabitants, seeing that on that day the relics of the saint, after the appropriate office of great solemnity had been performed, were accustomed to be held up with honour at the entrance of the church while the clergy and people passed by with humble devotion. And while this was happening, the aforesaid sick man, carried there amongst the others on his usual conveyance, ordered that he be placed apart next to the relics of the holy confessor, so that when the greater part of the crowd which had gathered had gone past, the miserable man might pass by in the hope of gaining his health. And since he was a particularly eloquent composer of words, he began to speak to the saint of God, just as if he saw him physically living. With many words and astonishing fluency, which were poured forth from the bottom of his heart, he begged that compassion be felt for him. One moment he was claiming [compassion] on the basis that he was a stranger turning up from remote parts of the world, another moment because of the harshness and excessively long duration of the journey, and then because the ruin of his body, asking confidently, not without tears, that the magnitude of his hope should not be frustrated, but that he should obtain a cure of his great illness, through the intervention of that [saint].

With the flow of his language he attracted the notice of those people standing around who, with one accord, moved by the sweetness of affectionate piety, prayed for his recovery. After this, when a large number of people had passed under, the aforesaid sick man ordered that he be carried under the reliquary on his litter, so that he should pass by last. As the shadow of the casket in which the holy body was being carried overshadowed him, he began to get better gradually, with the crowd of men standing around and looking on with wonder. No time was lost. One man, greatly rejoicing, having taken the hand of the now recovering sick man, with gentle authority brought him to the altar through the middle of the church and choir which were crowded with watching people and clergy. The man was amazed at his body, hitherto old and destroyed by the long-suffering of illness, suddenly held up and directed by the unaccustomed control of his feet. And since he grew strong unexpectedly, and gained the hope of health which

had been hopeless hitherto, he blessed God in the works of his beloved John, and he expressed gratitude however and wherever he could for the restoration of his unexpected health. We have heard, brothers, the evangelist Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, relating how through blessed Peter, leader of the apostles, health was restored in Jerusalem to one lame from his mother's womb, which miracle was proclaimed most honoured for its greatness in the face of the universal church.¹⁷ We have seen, even we, close now to the end of the world, a man who was not only unable to stand on his feet, but was deprived of the health of almost the whole of his body, at the entrance of the church doors, with the accustomed mercy of God leading the way, released from the long illness in which he had lain helpless, through John, beloved by him, successor of the apostles. This miracle was famous not only in the province of York, but also in Ireland.

Chapter 8

A schoolmaster cured of lechery.

This confessor, John, holy and worthy of exceptional reverence, not only drove off any physical disabilities and all sorts of illnesses of the exterior man with divine assistance, but also, the lover of goodness, when he had driven off the cunning of a malicious demon, applied remedies of holy consolation to certain minds which had been oppressed and completely devastated by illusions of diabolical machination. Out of many examples, therefore, let us make public one who was miraculously delivered from the wiles of a devilish perversion by the power of the aforesaid bishop, and let us busy ourselves to recall what we have learned very often from his truthful lips, to the glory of Almighty God, and to the memory of his saint.

A certain schoolmaster went to Beverley for a time, wishing to direct his enthusiasm for school-teaching there, since the place was full of clerks: the dignitaries of that church received him with unanimous enthusiasm. Here, since he was both strong in grammatical knowledge and was renowned for the integrity of his morals, his manners being lowly and kind, he soon found favour with everybody; his skill in his art was approved of as it had been formed by delightful and punctilious practice and judicious severity. Outside [the church] he constantly directed a large number of scholars, and inside he harmoniously governed the management of the choir; in both places he was no lazy administrator but an active official. But what, among men, has been pleasing to God the Saviour of all, that has not been displeasing to the wicked deceiver of the human race? Or what virtue has the dignity of human excellence of which the stench and wily cunning of a demon is not envious with a poisonous heart?

¹⁷ Acts 3.1-8

So the enemy soon dishonestly set a trap for the honest toil of the aforesaid teacher of morals and, willing to deceive, ensnared the unsuspecting man in his usual way. That is to say he thrust the eyes of the young man onto the face of a certain beautiful virgin and soon, with youthful love, he began to conceive a strong desire for her. The temptation which had been sinfully begun grew daily and, carrying out many violences on his will, wickedly enticed the heart of the man to the deed of sexual intercourse; if only virtue and ability were equal to desire. On the one hand, fear and a sense of shame, on the other the wantonness of mad and unaccustomed love, now squeezed the emotions of the languishing man more tightly. Now the man who had been made wretched concealed the desire of blind, furious longing which, the more secret it was, the more pernicious harm it did. Immediately the rigour of his discipline in school began to slacken, and his passion for his literary studies cooled, and you would think that the man whose pallor and hideous thinness had disfigured his youthful beauty was enfeebled by no light illness. He had no idea at all what he should do, or what would be the best relief from so great a misfortune. Seeing that he now had no control over himself he dreaded both the danger of ominous punishment or death, for either he submitted to the spirit of fornication, a mad craving for which he throbbed profoundly, and was fulfilled, just as a horse and a mule, which have no understanding¹⁸ or, avoiding the fornication which the tempter of all filth puts as a deadly obstacle before anyone striving towards God, he would not in any way escape the penalty of bodily ruin, or rather the pitiful end of life, which cannot be called back.

So that he should not be utterly destroyed, the compassionate mercy of divine propitiation did not permit the inner man, made in his own image, beset and bitterly distressed by diabolical deceit, to be tormented any longer. Accordingly, urged by divine inspiration, being exceedingly sick within and without, he fled towards the help of a powerful physician, as it were to sanctuary, that is to the most blessed John who, endowed with divine influence had, in his wondering presence, powerfully delivered from their diseases a great many people who were beset by the misfortunes of all sorts of infirmities. And so that he might more successfully persuade the man of God, and might succeed in obtaining from him, as if from a trustworthy physician, an appropriate remedy of healing treatment for his very great distress, after the psalms had been sung at matins, when the clergy dispersed as usual, he remained alone in the choir so that there, through his servant, he might more privately reveal himself to Almighty God as beset by diabolical temptation and tormented to the depth of his soul by the deceit of a demon. Distressed, he prostrated himself before the altar, lying down with as much weeping and as much agony of the heart as was possible, he poured out his soul to merciful God, just like water,¹⁹ in order to obtain relief from his offence and sickness through the merciful mediation of the man of God to whom he had fled for refuge. His very intimate speech was so long, and so

¹⁸ Psalm 31.9.

¹⁹ Lamentations 2.19.

great was the abundance of tears copiously flowing forth from the fount of his heart, that between beseeching and grieving, indulging in pains and sighs, he was almost entirely worn out. The bowels of compassion of paternal piety were immediately moved over the grief of the son who was repenting and asking for forgiveness, and the true physician of souls and bodies did not delay in restoring to health the wounds of the piously praying sick man with the oil of mercy. Accordingly, when he had risen to his feet from his outpouring, having ceased his prayers and tearful sobs, wondrous to say! freed from the illness and from the traps of devilish deception with which he was oppressed, he immediately sensed divine aid, and the merciful and effective relief of all the distress which he had suffered for a long time. Indeed when the grief, which used to possess both the inner and outer man, had been expelled, spiritual and joyful rejoicing immediately ensued. Moreover, the deadly fires of the heart were thoroughly destroyed, having been besprinkled with the health-giving dew of a merciful cure. The sick man recovered, the cure having been performed by heaven through the customary saving grace of the most holy John. His previous health now restored, the man rejoiced and exulted who, moribund a little time before, had lost all hope of recovering his inner and outer health. The pernicious fire which had been set alight around his vital parts by the spirit of fornication and filth soon cooled down, having been purified by tears of remorse from the dwelling place of the heart. The soul of the sick man revived as if from a deep sleep, having been purified by the light of divine visitation, and also deeply imbued with the health-giving invocation of the Holy Spirit. Those who had approached were amazed at such a sudden cure, not knowing that in his distress he had invoked God who, from his holy temple, had heard him in the contrition of a humbled heart²⁰ and, through the merits of the wonderful bishop, had powerfully delivered from the snare of death the man who had been possessed.

Chapter 9

Speech restored to a dumb boy because of St John.

At that same time, a certain businessman who was staying in York had a son whom he loved exceedingly and with deep devotion, because the life and behaviour of the boy at puberty gave great indications of his future probity. He was certainly of sufficiently capable intellect, and noted for his aptness to learn as far as his very tender age permitted, so that the assiduous little boy had begun the course of scholarly practice, and from day to day he was so progressing in study as to be a solace of paternal delight and joy. But what advantage of good fortune of this world is there which the antidote of some misfortune does not immediately follow? Or what serenity of so much happiness is there, which in this sea of life the bitter clouding of a confused mind does not entirely obscure? Because of this, an inestimably lamentable thing happened to the aforesaid boy and to both parents, namely that gradually he was deprived of the use of

²⁰ Psalms 17.7.

speech, and in this way at the end of a short period of time he was made mute. In consequence, the affection of his loving father suffered and he was saddened to the depths of his soul over the unforeseen distress of his beloved son; and to the same extent that the son's disaster happened so quickly, so it was much too soon for the father's soul to be comforted. Paternal solicitude tried everywhere to discover if anything could have been done for his mute son; but nothing helped. The doctors tried hard; they made up various concoctions of drugs, but without any remedy or cure of the sick boy. For human hand or care was not able to succeed, nor could the knowledge of any experienced physicians whatsoever learn to restore that which divine dispensation had reserved for his ineffable and wonderful goodness to repair and miraculously cure. Some time having passed by, the father's anguish began to lessen for a while because the life of the boy had been spared, but he could not in any way be consoled completely considering how long and incurable was the silence of his beloved son. Therefore, all the medicinal treatments of the sons of men having failed, it pleased the faithful solicitude of the father to entreat infallible divine succour for himself on behalf of his son.

And as soon as he had heard, via the testimony of many truthful people, about the countless signs of miracles performed at Beverley through St John, the father did not refrain, nor delay for a long time, from what he intended to do with the encouragement of many people. Rather, as quickly as possible, confidently, with pious devotion, he made a rapid start on the journey to beloved John accompanied by his dear son. Now when father and son had spent the night in the church together, in company with the many people who had gathered all around at the festival, and the father was pouring out pious prayers to God the Creator of all before his beloved John, for the cure of his son, he began to talk to his son in the presence of those sitting around, just as he had been accustomed to do, because the boy, although lacking the power of speech, paid close attention to the words of those talking to him, and he submitted to the bidding of his father with good will in those things which he could. But while the father was expecting that the son would communicate to him in the usual way by signing of the hands, and that he would unlock the secrets of his heart with signs, since he could not do it with words, to the amazement of many, the boy answered his father with unaccustomed words instead of signs, and the long constrained restraints of his tongue were set free, the control of his tongue which had been lost for a long time, was restored by the customary mercy of God through the intercession of his holy bishop. The mind of the father was stunned by that, and marvelling beyond belief, totally dissolved into tears, not of grief but of joy; not of sorrow but of exaltation. The father could not be satisfied by the long-desired profusion of words, and he longed to hear his son speaking, whose silence he had endured to an intolerable degree for a very long time. The father's faith and steadfast devotion interceded so that the son should speak. The son's sudden, unexpected cure completely banished the unremitting and inconsolable illness of the father's mind. A large number of people who were present rushed over, marvelling in worthy admiration at the mighty

works of God performed through his saint. Also the clergy, having seen the miracle performed, sang loud praises. Since these deeds had happened miraculously, when the grateful father returned to the city, his son's health having been achieved, he revealed how it had been done throughout the neighbouring region. Everyone congratulated him, giving thanks to God, since divine propitiation had magnified his mercy through him. And whenever the son repeated the story for those who wished to hear, the joy of the father was doubled because of the divinely restored speech of which he had been deprived for a long time.

Chapter 10

About York merchants delivered from peril of the sea through St John.

Certain merchants of the city of York used to visit the church of St John once every year because they very often experienced effective and pious comfort when they called upon his name when [they experienced] various different dangers in the world, and especially at sea. Therefore, when everything had been made ready pertaining to the voyage, a great part of the citizens of the aforesaid city boarded the ship, which was laden with various goods, and with a favourable wind blowing, they made a rapid start on their accustomed sea journey, speeding all the way to Scotland. But accordingly, just like human prosperity, so fine weather conditions often pass away like a shadow, and nothing of the world's affairs continues unchanged, nor continues in the same state for long. Presently the pleasantness of the atmosphere in which the happy sailors ploughed the tranquil seas began to grow worse. Then rain-bearing clouds obscured the calm sky, the wind of a raging tornado now tore apart the unfurled sails, a terrible tempest accompanied the extreme chaos of the sea. Great, savage masses of waves rapidly blown by the blasts fiercely hit the fragile sides of the boat on one side and then on the other; now the sails, almost torn to shreds, seemed to touch the hanging clouds, and they were afraid that their craft would touch the bottom of the sea. The violently shaken mast of the ship as well as the sails were cast down by the ferocious beating of the waves: their only hope in danger was in the helmsman, but the rudders were shattered by the violent wind of the storm, and the ship, having been left totally without an oarsman and the rest of the sailing gear, and defenceless, was exposed to the seething waves of the sea. Suddenly there was tearful anguish, here fear and loss of composure, there severe wailing of grief; on every side was distress, on every side grief, nothing remained except the image of death. The pitiful sailors fought against the ferocious waves as well as they could, but they weakened, defeated by the whirlwinds of the storm increasing in intensity; and languishing in the fear of death, having no hope of survival or relief, they all turned towards the frequently proven assistance of the blessed confessor. Therefore, calling aloud, they filled the air with groaning cries and raised their weary voices and hands to heaven, and many times repeated the name of St John, known not only to themselves but also to very many people in difficulties and dangers.

The good father of mercies and God of all comfort²¹ did not delay to stretch out the hand of mercy to those who were overwhelmed and suffering in so much distress. Accordingly, the clemency of the Highest Father, out of his mercy, rather than to be angry with them, chose to feel compassion for those who believed and placed their hopes in him completely with all their hearts. And he wished to comfort, with a remedy of paternal dispensation, those whom he had allowed to be frightened by calamities for such a long time. For when he abated the terrible turmoil and pacified the fury of the waves, calm ensued, and the face of heaven, which had formerly been obscured by rain-bearing clouds, was now cloudless and shone brightly, lit up by the rays of the sun. The sailors gave the most incredible thanks for the sudden and unforeseen change of the will of the Most High, not fully knowing how, with the customary clemency of God leading the way, they had escaped the pains of a wretched death through the intercession of their holy patron, his John. And so that the miracle, which was worthy of veneration by many people, should be made known; and so that the way of mercy and deliverance should not be kept secret under the cloak of silence, [the following event occurred:]

During the raging wind of the storm, one of the sailors, who was severely suffering the strange motions of the seething sea, having fallen down prostrate in the midst as though put in a trance, having no control over himself, lay dying. When the upheaval of the sea and sky had ceased, he spoke to the astonished sailors as if he had woken up from a deep sleep, 'Do not doubt', he said, 'my brothers and companions, that we are now free from the dangers of the upheaval which was brought to an end a moment ago through the grace of God. Indeed, such favourable and pleasant calming of the whirlwind and the sea after so many hardships did not happen at random, by chance, as is very often the case, but it is, as you understand, the habitual merciful and benevolent compassion of God pitying the suffering of his sons. For when a little time ago, unconscious, I lay down as if dead, it seemed to me that a throng of terrible demons were present who, impiously hurrying, horribly laboured after the destruction and violent death for which they had come. A man of venerable stature immediately appeared, shining brightly in gleaming white robes, very similar in habit and appearance to a bishop, who, with the pastoral staff which he was holding broke through the crowd of malignant spirits standing around intending the violent destruction of the men and, pursuing the crowd through the middle of the boat, commanded it to depart, and completely drove it off from out of our company. But so that the truth of my words should be proven by a sure sign, you will find an anchor held by a new rope, which the aforesaid father brought, the ropes by which the anchor was being held having been ripped apart by the fury of the storm a short time before'.

The sailors were struck dumb when they heard the story of the vision and, being incredibly amazed, they refused to believe the account until they saw the truth with their own eyes in order

²¹ 2 Corinthians 1.3.

to confirm the man's wonderful vision, and the sight of the thing itself should banish all cloud of doubt from the hearts of those present. Having verified this, they soon lifted up unceasing praises to the heavens, and to God the Saviour of all, and to their manifest deliverer, his John, they unendingly gave free voice to their thanks. The ship's rigging having been made ready once more, they hoisted the sails and, each of them in a state of readiness, they prepared themselves for the interrupted journey and, thus, with the winds gently blowing again, sailing with good fortune to where they had intended, they reached the coast of Scotland. Then when they had finished their business, hastening the journey, they turned the sails towards home; and now, ploughing through the waves of the sea, which are handmaidens to their will, in a short time they were carried on a favourable journey to the long-desired shores of home. Not long after, without delay, hurrying all the way to Beverley, they discharged their vows of prayers to God and his holy saint John with feelings of devotion. And finally, the brothers of the church having been summoned, in due order they related in public what had happened during the sailing: how, with the usual supporting prayers and merits of the blessed bishop, they had been freed from the dangers of shipwreck, and from the jaws of horrible death. And they displayed to the clergy and people, who were greatly amazed, the slender rope that they had brought with them as a manifestation of such a great miracle. Those who were present were astonished at the unheard of strangeness of the event, wondering that with the raging eddies of the sea the enormous burden of the anchor could have been held by so fine a rope. Thinking of God, truly wondrous in his creation, they unanimously turned towards praising and magnifying his immeasurable omnipotence and the amazing power of his holy bishop John. He alone commands and rules the powers of land and sea, soothes and marvellously checks the movement of his waves: to him let there always be praise, honour, dominion, peace everlasting, and the glory of all, for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX 3A

ALIA MIRACULA I

AUCTORE UT PLURIMUM TESTE OCULATO

Proœmium

Cum multa miracula referantur acta Beverlaci, per merita Sancti Johannis confessoris inibi quiescentis, miror tam strenuos clericos nequaquam literis commendasse, quæ vel viderunt, vel a fidelibus visa referri audierunt, præter Willelmum, qui et Ketellus¹ dictus est, qui quædam ex miraculis præfati confessoris [retulit]; eminentiora videlicet, et illi magis agnita, quamvis pauca ex magna copia quæ ibi fiunt. Utpote homo sagax et industrio ingenio, maluit pauciora certissime nota describere, quam aliorum relatu aliquid temere diffinire. Nam post Normannorum in Angliam adventum, aliqua miracula, a comprovincialibus evidentissime scita, generationi futuræ et successoribus suis piæ studuit contradere memoriæ. Ego vero, dissimilis illius et longe inferior, tamen a pueritia tam scholaribus quam divinis literis institutus, circumquaque perscrutans; nusquam reperio hujus sancti miracula scripto denotata, cum sint nobis innumerabilia; præter ea quæ præfatus Willelmus descripsit, et vel negliger sunt prætermissa, aut si scripta, nil manet cognitum. Mihi vero inest animus, si possim, ea quæ vel novi, vel vidi, aut a fidelibus viris relata certissime didici, chartulæ memoriter commendare. Et nequaquam omnia exprimere enitar, cum tot et tanta referantur.

Quod si aliquis audita singillatim miracula pariter et visa scripto vellet prosequi, enorme volumen videretur componere. Ego vero hoc devitans, quasi patentem silvam ingrediens, ex multis arboribus paucos ramiculos decerpens, sic e² multis mirifice gestis pauca retexo, ut posterius nostri sciant etiam nostris temporibus Sanctum Johannem miraculorum gloria admodum floruisse. Et quamvis ex relatione multorum memoria firma habeatur, tamen scriptis commendata magis firmant et acuunt memoriam. Illud vero insigne factum de rege Adelstano, nostro operi volo apponere, sicut a parentibus nostris et a comprovincialibus senioribus veraci relatu didici; quia nusquam illud scriptum reperi. Hoc etiam summo opere efflagito, quod nullus existemet me amore sui vel gratia laudis captandæ aliqua finxisse; sed quæ vera, a quampluribus adhuc existentibus agnita, simplici stylo digere.

¹ *Ketellus*] *Kecellus*, A, as also noted by Raine.

² *e*] *et*, A.

Capitulum I

³Regnante inclyto rege Adelstano, viro catholico, qui monarchiam totius Angliæ tenuit. Scotorum rex cum suis transito fluvio, quod dividit Anglorum regnum a Scotia, cœpit depopulari villas, homines exterminare, agros deprædari; et, ut verum fatear, total regionem in exterminium conabatur deducere in septentrionali parte Angliæ. Quod, fama evolante, cum præfatus Adelstanus⁴ comperisset, congregato exercitu statuit quam citius cum armata manui ei occurrere; provisisque itineri⁵ necessariis, propositum carpebat iter. Cumque in provinciam Lincolniensem devenisset, quidam ovantes, tam pauperes quam mediocres, sibi⁶ obvii facti sunt. Ille vero interrogans eos, quæ esset causa tanti gaudii, vel unde venirent, responderunt, quod de Beverlaco venirent,⁷ ubi sanctus confessor Johannes quosdam ex eis, variis oppressos infirmitatibus, gratia Dei sanos effecerat; et hæc erat causa tantæ lætitiæ. Et inde progrediens, iterum alios catervatim venientes obvios habuit;⁸ inquisivit, unde venirent; illi vero responderunt quod de Beverlaco, ubi quosdam ex eis⁹ mutos vel claudos, cæcos vel surdos, mira Dei potentia, sanctus Dei confessor sanaverat.

Cumque rex hunc venerandum confessorem, in tanta veneratione habitum,¹⁰ per Deum tanta operari valuisse comperiret, habito consilio cum suis, dixit se debere talem patronum adire, ut sibi in instanti negotio subveniret: transmisitque suum exercitum per occidentalem regionem versus Eboracum, quatenus eum ibi præstolarentur. Ipse vero transito flumine Humbre venit Beverlacum; procumbensque in oratione in ecclesia coram altari, in præsentia reliquiarum venerandi confessoris, devoto animo prolixius orabat, surgensque¹¹ deinde ab oratione, coram adstantibus, tam clericis quam laicis, et auscultantibus, talem orationem exorsus est dicens: ‘O gloriose confessor, Johannes, qui tot virtutibus coruscas,¹² ut fama refert, precor te, quatenus mihi subvenire digneris per intercessionem tuam¹³ in instanti negotio, ut inimicorum infestationem pernioxiam te patrocinate exsuperare queam.’ Et continuo extrahens cultellum suum de vagina, posuit super altare, dicens; ‘Ecce! Vadium meum coram te pono, quod te auxiliante vita comite rediens recipiam; ita tamen quod ecclesiam tuam honorificabo, et redditibus augebo, si Dei nutu tuoque suffragio hostes debellare quivero.’ Custodes vero ecclesiæ qui aderant, suggesserunt ei, ut signum aliquod inde secum in monumentum asportaret; et fecit quoddam vexillum sibi de eadem ecclesia præferri, consignansque se ad suum exercitum

³ In B a heading is inserted: *De Adelstano benedicto rege Anglorum qui et cognomento niger dicitur qui dedit libertates travas et omnes liberas consuetudines ecclesiæ beati Iohannis Beverlaci*. The heading in A is: *Victoria Regi Adelstano concessa. Mutis loquela data. Captivi liberati*.

⁴ *Adelstanus*] om. B.

⁵ *itineri*] iterum, B.

⁶ *sibi*] om. B.

⁷ *venirent*] *venere*, B.

⁸ *habuit*] *Quos similiter*, ins. B.

⁹ *eis*] *vel*, ins. B.

¹⁰ *habitum*] *et*, ins. B.

¹¹ *surgensque*] *exurgensque*, B.

¹² *coruscas*] *et signis regulges*, B.

¹³ *tuam*] *apud deum*, ins. B.

reversus est. Cumque Scoti audissent Anglorum exercitum adventare, non sunt ausi eos in finibus eorum exspectare, nec campestri bello eis resistere; sed transfretaverunt flumen, quod dicitur Scotorum *Vadum*,¹⁴ ut inter proprios terminos securius se in bello ad resistendum parare possent. Rex vero cum omni exercitu anglorum cum ad flumen pervenisset, didicit Scotos transisse; et præcepit suis supra ripam fluminis sua tentoria figi, ibique aliquantulum pausare.

Subsequente nocte, quiescentibus cunctis cum suo rege, talis visio eidem regi apparuit, cæteris dormientibus, et omnino ignorantibus. Videbatur enim ei quod quidam pontificali habitu indutus coram se assisteret, sibi que diceret: ‘Adelstane rex, fac tuos in crastino præparari, ut transeant flumen istud ad bellandum contra Scotos.’ Cumque interrogaret rex, quisnam esset, qui talia ediceret: respondit qui astabat, quod ipse esset Johannes, cujus precibus expetierat se protegi, cum Beverlaci in ejusdem ecclesia oraret. Subinde statim intulit: ‘Noli timere cum exercitu transire armato; nam debellabis eos; hoc enim tibi nuntiare veni.’ Mane itaque facto curavit rex suis visionem patefacere, et de victoria certificare. Qui lætantes, animati sunt ad certamen; transfretavere flumen, Scotosque invenerunt cum suo rege paratos ad resistendum; commissoque gravi prælio, [non solum]¹⁵ multi ex Scotis ruerunt, verum etiam ipsorum rex aufugit, ad totius regni confusionem.¹⁶ Quo viso, rex Anglorum lætus effectus, gratias egit Deo venerandoque confessori, videlicet Johanni, suo intercessori, totumque regnum continuo suo subjugavit imperio, circuiens et perlustrans cunctas vicinas¹⁷ illius terræ provincias. [Convocavit deinde] principes et præpositos urbium, indicens eis tributa, quæ sibi suisque successoribus, scilicet Anglorum regibus, ex debito persolverent. Insulas etiam¹⁸ adjacentes atque vicinas sibi servire compulit, at tamdiu in illis partibus demoratus est, quod jam tres anni finirentur.

Jamque revertens per loca marina juxta Dumbar, et videns¹⁹ scopulos prominere, astitit; taliaque suspirans eloquia protulit, dicens: ‘Si Deus, interveniente Beato Johanne, mihi aliquod signum evidens facere promitteret, quatenus tam succedentes quam præsentis cognoscere possent²⁰ Scotiam Anglorum regno jure subjugatam, utpote devictam ab Adelstano rege, sibi que²¹ successoribus tributa omni tempore persolvere, non immerito gratias illi devote agerem’.²² Et extrahens gladium de vagina, percussit in silicem, quæ eadem hora adeo penetrabilis, Dei virtute agente, fuit gladio, quasi lapis butyrum esset, vel mollis glarea: quia²³ lapis ad ictum gladii ita cavatur, ut mensura ulnæ longitudini possit coaptari; et usque ad

¹⁴ *Vadum*] this is *vadum* in A, which subtly changes it from being the name of a river to being simply a ford or causeway.

¹⁵ [non solum] om. B.

¹⁶ *confusionem*] et desolationem, ins. B.

¹⁷ *vicinas*] om. B.

¹⁸ *etiam*] verum, ins. B.

¹⁹ *et videns*] vidit, B.

²⁰ *possent*] possit, B.

²¹ *sibi que*] suisque, ins. B.

²² *agerem*] egerem, B.

²³ *quia*] qui, B.

præsentem diem evidens signum patet, quod Scoti ab Anglicis²⁴ devicti sunt²⁵ ac subjugati, monumento²⁶ tali evidenter cunctis adeuntibus demonstrante. Quo signo viso divinitus, quantas gratiarum actiones, quot laudum præconia rex cum suis Deo Sanctoque Johanni extulit, non est nostræ æstimationis posse declarare.

Deinde cum magno tripudio in Angliam remeans, non immemor beneficii cælitus sibi collati, e vestigio Beverlacum adiit; et in præsentia reliquiarum humiliter se prostravit, gratias agens Deo Sanctoque Johanni patrono suo, cujus meritis tanta beneficia ei præstita fuerant. Et offerens arma sua aliaque donaria, instituit pacem sancti Johannis ab omnibus tenendam, quam infringere nulla ratione nullo tempore cuiquam dignitati vel personæ²⁷ liceat; fecitque milliarium assignari ad hanc pacem tenendam; metamque constituit ad spinam prægrandem,²⁸ quæ ultra²⁹ Melescroft sita, in via quæ tendit Eboracum, quo loco nunc crux lapidea posita cernitur; ut qui hanc pacem in aliquo, vel erga aliquem violare præsumpserit, octo libras argenti ecclesiæ prædicti confessoris pro emendatione persolveret. Qui vero infra tres cruces lapideas, mirifice sculptas, et ad introitum Beverlaci tunc ab eodem rege erectas, hanc pacem violaverit, viginti quatuor libras exsolveret: et qui infra cœmeterium ecclesiæ ipsius infregerit pacem, septuaginta duas libras pro satisfactione dare compelleretur. Qui autem infra corpus ecclesiæ posterioris temerario ausu pacem violare præsumpserit, triplicatas libras argenti prædictas pro emendatione persolvere judicaretur: et qui infra arcus supra introitum cancelli positos maligno ausu sanctissimi confessoris pacem violaverit, absque emendatione terrenæ possessionis vel pecuniæ esset judicatus (ut qui tale nefas, tamque profanum in præsentia reliquiarum tam venerandi confessoris ausus sit committere), soliusque Dei miserationi atque iudicio committendus, sit³⁰ judicandus, sicut enormis languor immensa curatione indiget.

Præterea assignavit rex redditus eidem ecclesiæ, ad serviendum³¹ clericorum sustentamentum, quo liberalius et quietius Deo et Sancto Johanni deservirent. Et quidem coloni illius provinciæ *hesterasda*,³² id est, quod exigebatur ad pabulum equorum regis, singulis annis solebant regis præfectis reddere; videlicet de unaquaque caruca, id est, ad cultrum³³ et vomerem, quatuor travas de suis frugibus; et talis redditus inter vectigalia regia computabatur, et exigebatur a

²⁴ *Anglicis*] *Anglis*, B.

²⁵ *sunt*] om. B.

²⁶ *monumento*] *monimento*, B.

²⁷ *personæ*] *nillo tempore*, ins. B.

²⁸ *prægrandem*] *pergrandem*, B.

²⁹ *ultra*] om. B.

³⁰ *sit*] *sic et*, B. I have followed B in the translation.

³¹ *serviendum*] *servientium*, A.

³² *hesterasda*] *hasti''fsla*, B.

³³ *cultrum*] *cultum*, A.

regione illa, quæ clauditur ex uno latere flumine Derewente;³⁴ et³⁵ altero, Humbre flumine; ex tertio latere mari septentrionali vel orientali. Hæc quidem provincia antiquitus Deira vocabatur. Totum jam descriptum redditum Sancto Johanni ecclesiæque illius servantibus in perpetuam eleemosynam, liberam atque ab omni exactione quietam, contulit et dedit, regioque edicto coroboravit ac scripto. Et jam omnibus rite peractis, rediit cum suis ad regis³⁶ civitates, contestans sæpe sanctum confessorum Johannem præcipuum patronum Anglici regni.

Capitulum II

*Quidam mutus et surdus a Sancto Johanne curatur*³⁷

Tempore quo præsulatum Eboracensem regebat Gerardus, vir magnæ eloquentiæ et præstantissimæ scientiæ, in primo adventu eius in Beverlacum, ad primam Missam quam in ecclesia Sancti Johannis confessoris quadam solenni die celebravit, accidit quod quidam juvenis de curia ejusdem pontificis adfuit, qui mutus et surdus a sua nativitate fuerat. Cumque hymnus Angelicus, scilicet *Gloria in excelsis*, inciperetur, mox mutus, eminus cum laicis consistens, verba protulit; et qui nunquam antea loqui potuerat, jam tam Anglice quam Francice³⁸ loqui incipiebat, cunctis qui astabant obstupescantibus et pie admirantibus. Quod statim nuntiatum est archiepiscopo ad altare; qui prosequens divinum officium, usque dum Evangelium perlegeretur; et continuo³⁹ de presbyterio descendens, venit ad introitum cancelli, ut populum commonefaceret; et de perpetrato miraculo tali modo exorsus est, dicens: ‘Considerate filii, quam sit nobis pius patronus, quam efficax erga Deum in impetratione; qui tale miraculum, Deo volente, nobis ostendit’.

Cumque prolongaretur sermo vitali commonitione, progressus est quidam Anglicus in medium, nobilis genere, dissertus sermone, in medioque conventu archiepiscopum tali affamine convenit: ‘O domine, ne putes nos admirari, quasi novis prodigiis, de hoc miraculo perpetrato; sed [scias] nos per se et unoquoque anno signis et prodigiis hujusmodi mirabilibus recreari solitos per Beatum Johannem; quin potius ipse sanctum venerari et collaudare debes, qui istum tecum huc adductum a tantis incommodis liberavit. Et quandoquidem tibi hoc præstitum est per beatum confessorem Johannem, videas, ne temere præsumas aliquando erga suos qui gratia venerationis illius et amoris, necnon pacis securitatisque causa ad ejus confugerunt alas, mansionisque locum hic perceperunt’. Sic iste pontifex quidem potuit commoneri, sed monita prosequi contempsit. Nam, ut fertur, nimis austerus exstitit; et ideo tam a clericis quam a laicis parum diligebatur, ut in fine claruit, funereisque illius exequiis.

³⁴ *Derwente*] *Derwent*, B.

³⁵ *et*] *ex*, B.

³⁶ *regis*] *regias*, B.

³⁷ The heading in B is: *Qualiter quidam mutus a sua nativitate in presencia Girardi archiepiscopi divitus est curatus*.

³⁸ *Francice*] *france*, B.

³⁹ B ends here.

Præfatus vero juvenis, miseratione Dei, meritisque sancti confessoris curatus, nunquam inde postea voluit recedere; sed mansit haud longe a monasterio, juxta lacum defluentem extra cœmeterium, officio pistoris⁴⁰ degens, seque sustenans. Hunc vero grandævum, habentem uxorem et liberos, etiam ego puer scholaris vidi, et optime novi, et audiui frequenter loquentem, et expresse et expedite, ut cæteri hominum; solitusque fuerat junioribus secum consedentibus vel adstantibus referre, qualiter sibi a nativitate surdo et muto Dominus per Beatum Johannem auditum et loquelam præstiterit; vixitque usque ad ultima Turstini archiepiscopi tempora, benedicens Deum et Sanctum Johannem.

Capitulum III

*Mutus puer de Walkington loquelam per Sanctum Johannem recuperat.*⁴¹

Est villa quædam distans a Beverlaco quasi duobus milliariis, quae Walkingtona vocitatur, cujus altera pars ad refectarium Sancti Johannis dependet, altera vero Sancto Cuthberto hæreditario jure pertinet. In ea autem quæ ad Sanctum Johannem pertinet, erat quidam rusticus simplex, legitime uxorem sortitus, ex qua liberos procreavit. Inter quos quidam puerulus ei natus est, elegans quidem forma, sed incommoditate despicabilis. Nam cum ætas exigebat ut verbula effari deberet, nequaquam valuit verbum aliquod promereri;⁴² sed perpetua taciturnitate damnatum jam hunc parentes astruebant; quia nec bimus, nec trimus aliquid loqui poterat, verum etiam non⁴³ quadrimus. Parentes autem ipsius inæstimabili tristitia affecti, quid agerent omnino ignorantes;⁴⁴ et reminiscentes quanta mirabilia Dominus ostendere dignatur Beverlaci per merita Sancti Johannis, adduxerunt secum puerum ad ecclesiam jam dicti confessoris, devote supplicantes ut sanctus inibi advocatus, Dei miseratione, mœrorem suum permaximum moderari dignaretur. Et sæpe redeuntes domum cum puero, quia⁴⁵ longe illinc mansionem distabant, tamen festivis diebus ecclesiæ solennibus illuc eum sæpius reduxerunt, impetrare volentes mœroris pergrandis consolationem. Tandem pius confessor parentum vota complevit, puero loquelam condonans, ad laudem et gloriam Dei; Qui cor contritum et humiliatum⁴⁶ non spernit. Unde parentes multum gavis, ovantes ad propria remearunt.⁴⁷ Qui prius mœrore affecti illinc recesserant. Notumque factum est hoc miraculum omnibus habitantibus⁴⁸ Walketunam vicinisque villulis; qualiter puer quinquennis, a nativitate mutus, loquelam per Beatum Johannem suscepit; verum etiam multis Beverlaci manentibus cognitum extat. Hunc vero adolescens, et pæne virum, egomet vidi sæpissime; agnovique ejus matrem, necnon et fratres; solitusque fuit mihi hæc enarrare, aliisque sæpe secum considentibus vel consistentibus:

⁴⁰ *pistoris*] *pistorio*, A.

⁴¹ The heading in B is: *De quodam puero muto nato de Walkington; sed per interventum sancti Johannis eius lingua reserata est.*

⁴² *promereri*] *promere*, B. I have followed B in translation.

⁴³ *non*] *nec*, B.

⁴⁴ *ignorantes*] *Tandem excogitantes*, ins. B.

⁴⁵ *quia*] *non*, ins. B.

⁴⁶ Psalm 50.19.

⁴⁷ *remearunt*] B ends here.

⁴⁸ Acts 1.19.

nam postea civilibus artibus edoctus in Beverlaco mansit, collaudans Deum in beneficiis sibi collatis per Beatum Johannem patronum suum.

Capitulum IV

*Captivus quidam clericus e castro de Cottingham per Sanctum Johannem liberatur, Beverlacique immunitatem adipiscitur.*⁴⁹

Eo tempore quo Stephanus rex Anglorum regnum obtinebat, multa infortunia ac calamitates Angliam oppresserunt; et sive hæc evenerunt ob perjurium, quo optimates et pæne omnes regni comites ac proceres, summique pontifices rei tenebantur, seu ob castigationem vitiorum et superbiam divitiarum, quibus illius temporis homines nimium pollebant, multis adhuc manet incognitum. Etiam tunc pax a terra recesserat, ut vix aliquis pacem fidemque promissam proximo tenere vellet; verum etiam alienigenarum per omnes Angliæ fines tanta multitudo excreverat, ut indigenas terræque colonos ad quod vellent compellere possent. Fecerunt primates terræ castella sibi construi, milites aggregari, sagittarios conducere; ut pios impii comprimerent, spoliarent, et more milvorum rapacitate insatiabili ad castra dæmoniaca, videlicet oppida sua, vicinorum aliorum victum atque pecunias attraherent et coaceraverent.⁵⁰

Ea tempestate contigerat⁵¹ quod Robertus de Stutevilla, vir strenuus et militari virtute probatissimus, quendam clericum scilicet filium cujusdam civis Lincolniensis, ceperat; eumque in custodiam miserat in oppido, quod Cottingham vocitabatur, et distat a Beverlaco fere tribus milliariis. Praefatus vero clericus, ibi vinculis contritus,⁵² a custodibus diligentissime custodiebatur; invocans divinum auxilium, Sanctique Johannis præsidium, quo se a custodia impiorum⁵³ immunem⁵⁴ liberarent.

Cumque sæpius minis afficerent eum, qui potestate præerant, ejusque parentibus mandarent, quod tormentis cum⁵⁵ variis cruciarent, nisi festinantius eum ad suum arbitrium redimerent; confessor gloriosus Johannes, contumaciam iniquorum aspernans, innocentem vitam approbans, clericum exaudivit deprecantem, eumque tantummodo⁵⁶ liberavit. Nocte quadam quiescentibus quampluribus ejusdem oppidi, somno cogente, videbantur⁵⁷ clerico quiescenti, et aliquantum

⁴⁹ the heading in B is: *Qualiter quidam clericus iniuste carceratus per sanctum Johannem sibi in spiritu apparentem mirabiliter est eductus.*

⁵⁰ *Eo tempore . . . coacervarent*] om. B.

⁵¹ *Ea tempestate contigerat*] *Post hæc ergo contigit*, B.

⁵² *contritus*] *constitutus*, B.

⁵³ *impiorum*] *impiorumque*, B.

⁵⁴ *immunem*] *immunis*, B.

⁵⁵ *cum*] om. B.

⁵⁶ *tantummodo*] *tali modo*, B. I have followed B in translation.

⁵⁷ *videbantur*] *videbatur*, A. The latter is obviously correct, and I have followed it in translation.

somni praelibantia, quod quidam vir, quasi esset pontifex, ei adstaret, juberetque ut assurgeret et abiret. Cumque clericus responderet, se nequaquam hoc facere posse, utpote annulis ferreis per ambas tibias constrictum, et carcere firmiter obserato inclusum; pontifex⁵⁸ jam expergefatum monuit, ne trepidaret; sed se solutum conspiceret: animadvertitque clericus unum de annulis a tibia ruptum fuisse; et⁵⁹ colligavit illum cum altera tibia pannis interpositis, ut expeditius Deo favente procedere posset: jussitque sacerdos Dei ut quantocius se sequeretur, omni timore postposito, et ad monasterium suum Beverlaci se liberando confugeret. Miroque modo, sicuti de Petro Apostolo legimus, quem angelus eduxit de carcere, ibi janua carceris eis pervia fuit, cæteraque claustra reserata, custodibus somno depressis, angelo præcedente; ita et hic, Beato Johanne præeunte, viamque demonstrante, captivum suum educendo, omnia ad votum eveniunt.⁶⁰ Nam egressi custodiam, deinde palatium, postea immensitates aggerum et spatiosos lacus transeuntes [ibant]⁶¹ fide magis quam via⁶² pergentes; videbaturque captivo, quod pausante eo⁶³ protendebatur ad difficiles transitus. Post hæc transierunt per nemus, pontifice præmonstrante viam, aliquando plaustro præeunte. Tandem per loca palustria gradiens, sicuti situs loci se habet, festinando versus Beverlacum, plantæ pedum ipsius, pellisque interior acutis calcaniis frutectisque⁶⁴ pungentibus ita terebratæ sunt, quasi aculeis ferreis nimium compungerentur.

Jam vero crepusculo insistente appropinquavit monasterio⁶⁵ aspexitque casam, quam intravit, ut se calefaceret; algor quippe nimius eum compresserat, quod vix progredi poterat. Refocillatus vero per ignem, et⁶⁶ calore corporis recepto, statim monasterium adiit, jam die illucescente; apertasque valvas basilicæ prædicti confessoris reperit; custodibus ecclesiæ jam evigilantibus, et interrogantibus quisnam esset, vel qua de causa illuc confugerat. Statimque exposuit eis ordinem rei, et qualiter Beatus Johannes eum de carcere eduxerit, liberumque ad suum monasterium confugere jusserit. Tunc et annulus, qui restabat, a tibia decidit, illis cernentibus et multum gratulantibus de tali eventu; monstratumque est omni populo et clero de perpetrato miraculo: qui omnes in laudem Dei proruperunt, et⁶⁷ hymnum psallebant Domino, qui facit mirabilia magna per servum suum Johannem, sæpe clarificatum miraculis.⁶⁸ Continuo clericus, qui captivus fuerat, jam per beatum confessorum liberatus, obtulit annulos ferreos ad altare: qui suspensi sunt ibi, et multi circuli ferrei, necnon et compedes suspenduntur, scilicet ab utroque latere sepulcri viri Dei Johannis. Sacrista ejusdem ecclesiæ tunc temporis fuit Alveredus, bonæ

⁵⁸ *pontifex*] *vero*, ins. B.

⁵⁹ *et*] om. B.

⁶⁰ Acts 12.7-10.

⁶¹ *ibant*] also not in B.

⁶² *via*] *viam*, B.

⁶³ *eo*] *eos*, B.

⁶⁴ *calcaniis frutesctisque*] *calamis fruticibusque*, B. I have followed B in translation.

⁶⁵ *monasterio*] *prædicto*, ins. B.

⁶⁶ *et*] om. B.

⁶⁷ *et*] om. B.

⁶⁸ *miraculis*] B ends here.

memoriæ, senex, ecclesiastica institutione sagax. Hic misertus calamitatis illius clerici, videns plantas pedum ejus nimium fuisse contritas ac tumidas, adhibuit fomenta medicaminis, pedulesque illi dari jussit, ne a superiori calceamento pedes læderentur; quibus usus est, quamdiu in ecclesia mansit, usque dum industria cleri restitutus est suis. Hæc mihi retulerunt, qui et ipsum viderunt, et hæc ab ipso referri cum juramento coram multis præsentibus frequenter audierunt.

Capitulum V

*Alius clericus incarceratus ex eodem loco per Sanctum Johannem liberatus.*⁶⁹

Similiter in præfato castello quidam clericus, Sampson nomine, in custodiam positus fuerat. Suggestum est domino Roberto a custodibus, quid de eo esset agendum. Ille vero jussit eos mandare parentibus ipsius clerici, quod nisi citius eum redimerent, dentes a capite ejus evellerentur, vel aliquod ejus membrum de corpore abscissum eis proculdubio mitteretur. Juvenis inde multum pavidus, super hoc divinum efflagitabat auxilium, necnon Sancti Johannis patrocinium. Johannes autem, qui est refugium miserorum per Anglicos fines, preces humilis deprecantis exaudivit, eumque de manibus iniquorum misericorditer liberavit. Nam nocte quadam apparuit ei venerandus confessor Johannes, pontificalem gerens habitum, præcipiens ut surgeret, et ad monasterium suum apud Beverlacum quam citius confugeret. Cui statim clericus respondit, se nequaquam hoc posse facere, utpote ferreis vinculis cum alio in custodia⁷⁰ firmiter constrictum. Et ille: 'Ne formides; jam enim solutus es'. Ille vero animadvertens circulum ferreum a pede viri cum quo constrictus fuerat decidisse, seque ab eo solutum esse, colligavit sursum annulum illum (nam alter sibi adhærebat), expeditumque se faciens ad pergendum, relictoque concaptivo sopore presso,⁷¹ exivit continue, procedens et exsiliens, Deo volente, usque dum foris castellum venerat.

Jamque die illucescente⁷² vigiles ejusdem oppidi diem præcinebant, ipso audiente et aufugiente. Statim custodes compererunt captivum defuisse, conclamabant undique clericum de custodia evasisse; præceptumque est illis, ut equis quantocius eum insequerentur, et circumquaque quærerent, quomodo eum reperire possent. Ille vero suffragante venerabili confessore ejusque conductore, qui nequaquam permisit⁷³ eum iterum tradi⁷⁴ manui⁷⁵ impiorum, a quarum⁷⁶ potestate jam eum liberaverat, sollicitus carpebat iter.

⁶⁹ The heading in B is: *Item qualiter Omnipotens Deus similimodo opere alium clericum de eadem custodia merito dicti sancti potenter eripuit*. There is no heading in A.

⁷⁰ *custodia*] *custodiam*, B.

⁷¹ *presso*] *depresso*, B.

⁷² *illucescente*] *diescente*, in A, as noted by Raine.

⁷³ *permisit*] *promisit*, B.

⁷⁴ *tradi*] *via*, ins. B.

⁷⁵ *manui*] om. B.

⁷⁶ *quarum*] *quorum*, A & B. This is obviously correct and I have followed it in translation.

Jamque circa horam primam appropinquaverat Beverlaco, cum quidam miles equo advolans consecutus est eum, minime agnoscens eum, quamvis ipse esset qui quærebatur; interrogavitque eum, si hujusmodi clericum quoquam præcedere vel aufugere videret: qui respondit se minime vidisse.

O res mira et laude digna! et possumus hoc conferre Sodomitis, qui domum Loth⁷⁷ ut infringerent, fores domus quæsiverunt.⁷⁸ Sed percussit eos Dominus cæcitate, quod circumeuntes domum ac palpantes, ostium invenire nequiverunt:⁷⁹ non immerito, ut qui interius excæcati fuerant ad flagitium perpetrandum, lumen exterius amitterent. Sic et istos Dei miseratione excæcavit malitia eorum, ne captivum agnoscerent, cui injuste machinabantur mala. Cumque captivus videret insequentes appropinquare, divertit alias, transcendens aggerem lacus circumeuntis villam; sicque venit ad cœmeterium, ubi invenit hostes sibi oppositos, observantes si quoquam eum contueri possent, ut raperent, si extra cœmeterium inventus fuisset. Sed ad ipsum introitum cœmeterii positos hostes sic pertransiit ille, ut nec tunc quidem ab eis agnosceretur, agnoscens ut pridie adversarios. Qui cum ad ecclesiam veniret, pacem Sancti Johannis advocans, susceptus est, ut omnes illuc confugientes pietatis pacisque gremio confoventur; obtulitque ad altare vincula sua ferrea, gratias agens liberatori suo Johanni; sed et clerus et populus in laudem Dei continuo proruperunt, excelsa voce conjubilantes gloriam Dei et Sancti Johannis meritum. Suspensa⁸⁰ sunt ejus vincula cum reliquis captivorum vinculis et compedibus, qui multoties liberati ad sancti præsentis confugere pacem.⁸¹

Quid plura? prolixius tempus me detineret, si singulas captivorum per merita Sancti Johannis liberationes annotare vellem; vel quos ego vidi; vel de quibus mihi retulerunt, qui et ipsi illos viderunt, et simili modo liberatos certissime noverunt. Nam quot de castello Drifeld, ac de cæteris munitionibus vel custodiis captivi, per merita, necnon per invocationem Sancti Johannis educti referuntur, fastidiosum est enarrare.

Capitulum VI

*Puella quædam, membris contracta, sanitati reddita.*⁸²

Quodam tempore contigit, quod quædam puella membris contracta, flexisque poplitibus nervorum tractu ad Beverlacum adducta fuerat. Hæc, quia nequaquam pedibus incedere valuit, reptando manibus et genibus, ut poterat, se promovit. Quadam die cum domum redirem,

⁷⁷ *Loth*] *invaserant*, B. I have followed this in translation.

⁷⁸ *quæsiverunt*] om. B. I have followed this in translation.

⁷⁹ Genesis 19.9-11.

⁸⁰ *Suspensa*] *Suspensa*que, B.

⁸¹ B ends here.

⁸² The heading in A. is: *Sanitas collata contractis, mutis, cæco, amenti, aliis ægris. Periculum naufragii submotum*. This miracle does not occur in B.

interrogaverunt me mei parentes, si ego agnoscerem puellam membris contractam, solitam ostiatim mendicare. Quibus cum responderem me illam minime agnovisse, mirabantur quod non sit a me agnita, cum optime agnosceretur a quampluribus utriusque sexus; dixeruntque illam sibi bene cognitam et familiarem, sibi sæpe solitam colloqui, suaque incommoda humiliter enarrare. Cumque ego interrogarem, quid actum esset de ea, responderunt, quod quadam die cum redirent de monasterio viderunt præfatam puellam stantem, et lavantem se in lacu defluente extra cœmeterium. Et cum hæsitarent, an illa esset quæ prius fuerat contracta, interrogaverunt eam veritatem rei. Quæ respondit se puellam fuisse illam, quæ prius membris contracta fuerat, et ostiatim mendicare aliquamdiu, ut plures viderant, solebat. Asserebat se erectam et sanam factam Dei gratia et Sancti Johannis meritis, ut recte incedere sufficienter posset. Tunc illi extulerunt caput, benedicentes Deum, Sanctumque Johannem collaudantes, per quem nobis tot miracula declarantur.

Capitulum VII

*Pœnitens quidam Gallicus de S. Andrea in Scotia per S. Johannem Divinæ gratiæ restitutus.*⁸³

Accidit quadam vice, quod quidam pœnitens adveniret in Beverlacum orationis gratia, qui de Galliæ partibus veniens Sanctum Andream apud Scotiam adierat; et inde redeundo Sancti Johannis suffragium expostulare disposuit. Cumque in ecclesia ejusdem orare intentius devotus procumberet, in septentrionali parte ante crucem, pergrande rumpitur ferrum quo ipse fuerat colligatus circa renes, ita ut quidam aliquantulum in ecclesia remoti sonitum ferri rumpentis audirent; statimque qui audierunt, adfuere, videntes circulum ferreum quasi circulum ruptum, et ab eo dilapsum. Et cum interrogaretur quisnam esset,⁸⁴ noluit vir⁸⁵ parum quid loqui, sed sacerdoti se velle hoc revelare asseruit.

Factum est ita, et ostendit sacerdoti primitus, deinde capitulo quis esset; et qua de causa ferro ligatus fuisset, ita dicens; ‘Ego quidem multum deliqui, nam ira commotus, odioque fraterno,’⁸⁶ quendam⁸⁷ fratrem⁸⁸ gladio percussi.⁸⁹ Episcopus vero meus, ad quem spectat de flagitiis dijudicare, et facinora punire, convenit me, pœnitentiamque mihi injunxit; præcepit me eodem ferro colligari quo fratrem percusseram, ad nudam carnem firmiter renibus adhærente; et peregrinando sanctorum suffragia, ut vagum et profugum, gemebundum⁹⁰ exquirere: et jam unus annus peractus est mihi in pœnitentia, cum ferrum hoc ruptum est de corpore meo, Dei

⁸³ The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum de sancto Johanne*. There is no heading in A.

⁸⁴ *Esset*] *et unde*, ins. B.

⁸⁵ *vir*] om. B.

⁸⁶ *fraterno*] *necavi*, ins. B.

⁸⁷ *quendam*] om. B.

⁸⁸ *fratrem*] *meum*, ins. B.

⁸⁹ *gladio percussi*] om. B.

⁹⁰ *vagum* . . . *gemebundum*] *vagus profugus gemebundus*, B. I have followed this in my translation.

miseratione ac meritis sancti⁹¹ in præsenti quiescentis⁹² ecclesia'. Tunc omnes qui aderant, hoc⁹³ audientes, nimio gaudio exhilarati, unanimiter benedicebant Deum, qui tot signis tantisque miraculis glorificat sanctum suum⁹⁴ Johannem; hymnumque statim concinebant, conjubilantes votis in confessione; scripseruntque episcopo, de cujus diœcesi hic pœnitens fuerat, qualiter solutus sit a vinculo ferri in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Beverlaci, divina gratia et meritis ejusdem confessoris. Hunc ipsemet etiam vidi; et tunc quidem fui⁹⁵ in eadem ecclesia, quando circulus ferreus rumperetur de ejus corpore; videbaturque mihi magnæ simplicitatis vir ille fuisse.

Capitulum VIII

*Rusticus Norwicensis, vix incedere valens, usum tibiæ recuperat.*⁹⁶

Quidam rusticus⁹⁷ erat in⁹⁸ provincia Norwicensi, magno languore depressus, maxime in una tibia, quod nequaquam recte incedere, sed claudicando, baculoque se sustentando, iter vix capere valebat. Et cum sanctorum loca frequenter orationis⁹⁹ gratia visitasset, nullatenus per aliquem illorum restitutus est sanitati. Nec mirum. Providit enim Deus illum per aliquem sanctorum, in remotioribus Angliæ finibus constitutum, a sua infirmitate curari; mystice declarans quanta virtute præcellebat, qui, quod cæteri facere non valebant, absque mora tribuere hic¹⁰⁰ comprobaretur. Audierat namque hic infirmus, fama evolante, quanta mirabilia operatur Deus per Beatum Johannem confessorem, Beverlaci quiescentem; et¹⁰¹ cœpit invocare nomen ejus, ingemiscens et expostulans ut infirmitati suæ subvenire dignaretur, ut a tam longa ægitudine sua intercessione¹⁰² liberari posset. Cumque aliquamdiu persisteret in tali supplicatione, languor¹⁰³ cœpit decrescere, pristinaeque sanitati ex integro tibia ejus restituta est. Qui, virtute¹⁰⁴ resumpta, membrorumque officio perfecte potitus, statim proposuit Sanctum Johannem se adire velle; cereumque parari sibi fecit, ad modum et qualitatem¹⁰⁵ tibiæ cum ipso pede, iterque versus Beverlacum quantocius arripuit.

Cumque ad ecclesiam prædicti confessoris venisset, ad¹⁰⁶ orationem se prostravit, preces fudit, et pro sanitate sibi collata Deo Sanctoque Johanni grates quam maximas retulit, obtulitque cereum secum deportatum miræ magnitudinis, lumine accensum, in præsentia reliquiarum viri

⁹¹ *ac meritis Sancti*] *neqnon Sancti Johannis intercessione ac meritis*, B.

⁹² *quiescentis*] om. B.

⁹³ *hoc*] *hæc*, B.

⁹⁴ *Suum*] B ends here.

⁹⁵ *fui*] *fuit*, A.

⁹⁶ The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum de Sancto Johanne*. There is no heading in A.

⁹⁷ *Rusticus*] *homo*, B.

⁹⁸ *in*] *de*, B.

⁹⁹ *orationis*] *curationisque*, B.

¹⁰⁰ *hic*] om. B.

¹⁰¹ *et*] om. B.

¹⁰² *intercessione*] *deique miseratione*, ins. B.

¹⁰³ *languor*] *dilangor*, B.

¹⁰⁴ *virtute*] *virtutem*, B.

¹⁰⁵ *qualitatem*] *quantitatem*, A, B. I have followed the latter in translation.

¹⁰⁶ *ad*] om. B.

Dei super altare; referens universo clero et populo, qualiter per invocationem nominis venerandi confessoris Johannis, in provincia sua constitutus, sana (*sic*) fuerat effectus.¹⁰⁷

Cunctique qui aderant hæc audientes, glorificaverunt Deum, qui tot virtutibus patronum suum Johannem longe lateque declarat; hymnumque jubilationis Deo clerici resonabant, ut mos est illius ecclesiæ in impetratione alicujus evidentis miraculi.

Hunc virum etiam ipse vidi, et audiui hæc eadem narrare, sicut et multi alii; vidimusque ipsum longo post tempore singulis annis semel in anno illuc cum oblationibus suis, verum etiam et aliorum qui per eum illuc transmiserant, adventare; gratumque officiis ac muneribus, tam suis quam alienis, sedulum exhibere obsequium. Ejusque exemplo multi comprovinciales, videntes virtutem tam efficacem in prædicto confessore vigere, invocato nomine ejus et auxilio, in suis infirmitatibus frequenter curabantur; virumque istum, bajulum suarum oblationum et intercessorem, ad sanctum Dei per singulos annos properantem, constituere.

Capitulum IX

*Puer mutus per Sanctum Johannem loquitur.*¹⁰⁸

Vir quidam fuit in villa, quæ Bylebi vocatur, habens filium sibi admodum carum, qui puerili adhuc tenebatur ætate, nimisque puerilibus jocis deditus, solivagus cum aliqua puella solito more per virgulta remotius ludere solebat. Qui cum frequenter corriperetur a parentibus, ne tam remote a comitatu humano jocari deberet, furtim egressus est quadam die, æstimans se invenire puellam per virgulta incedere, ut sibi videbatur; et inde lætus effectus cucurrit post eam, ut eam comprehenderet; sed nequivit, multa fatigatus circuitione. Per horam¹⁰⁹ meridianam videbantur ei plurima accensa luminaria per arbores, phantastico videlicet igne, ut postea claruit. Nam multum eam persequens puer ut teneret non valuit; sed dæmoniaco figmento diu delusus, tandem evanuit quæ puella videbatur, nec erat, sed spiritus nequam; puerque remansit mutus. Regressus vero domum nequaquam valuit aliquod verbum effari, qui antea satis eloquens puer habebatur. Verum parentes inæstimabili tristitia affecti, quid consilii habere queant, ignorant; nam remedium nullum, nisi divinum vel sanctorum Dei, sibi subvenire posse certissime sciunt.

Et jam fere per spatium dimidii anni sic permansit puer mutus, cum parentes ejus reminiscuntur mirabilia quæ Beverlaci fiunt per merita Sancti Johannis, quem præcipuum habent refugium Anglicorum finium incolæ. Adducunt illum ad monasterium ejus, ibique expetunt Sancti Johannis præsidium, humili deprecatione, necnon corde contrito; ut quemadmodum multis infirmantibus, multorumque incommodis sæpissime per merita sua subvenit, sic et istius pueri

¹⁰⁷ *effectus*] B ends here.

¹⁰⁸ There is no heading in A. This story does not appear in B.

¹⁰⁹ *horam*] *moram*, A.

incommodo mederi dignaretur. Cumque ad refectionem essent [digressi], puerque solus ibi remansisset, obdormivit aliquantisper; semperque videbatur ei per somnum quod quidam in candido habitu sibi adstaret, orique suo manum imprimeret; deinde eam per mentum et guttur dimittendo multum aspere compresserit, ita ut evigilaret puer; viditque etiam aliquantulum illum recedentem. Deinde pater adveniens, invenit filium suum jam loqui posse, quem mutum antea deplanxerat multum anxie, multumque cum suis gavisus, grates Deo sanctoque confessori quam maximas retulit; omnesque qui hoc audierunt, glorificaverunt Deum sanctumque ejus, toties clarificatum miraculis. Pater vero puerum fecit literis erudiri, eumque ibi manere præcepit; vidimusque illum, et audivimus expresse loqui, tam Anglice quam Francice, multo post tempore; solitusque fuerat mihi pluribusque aliis hoc enarrare, commemorans beneficia sibi a Sancto Johanne collata; fuitque postea acquisitor eleemosynarum hospitali domui Beverlaci, ejusque nomen erat Willelmus, agnomento Pater-noster.

Capitulum X

*Vetula quædam, septem annis contracta, pedibus incedit.*¹¹⁰

Quædam anus¹¹¹ fuit Beverlaci, membris contracta, flexisque poplitibus, nervis contractis, inclinata, et¹¹² per septem annos et eo amplius non, nisi genibus manibusve suppositis, se promovere quoquam poterat; et hoc non nisi æstivali tempore,¹¹³ nam in hiemali lutosæ viæ impedimento fuere; sed bonæ mulieres vicinitatis caritatisque officio eleemosynas ei transmittere, vel apud se reficere solebant.¹¹⁴ Cumque recogitaret quanta beneficia operetur Deus erga infirmittantes, vel talia incommoda patientes, redarguit seipsam, quod tamdiu distulit adire sanctum¹¹⁵ confessorem, salutis suæ recuperandæ gratia,¹¹⁶ et in una solennitatum ipsius, quæ Translatio corporis sancti nominatur, rogavit unam ancillam, ut se ad monasterium¹¹⁷ Dei confessoris deferret. Sed abnuitt illa, nisi mercede conduceretur. Quod et factum est; deditque ei mulier pulvinar suum capitale pro mercede, ut se ad monasterium deferret. Cumque in ecclesiam delata esset, flevit, oravit expansis manibus, suppliciter invocavit sancti antistitis præsidium, quatenus a tam diutina infirmitate saltem tunc liberaretur; totaque nocte ejulans, vel orationi vacans, tandem cum clerici nocturnam¹¹⁸ solennitatem,¹¹⁹ ut condecet, canerent, relaxantur nervi, tibiæ extenduntur, erectaque mulier stetit supra pedes, cunctis admirantibus qui aderant, vel de ea audierant. Et quia desueta jam longo tempore fuerat propriis pedibus incedere, sumpto¹²⁰ baculo pergere cœpit, et in chorum, nobis psallentibus et eam

¹¹⁰ The heading in B is: *Alius miraculum de sancto Johanne*. There is no heading in A.

¹¹¹ *anus*] *mulier*, B.

¹¹² *et*] *ut*, B.

¹¹³ *tempore*] *potuit*, ins. B.

¹¹⁴ *sed bonæ . . . solebant*] om. B.

¹¹⁵ *sanctum*] *Johannem*, ins. B.

¹¹⁶ *gratia*] om. B.

¹¹⁷ *monasterium*] *iam*, ins. B.

¹¹⁸ *nocturnam*] *sinaxim*, ins. B.

¹¹⁹ *sollenitatem*] *solleniter*, B.

¹²⁰ *sumpto*] *assumpto*, B.

contemplantibus,¹²¹ intrare, et ante presbyterium altaris se prosternere, gratias agere Deo, suoque patrono Johanni. Inquirunt clerici, quænam esset; et si rei veritas ita esset, ut illa retulerat; aderantque quamplurimi, tam viri quam mulieres, qui eam antea noverant, attestatique sunt se eam vidisse annis quampluribus contractam membrorum compagine, genibusque seu manibus reptare solitam.¹²² Monstratumque¹²³ est clero et populo, in illa solennitate coadunato, de hoc miraculo tam subito perpetrato;¹²⁴ nam sero advecta fuerat et in eadem nocte post gallicantum curata et erecta est. Tunc clerici simul cum laicis hymnum Deo canebant vocis confessione et cordis exultatione, qui toties sanctum suum Johannem clarificat miraculis.

Capitulum XI

*Mulier quædam cæca de provincia Lindisseyæ visum recuperat.*¹²⁵

Accidit in Quadragesimali tempore subsequente,¹²⁶ quod quædam mulier in Lindisseyæ provincia tradita erat viro; sed infra parvi temporis spatium excæcata est; unde ejus parentes multum contristati, quod¹²⁷ subito lumine sit privata. Illa vero spe visus recipiendi¹²⁸ resumpta, dixit se velle adire Beverlacum, et¹²⁹ a Sancto Johanne expetere lumen sibi ademptum restitui; adductaque est a patre suo illuc in ipsa Dominica die mediæ¹³⁰ Quadragesimæ. Cumque orationi intentius aliquamdiu vacarent, et gloriosi confessoris suffragium expeterent,¹³¹ lumen, quod amiserat, statim mulier in ipsa die, antequam missa solenniter celebrari inciperetur, circa horam tertiam recuperavit, multis hominibus tunc præsentibus et hoc cernentibus, utpote¹³² solenni die. Quod statim declaratum est clero et populo, qui unanimiter laudaverunt Deum, in sancto suo Johanne toties clarificatum miraculis. Et [eram] tunc quidem in ecclesia cum mulier recepit visum.¹³³

Capitulum XII

*Homo quidam, dæmoniaco furore correptus, per Sanctum Johannem sanatus.*¹³⁴

Homo quidam fuerat in episcopatu Lincolniensi, de provincia quæ Kestevena vocitatur,¹³⁵ qui Sanctum Andream adire proposuit. Sed antequam flumen Humber transiret, amens effectus

¹²¹ nobis . . . contemplantibus] om. B.

¹²² Inquirunt . . . solitam] om. B.

¹²³ Monstratumque] Monstratum, B.

¹²⁴ perpetrato] B ends here.

¹²⁵ The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum*. There is no heading in A.

¹²⁶ Subsequente] om. B.

¹²⁷ quod] tam, ins. B.

¹²⁸ recipiendi] recipiendi, B.

¹²⁹ et] om. B.

¹³⁰ mediæ] firmæ, B.

¹³¹ expeterent] expetissent, B.

¹³² utpote] ut in tam, B.

¹³³ toties . . . visum] tantis miraculorum indictis glorioso, B.

¹³⁴ The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum*. There is no heading in A.

¹³⁵ De . . . vocitatur] om. B.

proiecit vestimenta,¹³⁶ nummosque similiter.¹³⁷ Ad Beverlacum quantocius insania ductus cucurrit; cumque in ecclesiam deveniret, clamoris vocibus in ipsa solennitate depositionis Sancti Johannis, quæ nonis Maii celebratur, omnes qui aderant concitavit; eosque, qui divinum officium celebrabant, vociferatione multimoda persæpe impediēbat; nec potuit minis verberibusque cohiberi, ut intelligere posses dæmoniacum furorem in illo exerceri, non rusticanae simplicitatis sensum. Nam aliquando clamores ex ore captivi extolluntur, quandoque rhythmica verba proferuntur, ut non simplicis hominis naturam, sed diabolicam amentiam propalari scires.¹³⁸ Quid multa? Per septem dies tali agitabatur insania. Octava demum nocte sopore comprimitur, quiete refovetur. Mane vero surrexit homo sanus, ac si nunquam amentia vel insania vexaretur, simplicitate pristina recuperata. Lætantur cuncti qui aderant vel hoc audierant, laudantes Deum in mirabilibus, quæ¹³⁹ meritis sancti confessoris sui Johannis facit.¹⁴⁰ Hic vero jam sanus effectus, rediit ubi vestem, nummosque reliquerat, omissumque repetebat iter versus Sanctam Adream apud Scotiam; vidimusque eum inde reversum in sanitate percepta diu vigere, et frequenter ecclesiam jam dicti confessoris, pro sanitatis suæ recuperatione condigne revisere.¹⁴¹

Capitulum XIII

*Rusticus quidam magno tumore obsessus per Sanctum Johannem sanatus.*¹⁴²

Quidam rusticus¹⁴³ fuit præterea in Lindiseya,¹⁴⁴ qui tanto tumore per omnia fere membra obsessus fuit, ut per duodecim hebdomadas de grabato, quo jacuit, per se resurgere nequivit. Nam caput, oculos, vultum, manus, pedes, membraque etiam pudenda ita tumor immoderatus occupaverat, ut magis informe monstrum, quam humana forma conspiceretur. Cumque nulla spes salutis recuperandæ de eo esset, consultum est ei a sapientibus mulieribus¹⁴⁵ suffragium alicujus sanctorum sorte expetere, si quo modo Deus per aliquem illorum sibi subvenire dignaretur; ceciditque sors evidenter¹⁴⁶ quæ Beato Johanni assignabatur; eique statim votum orationis et oblationis destinabatur gemitibus intime (*sic*) affectus.¹⁴⁷ Convaluit statim miserabilis homo, tumore decrescente quotidie; et infra ipsam septimanam venit ad Beverlacum, sancto confessori gratias agens, oblationem suam deferens, vota persolvens; retulitque mihi¹⁴⁸ in ecclesia se ita curatum fuisse ut jam dictum est, laxa pelle adhuc apparente

¹³⁶ *vestimenta*] *vestem*, B.

¹³⁷ *similiter*] *et*, ins. B.

¹³⁸ *Nam . . . scires*] om. B.

¹³⁹ *quæ*] *pro*, in. B.

¹⁴⁰ *facit*] *fiēbant*, B.

¹⁴¹ *omissumque . . . revisere*] *omissumque iter versus que(?) Sanctam Adream apud Scotiam epetebat. Et ex inde reversus in sanitate percepta diu vixit, et frequenter pro sanitatis suæ recuperatione iam dicti confessoris ecclesiam peregre insitavit*, B.

¹⁴² The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum*. There is no heading in A.

¹⁴³ *rusticus*] *homo*, B.

¹⁴⁴ *Lindiseya*] *Lindisseya*, A; *Lindissa*, B.

¹⁴⁵ *mulieribus*] om. B.

¹⁴⁶ *evidenter*] om. B.

¹⁴⁷ *intime affectus*] *interim affectatis*, B. I have followed this in translation.

¹⁴⁸ *mihi*] *pluribus*, B.

ex tumore præcedente; benedixitque Deum, necnon sanctum confessorem Johannem, et ad propria deinde remeavit.

Capitulum XIV

*Consanguinea quædam scriptoris, tumore brachii laborans, curatur.*¹⁴⁹

Quædam puella fuit Beverlaci, quæ mihi consanguinitatis propinquitate valde conjuncta fuerat, cui inerat animus in peregrinationem ire, videlicet ad Sanctum Jacobum, et ad Sanctum Petrum, orationis gratia. Cumque rediret per Galliæ partes, voto jam peracto, cœpit brachium ejus dextrum in tantum intumescere, et dolore nimio fatigari, quod instita brachium ad collum suspenderetur, et neque nocte pausare, neque die se reficere facile valuit, importunitate languoris adhuc instante. Et cum plurimos super tali infortunio consuleret, adhibuit fomenta diversorum medicaminum, et consilia, nec nihil profecit. Cumque diu molestaretur tali ægritudine, dictum est ei a quibusdam se facile curari non posse, quia guttam fistulam in brachio ejus succrescere æstimabant, et ideo necessarium et utile ei fore dicebant natale solum quantocius expetere; si forte ex aeris temperie, quo in adolescentia nutrita fuerat et adolevit, curari posset.

Sicque factum est, rediitque in Angliam, dolorem continuum brachii tumidi secum deferens. Et jam vix pergere parum quid valuit; appetitum etiam comedendi, nimietate doloris urgente, pæne jam totam amisit. Expetiit sanctorum etiam loca curationis gratia, nihil proficiens. Nimietate languoris jam victa, viribusque corporis destituta, ultra progredi non valuit; in villa, quæ sita est inter Londonias et Sanctum Eadmundum, languore defessa grabato decumbere necessario compellebatur. Cumque sola sederet, miseriam suam deplorans, patriæ suæ parentumque recordans, reminiscitur tandem quæ Sanctus Johannes confessor Beverlaci requiescens languentibus ac debilibus exhibet. Suspiriis crebris invocatur ejus clementiam, ut levamen tantæ ægritudinis sibi conferre dignaretur, vel nunquam repatriare se velle affirmabat. Et cum tali supplicationi aliquamdiu vacaret, quamvis in remotiori provincia constituta, impetravit quod petiit. Nam quæ per septem hebdomadas tanto dolore vexabatur, continuo levamen sensit, sanitatemque perfecte consecuta est, iter arripiens¹⁵⁰ redeundi domum; retulitque mihi postea domi qualiter sit curata per invocationem nominis prædicti confessoris.

¹⁴⁹ There is no heading in A. This story does not appear in B.

¹⁵⁰ *arripiens*] *aperiens*, A, as noted by Raine. As A appears to be correct, I have followed it in translation.

Capitulum XV

*Præfatæ mulieris socia, tumore tibiæ vexata, sanitatem consequitur.*¹⁵¹

Referebat similiter hæc eadem mihi de quadam puella, scilicet sodali sua, quæ secum pariter ierat ad Sanctum Andream apud Scotiam; sed inde redeundo intumuerat tibia ejus cum pede, dolore nimio oppressa. Cumque per aliquot dies languor ingravesceret, acri cœpit dolore fatigari, quod nequaquam progredi se posse dicebat; fessaque resedit, conquerens multum quod ignorabat quomodo Beverlacum redire posset, debilitate doloreque intolerabili vexata. Redarguit vero eam multum sodalis ejus, quod nollet in villa proxima tali ægritudine depressæ aliquantulum quiescere, si forte dolor aliquantulum desisteret, et tumor decrescere posset. Et cum aliquamdiu in collibus, a qualibet villa remotis, pariter ambæ mœstitia depressæ consedissent, advenit quidam viator onere nimio defessus, residens juxta illas multum conquerentes qualiter Beverlacum redire valerent. Quibus ille animando intulit, dicens: 'Forti animo estote; jam enim Beverlaco approximatis, ecclesiamque venerandi confessoris jam prospicere potestis.' Illæ vero erigentes se ad videndum, ut videre ejus basilicæ turrin, prostraverunt se in orationem simul cum viatore sibi associato, rogantes ut infirmanti sorori¹⁵² sanctus confessor Johannes medelam tribuere dignaretur. Statimque sensit infirma levamen doloris et tumoris, ita ut iter continuo arriperet cum sociis, perfecte sanitatem consecuta. In crastino autem Beverlacum usque pervenit, sanaque deinceps omni tempore permansit; novique eam et antea et postea, simplicitate modestam, castimonia insignem.

Capitulum XVI

*Vir quidam de Cottam trienno cæcus, uxorque amens curantur.*¹⁵³

Villula quædam est, distans a Beverlaco quasi quindecim milliariis, vocabulo Cotum, in qua vir quidam aliquantulum dives, sed hospitalitate ac bona fama strenuus habebatur. Et quia solent plerumque justis ac modestis infortunia multoties contingere, Salomone attestante qui dicit, Sunt justī, quibus multa eveniunt, quasi impiorum facta fecissent;¹⁵⁴ similiter et huic viro, de quo præfati sumus, incommodum maximum accidit, videlicet oculorum suorum excæcatio, necnon ejus uxor adeo infatuata est, quod nec sane sapere a quampluribus judicaretur. Cumque per triennium tam miserabili calamitate ambo comprimerentur, per visionem apparuit viro venerandus confessor Johannes, dicens, ut ad Beverlacum venirent, et in ecclesia sua vigiliis et orationibus insisterent. Quod cum devote adimplerent ambo, visus statim redditur viro, mulier

¹⁵¹ There is no heading in A. This story does not appear in B.

¹⁵² Because 'soror' can be translated as 'nun', it is not clear whether or not these women belonged to an order, but as one of them, at least, appears to make a practice of going on pilgrimages, this is unlikely.

¹⁵³ There is no heading in A. This story does not appear in B.

¹⁵⁴ Eccles. 8.14.

mente sana remeavit ad propria, et per omnia¹⁵⁵ benedicentes Deum, et Sanctum Johannem omni tempore collaudantes, pro beneficiis sibi collatis.

Capitulum XVII

*Navis Hierosolymam pergens, ventis fatigata, per S. Johannem servatur.*¹⁵⁶

Quodam tempore accidit quod quædam navis, in Apulia diversarum nationum hominibus onerata, quos Hierosolymis deportare debuerat, jam ventis adversantibus fatigari, retroque redire sæpius compelli [videretur]. Cumque frequenter tam sinistris flatibus impedirentur, invocans¹⁵⁷ multoties suffragia sanctorum diversarum regionum, votaue voventes ut prosperum cursum arripere possent, callide reparantes armamenta navis, carbasa suspendentes, artificiose omnia componentes, ut vada transmarina tutia remeare possent. Sed illis navigantibus ventus contrarius exstitit, navemque fere periclitantem fluctibus ingenti scopulo pæne illisit; et cum periculum sibi imminere ex improvise cernerent, pavidi et gementes, menteque consternati, quid agerent prorsus ignari; tandem unus surgens in medio, qui Anglicus fuerat natione, contestans Angliam unum sanctum præcipuum patronum ejusdemque gentis maximum solamen continere, videlicet venerandum confessorem Johannem Beverlaci quiescentem; quem se fide devota suppliciter invocarent votumque ei facerent, auxilium sibi provenire quantocius sentirent. Similiter et cæteri, qui ex Anglia ibi aderant, attestati sunt sanctum jam nominatum multis miseria depressis frequenter beneficia præstitisse; statimque primus oblationem protulit, cæteris similiter offerentibus ac invocantibus Sanctum Johannem in auxilium, ut, ipso tutante, imminens periculum evadere possent.

Mira res! Ut fertur, de nautis, quodam in maris periculo Sanctum Nicolaum invocantibus, quod statim tempestas cessavit; sic et in præsentī facto accidit. Nam ventus et fretum continuo pacificantur, prosperoque portui sunt illati. Qua de causa multum exhilarati, summa cum devotione sanctum Dei laude persecuti sunt dignissima; emeruntque ex collecta pecunia oblationem, sericum pannum speciosum, et transmiserunt venerabili confessori, suo videlicet liberatori, per præfatum virum ejusdem sancti præconem gratissimum. Retulitque nobis idem vir reversus, de quo jam prædiximus; sericumque pannum, nobis cernentibus, coram reliquiis Sancti Johannis, ad laudem ejus allatum, obtulit, cunctis collaudantibus Deum in sancto suo Johanne, toties clarificato miraculis.

Non est nostræ facultatis vel propositi singillatim enarrare, quoties in mari Septentrionali vel Siculo¹⁵⁸ liberati referantur homines a periculis mortis, per invocationem nominis jam dicti

¹⁵⁵ *omnia*] [*sani facti sunt*] ins. A.

¹⁵⁶ There is no heading in A. This story does not appear in B.

¹⁵⁷ *invocans*] translated as *invocantes*.

¹⁵⁸ *Siculo*] Raine notes that it was *Chichico* in the MS.

confessoris. Nam jam paginæ metam ponimus, nec diutius mentem meam juvat hujusmodi gesta retexere, quia tædet animam mean vitæ meæ. Video namque impios prævalere adversus pios, iniquos deprimere justos. Elati florent; humiles despectui habentur; et jam, secundum prophetiam olim prolatam, homines veritatem non loquuntur, et veritas in platea sternitur.¹⁵⁹ Item, Salomon dicit, Vidi impios ita securos, quasi justorum opera fecissent;¹⁶⁰ ac per hoc patet finem sæculi non multum distare. Nam, secundum evangelii veritatem, jam abundat iniquitas, et multorum caritas refrigescit.¹⁶¹ Nos vero hujus sancti miracula atque præconia ex parte jam executi pro modulo nostro spontaneo, rogamus, ut ejus meritis ac interventu liberati a præsentī sæculo nequam, veniam consequamur peccaminum, vitamque adipiscamur æternam, præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¹⁵⁹ Isaiah 59.14.

¹⁶⁰ Ecclesiastes 8.14.

¹⁶¹ Matthew 24.12.

APPENDIX 3B

OTHER MIRACLES BY ONE WHO WITNESSED MANY

Prologue

Since many miracles are said to have been performed at Beverley through the merits of St John the confessor who lies there, I am greatly amazed that conscientious clerks have not written down either what they have seen, or what they have heard told have been seen by trustworthy people, except William, who was also called Ketell, who recorded certain miracles of the aforesaid confessor. Clearly they were very important miracles, and those which he knew quite well, although they were just a few out of a large number which were performed there. Being a wise and diligent man, he preferred to describe fewer things that are known with absolute certainty rather than to assert something recklessly by telling other things without good reason. For, after the arrival of the Normans in England, he devoted himself to record for posterity, for future generations and his successors, some miracles that were very well known by the inhabitants of that region. Unlike him and far inferior, yet imbued from boyhood in the study of both the liberal arts and divine letters, I have not found miracles of this saint written down anywhere, although I have searched everywhere and they are countless, apart from those which the aforesaid William described. They have either been negligently passed over or, if written down, nothing is known of them. Indeed, I intend, if I can, to write down accurately those which either I know about, or saw, or which I have learned have been related with absolute certainty by trustworthy men. I am in no way attempting to recount all of them when so very many have been reported.

Because if someone went on to describe one by one in writing the miracles which have been heard as well as those which have been seen, he would be seen to have composed an enormous book. Indeed I, avoiding this, as if I were entering a spacious forest, plucking tiny twigs from many trees, am repeating a few things out of the many which have been wondrously performed so that our descendants will also know that in our day St John shone greatly with the glory of miracles. And even though our remembrance is reliable because of the accounts of many men, nevertheless those miracles committed to writing ensure and intensify the memory more. Indeed, I wish to attach to our work that remarkable event concerning King Athelstan, just as I learned by truthful relation from our forebears and from the older people of this region, because I have not discovered it written down anywhere. Also I very earnestly ask that no-one considers that I have made up some things for love of him or for the sake of securing praise, but that I am setting out in a simple style those things which are true and known to very many people living now.

Chapter 1*The Legend of Athelstan.*

When the renowned King Athelstan was reigning, a Christian who held absolute rule over all England, the king of the Scots with his men, having crossed the river which divides the realm of England from Scotland, began to sack the towns, to drive out the men, to plunder the fields and, to tell the truth, tried to bring the whole region in the northern part of England into destruction. When the aforesaid Athelstan learned of this, since the news spread, he assembled his troops and, as quickly as possible, made arrangements to hurry to meet him with his army, and as soon as the necessities for the journey had been provided, he pressed on. And when he arrived in the province of Lincoln he came upon certain people, who were as poor as they were humble, rejoicing. When he questioned them as to the reason for so much joy, and where they had come from, they replied that they had come from Beverley where St John the confessor, by the grace of God, had made some of them who had been overwhelmed with infirmities, healthy; and this was why there was so much happiness. And going on from there, again he came upon others in large numbers. He asked where they came from; they replied that they had come from Beverley where the holy confessor of God had cured some among them, dumb or lame, blind or deaf, through the marvellous power of God.

And when the king discovered that this venerable confessor, who was held in so much esteem, had had the power to work so many miracles through God, after discussion with his men he said that he ought to visit such a patron, to get his support in this present undertaking; and he sent his army westward towards York, to wait for him there. Having crossed the river Humber he came to Beverley and, prostrating himself in prayer in the church before the high altar in the presence of the relics of the venerable confessor, he prayed devoutly for a very long time. And then, rising up from his praying, in front of witnesses, both clerks and laymen, he began the following prayer, saying, 'O glorious confessor, John, who shines with so many virtues, as fame reports, I beseech you that you deign to support me through your intercession in this urgent business so that I may overcome the pernicious invasion of my enemies with your protection'. And forthwith, extracting his dagger from its scabbard, he placed it on the altar, saying, 'Behold! I place my guarantee before you which, with your help, when I return alive, I will redeem in such a way that I will do honour to your church and will enrich it with wealth, if I am able to fight the enemy with your approval and help'. The custodians of the church who were present, suggested to him that he should carry away with him from there some token, as a sign, and he had a certain banner from that church carried before him and, crossing himself, he returned towards his army. And when the Scots heard that the English army was coming they were not bold enough to wait for them on their borders, nor to offer resistance to them on a flat

battlefield, but crossed over the river which is called the *Vadum*¹ of the Scots, so that they could prepare to make a stand in battle more securely within their own boundaries. When the king arrived at the river with all his English army he learned that the Scots had crossed, and he commanded his men to pitch their tents on the banks of the river and to rest there for a while.

The following night, when everyone was resting with their king, the following vision appeared to that king while everyone else was asleep and completely unaware. For it seemed to him that a certain man dressed in the clothes of a bishop stood facing him, and said to him, 'King Athelstan, get ready to prepare your men tomorrow so that they may cross this river to wage war against the Scots'. And when the king asked him whom he was who declared such things, the man standing there replied that he was John, whose prayers he had wished might protect him, when he had prayed in his church at Beverley. Thereupon he immediately replied, 'Do not be afraid to cross over with your army for you will vanquish them, for this I have come to tell you'. Accordingly, in the morning, the king undertook to reveal the vision to his men and to assure them of victory. They, rejoicing, were inspired to fight and, crossing the river, they encountered the Scots with their king prepared to resist them and, after a fierce battle had been joined, not only many of the Scots perished, but also their own king fled, to the complete confusion of the whole realm. When he saw this, the English king was made happy, he gave thanks to God and the venerable confessor, that is John, his intercessor, and he subdued the entire realm to his rule without delay, going round and visiting all the neighbouring provinces of that territory. Then he called together the princes and the principal men of the cities; he imposed tributes on them which they should pay in full as an obligation to him and to his successors, that is to say the kings of England. Also he forced the adjacent islands and neighbouring areas to serve him, and he delayed for such a long time in those parts that now three years had passed.

And now, returning via the seaways near Dunbar, and seeing the rocks sticking out, he stood still, and sighing made this declaration, 'If God, through the intercession of St John, were to undertake to make some clear sign to me so that future generations, as well as those present, could know that Scotland has rightfully been made subject to the king of the English people, seeing that they have been subjugated by King Athelstan, and will pay tribute to his successors for all time, I should, not without good cause, devotedly give thanks to him'. And, drawing his sword from its scabbard, he struck it into the rock, which, at that very hour, brought about by the grace of God, was as capable of being pierced by the sword as if the stone were butter or yielding gravel, so that the stone was cut through as far as the sword thrust, to the length of an ell. And right up to the present day the clear sign is visible, with such a memorial showing clearly to everyone present that the Scots were defeated and then subjugated by the English.

¹ A 'vadum' is a ford or causeway.

When, through divine intervention, this sign was seen, we cannot count the number of expressions of thanks, how many declarations of praise, the king with his men raised to God and St John.

Then, when he returned to England with great jubilation, not forgetful of the heavenly favour bestowed on him, he went immediately to Beverley and in the presence of the relics he humbly prostrated himself, giving thanks to God and St John his patron, through whose merits so many benefits had been afforded to him. And offering his arms and other gifts, he instituted the peace of St John to be observed by everyone, which it would not be permitted to anyone, of whatever rank or position to infringe for any reason, at any time. And he assigned a radius of a mile in respect of this peace which had to be observed, and he established a limit as far as an enormous thorn-bush which was situated beyond Molescroft on the road which leads to York, where now a stone cross which was erected may be seen, so that anyone who presumed to violate this peace in any way, or against anybody, paid eight pounds of silver to the church of the aforesaid confessor as a fine. Moreover, whoever violated this peace within the radius of three stone crosses, remarkably carved and then erected by this king at the approaches to Beverley, paid twenty-four pounds, and whoever infringed the peace within the cemetery of this church was compelled to give seventy-two pounds as a penance. Furthermore, whoever, with reckless daring, presumed to violate the peace within the innermost body of the church, had to pay three times that amount of silver as a fine and whoever, with malevolent daring, violated the peace of the most holy confessor within the arches placed above the entrance to the chancel, was judged to be beyond the means of compensation through earthly property or wealth (as being one who dared to commit such a sacrilege and so great a profanation in the presence of the relics of such a venerated confessor), and had to be entrusted to the mercy and judgement of God only, and thus had to be judged in the same way as a great sickness requires immeasurable treatment.

Furthermore, the king assigned revenues to that same church for the maintenance of the clerks, so that by these means they should more freely and serenely devote themselves to God and St John. And what is more, every year the farmers of this province used to pay to the king's officials *hesterasda*,² which was demanded for the fodder of the king's horses, namely four thraves from their crops from each carucate, that is, according to plough-coulter and ploughshare. And such revenue was included among royal revenues, and was exacted from that region which was bounded by the river Derwent on one side, and the river Humber on another; on the third side, by the north or east sea. Indeed this province was called Deira long ago. Now he conferred and gave all the revenue described to the servants of St John and his church in perpetual alms, free and exempt from all tax, and he confirmed this by royal edict and deed. And when everything had been carried out in the proper manner, he returned to his capital city

² *hesterasda* is corn of the first quality.

with his retinue, often avowing that St John the confessor was the special patron of the English king.

Chapter 2

How a deaf mute was cured by St John.

During the time in which the see of York was held by Gerard, a man of great eloquence and outstanding learning, on his first visit to Beverley, at the first Mass which he celebrated in the church of St John the confessor on a particular feast day, it happened that a certain young man of his court was present, who had been dumb and deaf since birth. And when the angelic hymn, that is, *Gloria in excelsis*, had been begun soon the mute, who was standing with the laymen at a distance, uttered words, and he who had never been able to speak before, now began to speak both English and French, with everyone who was present stunned and piously marvelling. Immediately the archbishop at the altar was informed. He carried on with the divine office until the Gospel was read and, straightaway descending from the sanctuary, he came to the entrance to the chancel in order to admonish the people, and he began to speak in this way about the miracle which had been performed, saying, 'Consider O sons, how good our patron is to us, how powerful he is in relation to God in having his requests granted, who, God willing, manifests such a miracle to us'.

And when he lengthened the sermon as a spiritual lesson, one eloquent Englishman of noble birth advanced into the open, and in the public assembly he approached the archbishop with this address, 'O lord, do not suppose that we are astonished at this miracle having been performed, as if at new marvels, but know that we are used to being restored every year through him, and through miraculous signs and marvels of this kind on account of St John. Rather, in fact, you yourself ought to venerate and praise the saint who delivered the one whom you brought here from such a great misfortune. And, seeing that this has been shown to you through John the blessed confessor, take care that you do not ever recklessly take for granted those who, on account of their reverence and love of him, and also in the cause of peace and freedom, have fled for protection under his wings, and have obtained here a place to stay'. So this bishop at least was able to be warned, but he chose to ignore the advice. For, as it is reported, he was unduly strict, and for that reason was as little loved by the clerics as by the laity, as was made clear at his death and at his funeral.

Indeed, the aforementioned youth, who was cured by the compassion of God and the merits of the holy confessor, from that time never afterwards wanted to go back but remained not far from the monastery next to the lake flowing outside the cemetery, and spent his time supporting himself in the trade of baker. Indeed as a schoolboy I also saw this elderly man, with a wife and

children, and I knew him very well and often heard him speaking, both distinctly and fluently, just like other men. And with younger boys sitting or standing around, he used to tell how the Lord, through St John, gave hearing and speech to him, who had been deaf and dumb from birth; and he lived up to the end of the time of Archbishop Thurstin blessing God and St John.

Chapter 3

A mute boy of Walkington regained his speech through St John.

There is a certain village about two miles from Beverley which is called Walkington, of which one part is a holding for the maintenance of St John,³ and another part belongs to St Cuthbert⁴ by hereditary right. Now in that part belonging to St John there was a simple peasant who had legally acquired a wife with whom he produced children. Amongst them a little boy was born to him, certainly attractive in appearance but despicable in misfortune. For when the age arrived when he should have spoken little words, he could not bring forth a single word. His parents concluded that he had been condemned to complete silence because neither at two years old, nor at three years old, was he able to speak, indeed also not at four years old. His parents, downcast with inestimable sadness, were completely at a loss as to what they should do, and remembering how many marvellous things the Lord deigns to reveal through the merits of St John of Beverley, they now took the boy with them to the church of the aforesaid confessor, imploring with devotion that the saint there called upon, through the compassion of God, would see fit to alleviate their very great sorrow. And often returning home with the boy, because they lived some distance away from there, nevertheless, they often brought him back there on the solemn feast days of the church, wishing to obtain consolation for their very great sorrow. At last the pious confessor fulfilled the desires of the parents and granted speech to the boy, to the praise and glory of God, who does not spurn a contrite and humble heart. Then the very happy parents, who had previously left home possessed of sorrow, returned home rejoicing. And this miracle was made known to all the inhabitants of Walkington and neighbouring villages - how a five-year-old boy, mute from birth, received the power of speech through St John; but it was also known to many people living in Beverley. Indeed, I myself very often saw this youth, and one might say man; and I knew his mother, and likewise his brothers. He used to tell this to me, and often to others sitting or standing with him, for afterwards he stayed in Beverley having been instructed in the liberal arts, praising God for the favours conferred on him through St John his patron.

³ That is, the minster.

⁴ That is, Durham cathedral.

Chapter 4

A certain clerk who had been captured was freed from the hamlet of Cottingham through St John, and obtained the immunity of Beverley.

During the reign of Stephen, king of the English, many misfortunes and disasters oppressed England; and many people still do not know whether these came about because of the breaking of an oath, of which the nobility and almost all the magnates and nobles of the realm, and the principal bishops of the king were guilty, or because of vices, and also pride in wealth, which excessively influenced men of this time. Then also, peace had receded from the land so that scarcely anyone wanted to keep the peace and faith promised to his neighbour; but also a large number of strangers had increased throughout all the regions of England to such an extent that they were able to compel the native inhabitants and farmers of the land to do what they willed. The nobles of the land arranged for castles to be erected for themselves, for soldiers to be brought together, archers to be assembled; so that the impious oppressed the pious, and in the manner of birds of prey, with insatiable rapacity they seized and piled up the food and possessions of other neighbours at devilish fortifications, that is, their castles. At that time it happened that Robert de Stuteville, a vigorous man and very highly regarded for military valour, seized a clerk, a son of a citizen of Lincoln, and despatched him into imprisonment in his castle called Cottingham, which is roughly three miles from Beverley. Indeed the aforementioned clerk, treated with contempt in chains there, was watched over most diligently by the guards while he called upon the help of God and the protection of St John to deliver him safe from the custody of the impious men.

And when those in power threatened him repeatedly, and told his parents that they would torture him with various torments unless they ransomed him very quickly for the amount they had set, the glorious confessor John, spurning the arrogance of the wicked men, and approving the life of the innocent, heeded the clerk who was begging for mercy and delivered him in this way. One night, when very many people of the town were resting at sleep, it seemed to the clerk, who was resting and enjoying the foretaste of sleep, that a man just like a bishop appeared to him and ordered him to stand up and leave. And when the clerk replied that he could not possibly do this, since both his arms were both bound with iron rings, and he was confined securely in a locked prison, the bishop told the now-awakened man not to be afraid, but that he should see that he was unbound. And the clerk noticed that one of the rings from his leg had been broken, and he bound this to the other leg with rags so that he could proceed more freely with the support of God. And the priest of God told him to follow him as quickly as possible, putting aside all fear, and in freeing himself he should flee for refuge to his minster of Beverley. And in a wondrous way, just as we read about the apostle Peter, whom an angel led out of prison. On that occasion the door of the prison was made open to them and the other gates unbarred, the

angel preceding while the guards were deep in sleep, in the same way on this occasion, with St John going in front and showing the way, leading out his prisoner, everything happened according to their will.⁵ Then having escaped custody, next passing through the hall, afterwards crossing the huge defences of the broad moat, [they made their way], putting their trust more in faith than in the road; and it seemed to the captive that when he rested it added to the difficulties of the journey. After this they passed through a wood, the bishop pointing out the way, at times a cart going in front. At length, in hastening towards Beverley, making his way through marshy grounds, as is the condition of the region, the soles of his feet and his inner skin were pierced by sharp reeds and prickly shrubs in the same way as if they were pricked excessively with barbs of iron.

And now, as twilight was closing in, he came near to the minster and caught sight of a house, which he entered in order to warm himself; indeed the cold oppressed him so much that he was barely able to walk. Having been revived by the fire and having regained the warmth of his body, he immediately went into the minster now that the day was dawning. And he found the doors of the church of the aforesaid confessor open; the custodians of the church being now awake, they asked who he was and why he had fled there for refuge. And straightaway he explained the order of things to them, and how St John had led him out of captivity and told him to flee to his minster, a free man. Then even the ring that remained fell from his leg, while they witnessed it and offered many thanks for such a happening. And the performance of this miracle was made known to all the people and clergy, who all broke out in praise of God and sang a hymn to the Lord, who performs great wonders through his servant John, who is often made famous through miracles. Forthwith the clerk who had been captive, now delivered by the blessed confessor, offered the iron rings to the altar. They were suspended there, and many hoops of iron and shackles were hung up, that is to say on both sides of the tomb of John, the man of God. The sacrist of his church at this time was Alfred, of blessed memory, an old man, wise in ecclesiastical customs. This man, pitying the misfortunes of this clerk, seeing the soles of his feet greatly bruised and swollen, provided medicinal compresses and gave instructions that he be given sandals so that his feet should not be hurt by a shoe's upper. When these things had been done, the clerk remained in the church for a long time until his mobility was restored to him. Those who both saw him, and often heard him relate this on oath in the presence of many people, reported this to me.

⁵ Acts 12.7-10

Chapter 5

Another imprisoned clerk freed from that same place through St John.

In a similar way a clerk called Samson was put under guard in the aforesaid castle. The guards advised Sir Robert what should be done about him. He ordered them to tell the parents of this clerk that, unless they redeemed him very quickly, the teeth would be torn out of his head, or he would surely send them some limb of his body that had been cut off. Then the youth was terrified; he ceaselessly petitioned divine aid over this, and also the protection of St John. And indeed John, who is a protector of all unfortunate people throughout the country of England, heard the prayers of the humble petitioner, and compassionately delivered him from the hands of the evil men. For one night, John the venerable confessor appeared to him wearing a pontifical robe, bidding him to get up and flee for refuge to his minster at Beverley as quickly as possible. Straightaway the clerk replied to him that he was completely unable to do this, seeing that he was in prison firmly bound with iron chains to another prisoner. He replied, 'Do not be afraid, for now you are unbound'. Indeed, noticing that the iron ring had dropped off the foot of the man with whom he had been bound and that he was free of him, he gathered up that ring (for the other one was attached to him) and, preparing himself to continue and abandoning his co-prisoner who was subdued in sleep, he left at once, proceeding and hurrying forward, God willing, until he had come to the outside of the castle.

And now, as dawn came, as he was fleeing he heard the castle guards signalling the day. Immediately the guards found that the captive had gone. They shouted out all round that the clerk had escaped, and they were ordered to chase him on horseback as swiftly as possible and to search everywhere in order to find him. But with the support and guidance of the venerable confessor, who did not allow him to be handed over into the hands of the impious men from whose power he had now been delivered, he anxiously pressed on with his journey.

And now, at about seven in the morning, he neared Beverley when a soldier, approaching swiftly on horseback, caught up with him and, not recognizing him at all, although he was the very man whom he sought, questioned him as to whether he had seen some clerk going ahead or fleeing; he replied that he had seen nothing at all.

O remarkable event and worthy of praise! And we are able to compare this with the Sodomites who, in order to destroy the home of Lot, searched for the doors of the house. But the Lord struck them with blindness that, going round the house and feeling their way, they were unable to find the entrances: it is not unjust that those who were so spiritually blind to commit sin, should forfeit their external sight.⁶ And so, with God's mercy, their wickedness made them

⁶ Genesis 19.9-11.

blind so that they should not recognize the prisoner to whom they had unjustly plotted evil. And when the prisoner saw those pursuing him draw near, he turned aside, crossing over the rampart of the lake encircling the town. And so he came to the cemetery where he found his enemies in front of him, keeping watch to see if they could see him anywhere so that they could seize him if they found him outside the cemetery. But he passed through his enemies placed at the entrance to the cemetery, so that he, who recognized them as his enemies of the day before, was not even identified by them. When he came to the church, invoking the peace of St John, he was taken in, as everyone who flees there for refuge is looked after at the bosom of love and peace; and he offered his iron chains to the altar, giving thanks to John, his liberator. Both the clergy and the people immediately burst forth in praise of God, together rejoicing the glory of God and merit of St John with loud voices. His chains were suspended with the other chains and shackles of prisoners who often, having been freed, fled for refuge to the peace of the saint who is here.

What more? The passage of time would detain me for a very long time if I wished to write down every single release of prisoners through the merits of St John; or those which I saw; or about which people reported to me who both saw these things and knew for absolute certainty men who had been freed in a similar manner. For it would pain me to recount the number of prisoners reported as rescued from Driffeld Castle, and from other fortresses or prisons, through the merit, as well as through the invocation of St John.

Chapter 6

A crippled girl who recovered her health.

Once it happened that a crippled girl with bent limbs and twisted knees with stretched tendons was brought to Beverley. Here, because she did not have the strength in her feet to walk, she moved herself forward how she could by crawling on her hands and knees. One day when I returned to my home, my parents asked me if I knew the crippled girl who was accustomed to go begging from door to door. When I replied that I did not know her at all, they were amazed at this when she was very well known by very many men and women, and they said that she was well known and familiar to them, and used to speak to them and tell them humbly about her misfortune. And when I asked what had been done about her, they replied that, one day when they returned from the minster they saw the girl standing and washing herself in the lake that flows outside the cemetery. And while they were uncertain as to whether she was the one who had been lame before, they asked her what the truth was. She replied that she was that girl who had been lame before, and for some time used to beg from door to door, as many people had seen. She claimed she had been made upright and healthy by the grace of God and merits of St

John so that she could walk upright properly. Then they raised their heads, blessing God and praising St John, through whom so many miracles are revealed to us.

Chapter 7

A French penitent from St Andrews in Scotland restored through St John of divine grace.

It happened one time that a penitent arrived in Beverley in order to pray, who, coming from France, had visited St Andrew's in Scotland, and in returning from there arranged to ask for St John's help. And when, with intense devotion, he prostrated himself in his church to pray in the northern part in front of the cross, the very large piece of iron with which he had been bound around the loins was broken in such a way that those who were some little distance away in the church heard the sound of the iron breaking. And immediately, those who heard came running, seeing the iron circle as a broken circle and fallen apart away from him. And when he was asked who he was, the man did not want to say much but claimed that he wished to reveal this to a priest.

So it was done in this way, and he first disclosed to a priest, then to the chapter, who he was and why he had been bound with iron, saying, 'I am one who has sinned greatly: having been incited by rage and fraternal hatred, I struck my brother with a sword. Indeed my bishop, who is responsible for judging and punishing crimes, met me and imposed a penance on me. He ordered me to be bound with that same iron with which I struck my brother, being attached firmly to the loins against the bare skin, and to seek the intercessions of the saints by going on a pilgrimage, groaning, wandering abroad, and exiled. And now this iron has been broken from my body after I have spent one year in my penance, with the mercy of God and by the merits of the saint resting in this church'. Then everyone who was there, hearing this, greatly gladdened by joy, unanimously blessed God who glorifies John his saint with so many and such great miracles, and straightaway they sang a hymn together, rejoicing with prayers in homage. And they wrote to the bishop, from whose diocese this penitent came, [telling] how he had been released from the bond of iron in the church of St John of Beverley, with divine grace and through the merits of this confessor. I also saw this myself, and then, what is more, I was in that same church, when the iron circle was broken from his body; and it seemed to me he was a man of great candour.

Chapter 8

A peasant of Norwich, barely able to walk, regained the use of his leg.

There was a certain peasant in the province of Norwich, who was weighed down with a great illness, mainly in one leg, so that he was unable to walk upright but, being lame, and with a

stick supporting him, he was able, with difficulty, to undertake a journey. And although he had frequently visited the places of saints in order to pray, he was not restored to health through any of them. No wonder. For God decreed that he would be cured of his infirmity through one of the saints who was located in the more remote regions of England, mystically declaring by how much virtue he was superior, who would be shown to bestow without delay what others were unable to do. For this infirm man had heard the news spreading of how many wonders God performed through St John the confessor who rests in Beverley. And he began to invoke his name, groaning and calling for him to see fit to relieve his infirmity so that he could be freed from so long an illness through his intercession. And when he had steadfastly continued in such supplication for some time, his illness began to abate, and his leg was restored anew to its former health. His strength restored, and fully possessed of the use of his legs, he straightaway said that he wished to go to St John, and he had had a candle made to the same length and size⁷ of his leg with his foot, and as quickly as possible he made a rapid start on the journey towards Beverley.

And when he came to the church of the aforesaid confessor, he prostrated himself in prayer, he poured out prayers and expressed the greatest thanks for the health bestowed on him by God and St John, and offered the candle of remarkable size that he had brought with him, set alight, in the presence of the relics of the man of God above the altar, relating to the entire clergy and people how his recovery had been brought about through the invocation of the name of the venerable confessor John in the region where he lived. And, hearing this, everyone who was there glorified God, who far and wide reveals his patron saint John in so many virtues. And the clergy sang a hymn of praise to God, as is the custom of this church on the accomplishment of some clear miracle.

I, myself, also saw this man, and I heard him and many others tell these same things. And we saw him come here for a long time afterwards once every year with his offerings, and even with those of others who sent them there with him; and grateful for the services and gifts, as much to him as to others, he showed unremitting obedience. And by his example many people of the neighbouring provinces, seeing so much effective virtue possessed by the aforesaid confessor, were frequently cured of their infirmities after they had invoked his name and help, and they decided that this man, who hastened every year to the saint of God, should be the bearer of their offerings, and their intercessor.

⁷ If I had followed Raine's emendation, this would read, 'to the same size and shape'.

Chapter 9*A mute boy given speech through St John.*

There was a man in a town called Bielby who had a son who was very dear to him, who was still of immature age and devoted himself too much to childish games; he used to play alone with a certain girl in the normal way, in the undergrowth some distance away. Although he was often reproved by his parents to stop him from playing so far away from other people, one day he went out secretly thinking, as it seemed to him, that he saw the girl walking through the undergrowth. Then he ran after her happily in order to catch her, but he could not, and became tired out with much running around. At mid-day a very great number of lights seemed to him to be burning through the trees, as if with phantasmic fire, as he afterwards explained. For, in pursuing the girl hard in order to catch her, the boy had been unable to catch her, but had been deluded for a long time by a demonic illusion. At last, what seemed to be the girl and was not, in fact, but an evil spirit vanished, and the boy remained mute. When he returned home, he, who before was considered to be quite an eloquent boy, was completely unable to utter a word. Indeed the parents, affected with inestimable sadness, did not know where to turn for advice for they knew for certain that no remedy at all could help them, unless it was divine or of the saints of God.

And now the boy had remained dumb for the duration of almost half a year when his parents remembered the wonders that took place at Beverley through the merits of St John, whom the inhabitants of England have as their special protector. They brought him to his minster, and there sought the aid of St John with humble entreaty and contrite heart. Just as he very often provided relief for many sick people and for the misfortunes of many through his merits, so he even saw fit to cure the affliction of this boy. And when they had left for refreshment and the boy remained there alone, he fell asleep for a while, and all the time in his sleep it seemed to him that someone in a white robe stood next to him and pressed a hand on his mouth. Then he pressed it strongly along the chin and throat very roughly, to such an extent that the boy woke up; and he also glimpsed him moving away. Then, when his father returned, he met his son now able to speak whom, dumb before, he had mourned deeply with great anxiety. Being extremely happy, he and his family gave the greatest thanks to God and his confessor. And all who heard this glorified God and his saint, so often made illustrious with miracles. Indeed the father had the boy educated and ordered him to remain there. We saw him, and we heard him speak with clarity, as much in English as in French, for a long time after. He used to tell this to me and to many others, recalling the goodness bestowed on him by St John; and afterwards he was the almoner for the hospital building at Beverley, and his name was William Pater-noster.

Chapter 10

An old woman, crippled for seven years, walked on her feet.

At Beverley there was an old woman, who was crippled with bent limbs and twisted knees, shortened tendons, and bent low. For more than seven years she was unable to move about anywhere apart from on her hands and knees, and then only during the summer because in winter the muddy roads were a hindrance. But good women of the neighbourhood used to look after her and send her alms as an act of charity. And when she considered how many kindnesses God performed for the weak, or for those suffering such misfortunes, she rebuked herself for having put off going to the holy confessor for so long in order to recover her health. And on one of his feast days, called the Translation of the saint's body, she asked a maidservant to carry her to the minster of God's confessor. But she refused, unless she paid her. This was done, and the woman gave her her head cushion in payment so that she should carry her to the minster. And when she had been brought into the church, she wept, she prayed with outstretched hands, she humbly called upon the assistance of the holy protector so that she should at least be delivered from such a long-lasting infirmity. And lamenting all night, and devoting herself to prayer, at last, when the clerks sang the night service as is normal practice, her tendons relaxed, her legs were stretched out, and the woman stood erect on her feet, with everyone who was there, or who had heard of her, marvelling. And because she had not been used to walking on her own feet for a long time now, she began to make her way with a stick she had taken up, and to enter the choir as we sang hymns and gazed at her, and to prostrate herself before the altar priest, giving thanks to God and her patron, John. The clerks asked who she was and if what she had said was true. Very many people were present, men as well as women, who had known her before, and they confirmed that they had seen her for very many years, contorted in her joints and used to crawling on her hands and knees. And this miracle, which was performed so suddenly, was revealed to the clergy and people who had come together for that feast day, for she had been brought in very late and was cured and made upright during that same night after cockcrow. Then the clerks together with the laity, with homage of the voice and exultation of the heart, sang a hymn to God, who so often illuminates John, his saint, with miracles.

Chapter 11

A blind woman from the province of Lindsey recovers her sight.

In the following Lent it happened that a woman in the province of Lindsey was handed over to a man [in marriage?], but after a short space of time she became blind; whereupon her parents became extremely distressed that she lacked sight. When she regained the hope of recovering her sight, she said she wished to go to Beverley and to beg from St John that the light which had

been taken from her be restored; and she was led there by her father on the middle Sunday of Lent. And when they had devoted some considerable time to prayer, and had begged the assistance of the glorious confessor, forthwith on that day, at about nine in the morning before the solemn celebration of the mass commenced, the woman recovered the light which she had lost, with many witnesses, as one might expect on a solemn day. This was immediately revealed to the clergy and people, who unanimously praised God, who so often glorifies John, his saint, through miracles. And I was in the church at that time when the woman received her sight.

Chapter 12

A man, seized by demonic fury, cured through St John.

There was a man in the see of Lincolnshire, from the province called Kesteven, who proposed to go to St Andrew's. But before he crossed the river Humber, he was made insane and threw away both his clothes and his money. He ran to Beverley as fast as possible, carried along by his madness, and when he arrived in the church he disturbed everyone there by crying out noisily during the very celebration of the burial of St John, which is celebrated on 7 May; and with much shouting he frequently hindered those who were celebrating the divine office. Nor could he be restrained by threats and beatings, so that you knew that demonic fury was at work in him, not the natural behaviour of rustic simpleness. For from time to time loud cries came from the mouth of the prisoner, and sometimes rhythmic words emerged so that you knew that it was not the simple man's natural self, but that diabolic madness was on show. What more? For seven days he was disturbed by such insanity. At last, on the eighth day he was overcome by sleep, and, during his sleep, he was revived. In the morning he arose a sane man, having recovered his former nature as if he had never been troubled by any madness or insanity. Everyone who was there or had heard this was made happy, praising God for the wonders which he performs through the merits of John, his holy confessor. Then this man, having been made sane, returned to where he had left his clothes and money and resumed his abandoned journey towards St Andrew's in Scotland. When he returned from there we saw him flourish for a long time in the health he had acquired and, fittingly, he now often revisited the church of the aforesaid confessor to give thanks for the recovery of his health.

Chapter 13

A peasant tormented by a large tumour cured through St John.

In addition to that, there was a peasant in Lindsey who was tormented by such a great tumour through almost all his limbs, that for twelve weeks he was unable to rise up unaided from the pallet on which he lay. For the tumour invaded his head, eyes, face, hands, feet, and also his

genitals, so that he had the appearance more of an ugly monster than a human form. When there was no hope of recovery, he was advised by wise women to seek the help of one of the saints by lot, to see if God would see fit to come to his aid in this way through one of them. And the lot fell down clearly assigning St John, and immediately he made a vow of prayers and offerings to him, accompanied by groans of deepest emotion. Immediately the wretched man grew strong, the tumour dwindling every day, and within that week he came to Beverley, giving thanks to the holy confessor, carrying his offering and paying his vows in full. And, with the loose skin still visible from the former tumour, he told me in the church that he was cured in this way, as has now been related. He blessed God, and also John the holy confessor, and then he returned home.

Chapter 14

A female relative of the writer, suffering from a tumour of the arm, was cured.

There was a girl of Beverley, who was connected to me by close blood kinship, who decided to go on a pilgrimage, namely to St James and to St Peter, in order to pray. And when she returned through parts of Gaul, her vow having been fulfilled, her right arm began to become extremely swollen. She was exhausted with profound pain to such an extent that her arm was suspended from her neck in a sling, and with the pain of her sickness still troubling her she was not able to rest at night, nor to get herself more comfortable in the daytime. And when she consulted with very many people over such a misfortune, she applied a poultice of various medicines, and other measures, but nothing did any good. When she had been troubled for a long time with this sickness, some people told her that she could not be cured easily because they reckoned that a little ulcer had grown up in her arm, and for that reason they said that it would be essential and beneficial to her to seek out the land of her birth as quickly as possible to see if she could perhaps be cured by the temperate climate by which she was nourished and grew during her youth.

And so this was done, and she returned to England carrying with her the unrelenting pain of her swollen arm. And now she was barely able to walk at all, and with the extreme pain oppressing her she lost almost all her appetite for food. She also sought out places of saints for a cure, achieving nothing. Now, overcome with excessive weakness and bereft of the strength of her body, she was unable to go on any more. Worn out by her sickness, she was inevitably forced to lie down on a pallet in a town that is situated between London and St Edmunds. And when she sat down all alone, lamenting her misery and calling to mind her native land and her parents, at last she recollected those things which St John, the confessor who rests at Beverley, affords to those who are ailing and enfeebled. With repeated sighs she called on his clemency so that he should see fit to bestow relief on her from so much sickness or, she maintained, she wished

never to go home again. And when she had spent some considerable time in such humble entreaty, although situated in a very distant region, she obtained what she sought. For she, who was troubled by such great pain for seven weeks, immediately sensed relief, and she achieved full health, making it possible to return home. And afterwards she told me at home how she was cured through calling upon the name of the aforesaid confessor.

Chapter 15

A friend of the aforesaid woman, troubled with a tumour of the leg, achieved health.

Similarly she told me this about a girl, that is to say a close friend of hers, who went with her to St Andrew's in Scotland, but on returning from there, her leg and foot swelled up and she was overwhelmed by great pain. When the sickness grew worse over several days, she began to be exhausted by the acute pain so that she said she was unable to go on and, worn out, she remained sitting down, complaining a great deal that she did not know how she could return to Beverley, afflicted with weakness and intolerable pain. Indeed her companion rebuked her a great deal because, oppressed with such a sickness, she was unwilling to rest for a short while in the next town to see if the fierce pain should ease up a little and the tumour could go down. And when they had both stopped for some time, depressed through grief, in hilly country remote from any town whatever, a traveller who was extremely worn out by an excessive load came by and sat next to them, as they were complaining a great deal about how they could return to Beverley. He inspired them to activity, saying, 'Be in good spirits, for you are drawing near to Beverley, and you can now see ahead the church of the venerable confessor'. Indeed, lifting themselves up to look, as they saw the tower of his church they and the traveller prostrated themselves in prayer, asking the holy confessor John to see fit to grant a cure to the sick woman. And immediately she sensed relief from her pain and tumour, so that, having achieved complete health, she immediately started the journey with her friends. Moreover, the next day she arrived at Beverley, and after that remained healthy all the time, and I knew her, both before and afterwards, to be modest in simplicity, noteworthy in chastity.

Chapter 16

A man of Cotham who was blind for three years, and his insane wife, were cured.

There is a village about fifteen miles from Beverley called Cotham, in which lived a man who was not very rich, but was considered tireless in hospitality, and of good reputation. And because troubles are generally accustomed to smite the righteous and modest often, as Solomon confirmed, who said, 'There are righteous men, to whom many things happen, according to those things done by wicked men',⁸ similarly even to this man, whom we mentioned before, the

⁸ Ecclesiastes 8.14.

greatest misfortune occurred, namely physical blindness, and also his wife was reduced to idiocy to such an extent that she was judged by many not to be in her right mind. And when they were both oppressed for three years by this wretched calamity, the venerable confessor, John, appeared to the man in a vision saying that they should go to Beverley and should apply themselves to vigils and prayers in his church. When they had both devoutly carried this out, immediately sight was restored to the man, while the woman returned home with a sane mind, continually blessing God and praising St John, for the benefits bestowed on them.

Chapter 17

A ship on its way to Jerusalem, assailed by winds, was saved through St John.

At one time a ship in Apulia, which was crowded with people of different nations whom it was required to take to Jerusalem, was seen to be beset by adverse winds, and was very frequently forced to go backwards. And when they were repeatedly impeded by such unfavourable winds, they called many times upon the help of saints of different lands, and made vows in order that they should have a successful voyage. They expertly repaired the ship's rigging, raised the sails, and disposed everything skilfully so that they should be able to return safely to the shallows, but there was a contrary wind for those on board, and it almost dashed the boat, which was almost always in danger, against a huge rock projecting in the waves. And when they recognized that danger suddenly threatened them, terrified and moaning, and greatly troubled in their minds, unaware of what they should do, at last one man, of English nationality, rising to his feet in their midst, asserted forcibly that England had one saint as its particular patron saint, and the greatest source of comfort of that race, namely the venerable confessor John who rests at Beverley. If, in devout faith, they should humbly call upon him and make a vow to him, they would see straightaway that they would be given help. Likewise others also, who had come there from England, confirmed that the saint now named had often bestowed favours on many people who were afflicted by suffering. And at once the first one made an offering, others likewise made offerings and called upon St John for help so that, with his protection, they should be able to avoid imminent danger.

What a wondrous thing! In the same way as it is told about sailors in danger on the seas calling upon St Nicholas, that the tempest ceased immediately, so it happened in the present situation. For the wind and sea were immediately calmed, and they were brought rapidly to a favourable port. Consequently, much gladdened, with the greatest devotion, they plied the saint of God with most worthy praise, and with the money they collected they bought a beautiful silk cloth and sent it to the venerable confessor, that is to their deliverer, via the aforesaid man, who was very deserving of thanks, being the announcer of his saint. And this man, of whom we have already spoken, reported to us when he returned home, and while we watched he presented the

silk cloth, offered to his praise, in the presence of the relics of St John, with everyone praising God in John, his saint, who has so often been glorified with miracles.

We do not have the ability or intention to narrate one by one, the number of times that men have reported that they had been delivered from the perils of death, in the North Sea or the Sicilian Sea, through calling upon the name of the aforesaid confessor. For now we put an end to the work, nor any longer does it please my mind to go back over deeds of this kind because my spirit is tired of life. For I see that wicked men prevail against good men, the iniquitous oppress the just. The exalted prosper, the humble are considered with contempt, and now, according to the prophecy which was uttered a long time ago, men do not speak the truth, and the truth is scattered in the street.⁹ In addition, Solomon said, 'I see wicked men who are protected as if they had done works of righteousness';¹⁰ and through this it is obvious that the end of the world is not far off. For, according to the truth of the Evangelist, now wickedness increases and the love of most people grows cold.¹¹ Indeed we, having now voluntarily described to the best of our ability some of the miracles and praises of this saint, ask that, having been delivered through his merits and intervention from the present depraved world, we may gain indulgence for our sins, and attain eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

⁹ Isaiah 59.14.

¹⁰ Ecclesiastes 8.14.

¹¹ Matthew 24.12.

APPENDIX 4A

ALIA MIRACULA II EJUSDEM SANCTI PATRIS

Multitudo signorum, quæ per beatum confessorum Johannem operantur, compellit memoriæ tradere quæ vel a fidelibus viris didici, seu ipsemet vidi ne segnitiae vitio redarguar si sub silentio abscondam.

Quædam¹ mulier Beverlacum adierat, manum habiens aridam cum brachio dependente et emortuo, nimirum paralysi dissoluto; quæ, officio brachii omnino destituta, orationibus continuis instabat, ut venerandus confessor Johannes brachium sibi restitueret sanum. Cujus miseriæ Deus subvenit, et per merita præfati confessoris optatum tribuit effectum; visaque est ab omnibus qui aderant manum elevare, brachium agitare, gaudio inæstimabili repleti,² pro collata sibi brachii sanitate.

Fuit etiam quædam alia mulier, cujus lacertus complicatus manusque adhærens humero quasi a nativitate concreta erat. Hæc Beatum Johannem adiit, petitionibus pulsans, cordis contritione gemens, ut solvi a tam monstruosa colligatione mereretur. Sed Deus, qui cor contritum et humiliatum non spernit,³ eam mirabiliter et pie curavit; cœpitque manum continuo extendere, et digitos singillatim separare, leviterque omnino agitare quasi aliud brachium suum. Qua ex re illa multum jucundata, multique alii collaudabant Deum in sancto confessore suo mirabilem.

Quædam similiter mulier amens effecta, de Hemigbruc,⁴ funibus constricta, Beverlacum usque deducta a suis fuerat: quæ si cuiquam manus injicere poterat, discerpebat, laniabat, nisi citius a manibus ejus avelleretur. Aliquando vero insania ducta fatue loquebatur; quandoque autem gemebunda divinum invocabat auxilium Sanctique Johannis præsidium.

Quid multa? Ibi diebus ac noctibus, miseris fatigata verberibus et ejulatibus persistebat. Consuluit etiam, tam illa quam filius ejus sacerdotes ecclesiæ ut pro illa orarent, et benedicerent. Respondi etiam ego inter alios, quatenus perseverarent in petendo divinam miserationem,⁵ et rogatum est pro ea tam a clero quam a populo miseriis ejus condolendo. Tandem sana mente effecta, laudabat et benedicebat Deum, cum omnibus qui aderant. Qui tanta beneficia pro

¹ *Quædam*] *Accidit quod*, ins. B.

² *repleti*] *deo et sancto Johanni gratias agendo*, ins. B.

³ Psalm l. 19.

⁴ *Hemigbruc*] Hemingbrough, a village on the Ouse, close to Selby.

⁵ *Respondi etiam. . . miserationem*] om. B.

meritis sancti sui petentibus præstat; et quæ funibus colligata adducta fuerat, jam omni nexu soluta recessit ad propria.

Referebat mihi præterea Willelmus custos venerandæ crucis, se vidisse puerum fere septennem ita curvum, quod se erigere sursum nequaquam posset. Et cum in Nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptistæ illuc a parentibus adductus fuisset, cœpit nocte in ecclesia se volutare huc et illuc. Cumque aliquamdiu torqueretur, fractum est os spinæ dorsi ejus multis audientibus, quasi lignum siccum impetu frangeretur; et erexit se puer super pedes divinitus curatus; erectoque vultu incedens, obtulit lucernam accensam ante crucem. Unde tam parentes quam adstantes glorificaverunt Deum Sanctumque Johannem, cujus meritis tanta beneficia hominibus præstantur.

Fuit etiam⁶ quædam mulier Beverlaci, juvenis ætate, cui ingens infortunium acciderat, videlicet cæcitas oculorum per multos annos. Hunc⁷ egentem diu conspeximus,⁸ et per villam duci a parva puellula sua; multique compatiebantur illi, propter juvenilem ætatem ac calamitatem quæ eam oppresserat. Frequentabat hæc sæpe monasterium, orans et expostulans a Deo Sanctoque Johanne quatenus sibi misererentur, suisque miseriis subvenirent. Tandem exaudita est, recuperavitque⁹ visum oculorum miseratione divina meritis¹⁰ sanctissimi confessoris, longoque post tempore vivens, labore proprio desudans, sibi que vitæ necessaria acquirens, et pro salute sibi collata Deo Sanctoque Johanni gratias agens multiplices.

Præterea evenit in quadam villa, quæ Septentrionalis Burtonia vocitatur, quod¹¹ opus novum consummaretur in ecclesiæ fabrica, quæ et dedicata est in honore Sancti Johannis archipræsulis,¹² in cujus etiam possessione fundata est. Et, ut consuetudo est, quod anniversarius dies quoquo anno agatur sollemnis, accidit in quadam solennitate hujusmodi, nocturnis laudibus et hymnis completis, clerum et populum de ecclesia discedere, ostiumque obseratum est, juvenibus atque puellis sive pueris ludentibus ac jocantibus, et choreas ducentibus per cæmeterii viridem planitiem, cum subito lux cælitus emissa [apparuit] super eandem basilicam, ad instar solis resplendens a cæli fastigio, quasi columna refulgens; ut circumquaque provincia illuminaretur, et villulæ longe lateque discerni possent, aliaque plurima; tantusque calor ex illo lumine cælesti provenit, ut qui aderant præsentibus nimio æstu afficerentur, quasi ab æstivo die. Qua ex re datur intelligi, venerabilem confessorem Johannem cælestis civitatis vere constare civem, cujus domus ei ab hominibus designata tanta claritudine cælesti illustratur.

⁶ *etiam*] om., B.

⁷ *Hunc*] *Hanc*, B.

⁸ *conspeximus*] *dictæ villæ inhabitatores conspexerunt*, B.

⁹ *recuperavitque*] *recuperavit*, B.

¹⁰ *meritis*] *meritisque*, B.

¹¹ *quæ Septentrionalis . . . quod*] om., B.

¹² *archipræsulis*] *archiepiscopi*, B.

Quidam etiam presbyter, Ingulfus nomine, ad Dei servitium multum devotus, post nocturnam synaxim solitus psalmos secrete psallere,¹³ aliis clericis quiescentibus, quadam nocte cum tali hora psamodiæ secretius insisteret coram sancta cruce, et lucerna jam deficeret ad psalterium quod in manibus habebatur; indoluit multum se non posse solitum opus perficere lumine deficiente. Cumque orationi incumberet,¹⁴ quædam manus manui suæ candelam sufficientem inseruit. Cumque respiceret quisnam lucernam manui suæ imposuisset, vidit quendam albo indutum amictu versus chorum tendere, et cogitavit quod ipse¹⁵ Sanctus Johannes hic esset, seu aliquis sanctorum quorum reliquiæ ibi continentur. Nec mirum; nam nos invenimus in sanctorum scriptis, justorum animas illa loca frequenter visere, ubi reliquiæ eorum conservantur; necnon angelicos spiritus sacrorum locorum incolis frequentius patrocinari.

Retulit etiam nobis¹⁶ quidam canonicus ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis, quod quadam nocte solenni, illo dormiente in stratu, audirentur campanæ ecclesiæ ab illo, quasi pulsantes ad nocturnam synaxim; et surgens, tetendit ad ecclesiam adhuc signis pulsanibus, invenitque ostia aperta. Introivit statim, æstimans clericos adesse, divinum officium celebraturos. Cumque neminem invenisset, introivit in chorum. Nullum adfuisse reperit. Processit parum per custodes ecclesiæ; dormientes invenit. Mirante illo multum de tali eventu, descendit in inferiorem partem ecclesiæ, stetitque coram altari Sancti Martini; posteaque resedit ibi, diu excogitans, et exhorrens pro tali eventu. Post aliquantulum temporis spatium clausurunt se festinanter universa ostia ecclesiæ, pariter nullo præsentis aut impellente, quæ prius pervia fuerant. Sequenti die¹⁷ enarravit quæ acciderant, et quali horrore depressus fuerat.

His auditis, similiter retulit quidam custos cryptæ interioris, Umfridus¹⁸ nomine, quod eadem nocte vidit processionem festivalem circa monasterium procedere clericorum, sacerdotum, episcoporum, aliorum quam plurimorum, reginamque coronatam venerabiliter simul incedere; cumque ter circuissent ecclesiam, disparuerunt. Unde colligitur sanctorum animas loca sacra invisere, in quibus eorum reliquiæ continentur. Reginam vero tam honorifice conductam, quam possumus verius autumare, nisi illam de qua per prophetam Dominus dicit, Astitit regina a dextris in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate,¹⁹ videlicet sancta Dei genitrix virgo, quæ regina cæli vere nominatur, et cum voluerit, et cum quibus, sanctorum loca sæpe sua præsentia illustrat,²⁰ nisi²¹ aliquibus dubium videatur Beverlacense monasterium sacrum locum esse, utpote a tam sancto viro fundatum, scilicet confessore Johanne et²² Beato Brithuno abbate.

¹³ *psallere*] *pangere*, B.

¹⁴ *incumberet*] *decumberet*, B.

¹⁵ *ipse*] *vel*, B.

¹⁶ *nobis*] om. B.

¹⁷ *die*] *prædictus canonicus*, ins. B.

¹⁸ *Umfridus*] *Wilfridus*, B.

¹⁹ Psalm 44.10.

²⁰ *Reginam vero . . . illustrat*] om. B.

²¹ *nisi*] *hæc*, B.

²² *et*] *etiam*, B.

Non est mirandum, sanctum confessorem Johannem multa commoda præstitisse hominibus, nam etiam²³ mutis animalibus commoda sanitatis frequenter præstat. Sæpe etenim contingit, quod pestis mortalitatis animalia et pecudes obtinet; sed incolæ provinciarum circumjacentium²⁴ munimen solent obtinere, quando vovent Sancto Johanni de armento suo aliquod animal tali peste depressum ad liberationem cæterorum; solentque continuo convalescere, pestisque inde aufugere,²⁵ hominibus vota apud Beverlacum patrono suo sancto confessori Johanni persolventibus. Hæc nobis²⁶ solent attestari, qui et hæc experti sunt, et noverunt hujusmodi vota multis profuisse.²⁷

²³ *etiam*] *et*, B.

²⁴ *circumjacentium*] *hoc*, ins. B.

²⁵ *aufugere*] *affugere*, B.

²⁶ *nobis*] om. B.

²⁷ *profuisse*] *per merita iam sæpe dicti confessoris*, B.

APPENDIX 4B

OTHER MIRACLES II OF THE SAME HOLY FATHER

The great number of signs which have been performed through John, the blessed confessor, compels the writing down of those which I have either learned from reliable men, or have seen myself, lest if I keep silent I be convicted of inertia by default.

Chapter 1

A certain woman came to Beverley, who, completely deprived of the use of her arm, had a withered hand, with her arm, evidently disjoined by paralysis, hanging down and dead, and she urgently begged with continuous prayers that John, the venerated confessor, should cure her arm. God brought relief to her misery and, through the merits of the aforementioned confessor, granted the desired outcome, and she was seen by everyone who was present to raise her hand, wave her arm about, and to be filled with inestimable joy because the health of her arm had been restored to her.

Chapter 2

There was also another woman whose bent arm and hand clung to her shoulder as if she had been born like it. She came to St John, importuning with prayers, lamenting with a contrite heart, that she should be worthy to be released from such a monstrous restriction. But God, who does not disdain the contrite and humble heart,¹ miraculously and kindly cured her, and forthwith she began to stretch out her hand and to separate her fingers one by one, and to move them with complete ease like her other arm. She rejoiced greatly because of this, and many other people praised God, glorious in his holy confessor.

Chapter 3

Similarly, a woman of Hemingbrough,² who had been made mad, was bound with ropes and brought all the way to Beverley by her family. If she could seize anyone at all, she tore them to shreds, and savagely wounded them unless the person were very quickly torn out of her grasp. When the madness was upon her she sometimes used to speak foolishly; at the same time, groaning, she used to call upon the divine help and protection of St John.

¹ Psalm 1. 19.

² A village on the Ouse, close to Selby.

What more? She persisted there day and night, worn out by wretched whippings and shriekings. Also she, as well as her son, consulted the priests of the church so that they would pray for her and bless her. I also responded, amongst others, for as long as they continued in seeking to obtain divine compassion, and she was prayed for as much by the clergy as by the people, who were grieving over her woes. At last, when her sanity had been restored, with everyone who was present she praised and blessed God, who bestows so many acts of kindness through the beseeching merits of his saint; and she who had been brought bound up with ropes now returned home with all the bonds having been untied.

Chapter 4

In addition William, the keeper of the holy cross, reported to me that he had seen a boy of about seven years old crippled to such an extent that he was completely unable to raise himself up. And when his parents brought him there on the Nativity of St John the Baptist, at night in the church he began to roll about here and there. And when he had been twisted about for some considerable time, a bone of the spine of his back was broken like a dry stick snapped by pressure, which many people heard. And the boy raised himself on his feet, cured by divine inspiration and, walking with a raised head, he offered a lighted candle before the cross. Whereupon the parents, like those present, glorified God and St John, through whose merits so many good things are given to men.

Chapter 5

Also there was a young woman of Beverley to whom a very great misfortune had occurred, namely, she had been blind for several years. We saw this poor person a great deal and saw her led through the town by her poor little daughter, and many people felt pity for her because of her young age and the misfortune that oppressed her. She often used to come to the minster, praying and calling on God and St John to pity her and relieve her woes. At last she was heard and regained the sight of her eyes through divine compassion and the merits of the most holy confessor. She lived for a long time after, toiling hard at her own work and obtaining the necessities of life, and giving many thanks to God and St John for the health bestowed upon her.

Chapter 6

Furthermore, it happened in a certain estate called North Burton that new work was finished on the fabric of the church that was dedicated in honour of St John the archbishop, in whose holding it had also been founded. And as it is the custom that his feast day is observed every year, it happened that at one of these celebrations, when the night lauds and hymns had been completed, the clergy and the people were leaving the church and the door had been locked, while young people, both girls and boys, were playing and laughing and leading dances through the green ground of the cemetery, suddenly a light sent from heaven [appeared] above the

church, just like the brilliant sun from the summit of the sky, like a shining column, so that the whole area was lit up, and villages and many other things could be seen for far and wide. And such great heat came from that heavenly light that those who were present were greatly affected by the warmth, as if by a summer's day. From this it is clear that John, the venerable confessor, is truly established as a citizen of the heavenly city, whose dwelling-place assigned to him by men is distinguished by so much heavenly glory.

Chapter 7

Also, a priest named Ingulf, who was greatly devoted to the service of God, was accustomed to play psalms on the cittern in private after the night service when all the other clerks were asleep. One night, when he applied himself to the psalmody at such a time, totally alone in front of the holy cross, the candle which he had in his hand before the psalter went out and he was very upset that he could not finish his usual task without a light. And when he devoted his energies to prayer, a hand put another candle into his hand. When he looked round to see who had put the light in his hand, he saw someone dressed in a white robe walking towards the choir, and he knew that he was St John himself, or one of the saints whose relics were kept there. And no wonder, for we learn in the writings of saints that the spirits of the just frequently visit those places where their relics are preserved, and also that angelic spirits very often protect the inhabitants of sacred places.

Chapter 8

Also, a certain canon of the church of St John reported to us that, one feast night while he was sleeping in bed, he heard the church bells chiming as if for the night service and, getting up, he made his way to the church with the bells still ringing, and found the doors open. He went in immediately, believing the clerks to be there about to celebrate the divine office, but when he had gone in he found no-one in the choir. He found that nobody had been there. He proceeded a little way past the churchwardens, whom he found sleeping. Greatly bewildered by this, he went down into the lower part of the church and stood in front of the altar of St Martin, and afterwards sat down there, thinking for a long time, and trembling because of such a happening. After a while all the doors of the church, which had been open before, shut themselves, still with no-one there or pushing them. The next day he related what had happened and what kind of terror he had been reduced to.

Having heard these things, the keeper of the inner crypt, named Umfrid, reported that that same night he saw a festival procession of clerks, priests, bishops and very many others, progress around the minster, and that a crowned queen proceeded reverentially with them; and when they had circled the church three times they disappeared. From this it was understood that the spirits of saints visit sacred places where their relics are kept. Moreover, whom can we more

plausibly believe her to be, than that the queen who was escorted with so much honour was none other than she about whom the prophet of the Lord said, 'The queen stands on the right hand dressed in golden robes, surrounded by many',³ clearly the blessed virgin, mother of God, who is rightly called the queen of heaven, and when she wishes, and with whom she wishes, often gives glory through her presence to the places of saints, lest anyone should doubt that the minster at Beverley is a sacred place, as one might expect, having been founded by such a holy man, namely John the confessor and blessed abbot Berhthun.

Chapter 9

It is not to be wondered at that John, the holy confessor, bestowed many benefits on men, for he even frequently confers healing on dumb animals. For often it happens that a deadly plague grips animals and livestock, but the inhabitants of the regions round about are wont to obtain protection, as whenever some animal from their herd is brought low by such a pestilence, they promise it to St John for deliverance of the others; and they usually recover immediately, and the plague disappears from the herd, with the men fulfilling their vows to their patron, the holy confessor John at Beverley. These things commonly bear witness to us, who have both experienced these things and know that prayers of this kind have been beneficial to many. Amen.

³ Psalm 44.10.

APPENDIX 5A

ALIA MIRACULA III SANCTI JOHANNIS EPISCOPI

Mortuus suscitatus, contractus curatus, cæci illuminati.

Cum ad fidei corroborationem, et Christianæ religionis incrementum, crebra inter fideles ab Omnipotente Deo fiant miracula, timendum est, ne ingratitude arguantur et negligentia qui ea pertransierunt, conticendo sub arcano silentii quæ ad Creatoris laudem et ad fidelium utilitatem in propatulo merentur et exigunt prædicari. Confitetur namque psalmista se non abscondisse Dei iustitiam in corde suo, non celasse misericordiam et veritatem suam a concilio multo.¹ Ex quo plane colligitur quod non sit abscondenda divina misericordia, non reticenda divinæ miserationis opera, verum ad laudem et honorem nominis suis devote publicanda. Cum igitur Dominus frequenti miraculorum ostensione et seipsum clarificet, et sanctum confessorem suum Johannem mirificare non cesset, quædam illorum proferre libet in medium, et paginæ commendata ad memoriam transfundere posterorum. Ad universorum namque enarrationem quæ divinitus gesta sunt intra spatium quinquenne, fateor imperitiam locutionis meæ nequaquam sufficere. Animandos sane spero ad cultum divinum, et ad sanctum confessorem obnixius venerandum, qui ad audienda quæ per ipsum gesta sunt miracula, patulum converterint auditum et diligentem adhibuerint intellectum. Veruntamen in præsentī narratione nec sermonem expectent accuratum, nec pomposas verborum phaleras, quibus obfuscari renuit nudæ veritatis amica simplicitas. Non est enim in hujusmodi eloquio, vel inani gloriæ, vel temporali inhiandum emolumento; juxta illud quod legitur in Levitico, Qui dederit de semine suo idolo Moloch, morte moriatur, et lapidabit eum omnis populus terræ.² Sed hoc hactenus.

Capitulum I

*Puer quidam ex alta testudine ecclesiæ Beverlacensis lapsus, et attritus, incolumis surrexit.*³

Contigit ut tempore quodam æstivo intra septa polyandri ecclesiæ Beati Johannis, ex parte aquilonari,⁴ larvatorum (ut assolet) et verbis et actu fieret repræsentatio Dominicæ resurrectionis. Confluebat eo copiosa utriusque sexus multitudo, variis inducta votis, delectationis videlicet, seu admirationis causa, vel sancto proposito excitandæ devotionis. Cum

¹ Psalms 40. 11-12.

² Leviticus 20. 2

³ In B the space for the rubric is unfilled.

⁴ *aquilonarij* *aquilonali*, B.

vero, prae densa vulgi astante corona, pluribus, et praecipue statura pusillis, desideratus minime pateret accessus, introierunt plurimi in ecclesiam; ut vel orarent, vel picturas inspicerent, vel per aliquod genus recreationis et solatii pro hoc die⁵ tedium evitarent. Ingressi igitur ecclesiae limina adolescentuli quidam, casu fortuito ostium quoddam reperiunt⁶ semiapertum, quo per gradus ascenditur ad superiora murorum. Eo accurrentes levitate puerili, gradatim insuper murales ascendebant basilicae testudines, ea ut reor intentione, ut per altas turriculorum fenestras, seu si qua vitrearum fenestrarum essent foramina, liberius personarum et habitus et gestus respicerent, et earundem dialogos auditu faciliori adverterent; Zaccheum in hoc imitantes, qui cum esset statura pusillus, ut videret Jesum, arborem ascendit sycomorum.⁷ Sed, ecce! intimatum est, matriculariis quod agebatur ab adolescentulis; qui nimirum verentes ne puerorum indiscretio, desiderio videndi personas, quarum officio praetaxata transigebatur repraesentatio, fenestras vitreas perforaret, vel aliquo modo detereret, illos insequerentur cursu pernici; ipsosque temeritatis argutos, alapis gravioribus expalmatos coegerunt reverti.

Quidam vero puerorum, poena sociorum conspecta, in insequentium manus formidans incidere, superiores secessit in partes, quoadusque deveniret cursu praerapido ultra crucem magnam, tunc temporis collocatam in altaris B.⁸ Martini confinio. Ibi vero stans et deorsum aspiciens, quadrato cuidam lapidi pedem imposuit incautius; qui a muro solutus et decisis, non sine fragore magno super lapideum decidit pavementum; et, non obstante duritia, in infinitas partes est comminutus. Adolescentulus vero suo destitutus fulcimine, horrendo stupore percussus, solotenus corruit, et ibi per aliquantum temporis articulum exanimis jacuit, et mortuo simillimus. Circumstabant plurimi graviter suspirantes, de casu tali miserabiliter ingemiscentes, dolores suos lacrymarum exuberantia protestantes. Parentes ejus ejulabant, laniabant capillos, clamorem et ululatum crebris interrompebant singultibus; ignorantes, quia in brevi divina dispensatione tristitia in gaudium, ploratus in risum esset convertendus. Non passus namque Deus⁹ ecclesiam, in sui et confessoris honore dedicatam, quasi caede humana pollui; sed volens eam majoris in posterum auctoritatis haberi, volens etiam testimonium perhibere veritatis, illi quae interim¹⁰ fiebat suae resurrectionis repraesentationi; in omnium qui aderant conspectu adolescentulum, qui mortuus credebatur, erexit incolumem, adeo ut nec aliquam in toto corpore suo esset perpendere laesionem. Factum est ergo, ut qui prae populi multitudine extra ecclesiam repraesentationi non poterant interesse, mirabilius viderent resurrectionis indicium intra corpus ecclesiae; et non tantum resurrectionis, sed passionis Dominicae.¹¹ Per decisionem namque lapidis, sine manu decidentis a muro, plane indicabatur, sine admixtione virili, ex virgine Dominica Incarnatio: per utriusque casum, scilicet et lapidis et pueri, significabatur passio

⁵ *pro hoc die*] *prolixie diei*, B.

⁶ *reperiunt*] *reperunt*, B.

⁷ Luke 19.3-4.

⁸ B.] *beati*, B.

⁹ *Deus*] *Dominus*, B.

¹⁰ *quae interim*] *qui exterius*, B.

¹¹ *sed passionis Dominicae*] *verum etiam incarnationis et passionis dominicae*, B.

eiusdem, hominis et Dei. Veruntamen lapis cadendo confractus typum gessit arietis occisi; adolescens vero typum Isaac permanentis illæsi.¹² Unde cujus passionis secundum humanitatem signum fuit ruina; Ejus etiam resurrectionis secundum Divinitatem signum exstitit erecto miraculosa.

Capitulum II

*Adolescentulus Beverlacensis, omnibus membris contractus, sanatur.*¹³

Erat Beverlaci adolescentulus duodennis, mulieris pauperculæ filius, qui gravi licet curabili incumbente morbo, diu decubuerat in lecto languoris; cui processu temporis evanescenti, successerat alius gravior et incurabilis. Ex chronico namque languore adeo fuerat exinanitus, ut ossibus adhæreret pellis, consumptis carnibus; in tantum exhaustus et extenuatus macie, ut vix humanaungeretur effigie. Cutis crispabatur in rugas; hirudinis in modum exsugentis incumbens languor ossium exsuxerat medullas; erant et tibiæ et crurcula gracilitate tenui(?)¹⁴ gradiendi usibus inepta penitus et inutilia. Nervi tibiæ colligantes et femora per exinanitionem erant ita contracti, ut non possent poplites aperiri; tibiæ a cruribus, pedes a natibus per extensionem nequirent separari; erant et pedes distorti, ac si essent opilionis pedes;¹⁵ recurvati pedum articuli, in modum curvaturarum unci ferrei. Si quando necesse habuit in matris tetige¹⁶ mutare locum, manibus et genibus quasi pedibus quatuor innitebatur, in modum quadrupedum. Consueverat mater paupercula, uterino suo compassa et ejus condolens miseræ ipsum humeris impositum, festis præcipue diebus, ad Sancti Johannis ecclesiam deportare, eum juxta tumbam collocando, donec ipsum completo reportaret officio. Supererat enim ut solummodo divinum exspectaret adjutorium, cum jam invaluisset hæc pestis in triennium.

Abjiciens igitur funditus spem curationis humanæ, confisa est in Domino, non in homine; non dubitans¹⁷ quin qui quadriduanum suscitavit defunctum,¹⁸ poterat et triennem erigere contractum. Cum jam¹⁹ in die depositionis beati confessoris ipsum ad ecclesiam ex more detulisset, et collocasset ad tumbam, divinam obnixius invocavit clementiam, ut filio suo dignaretur conferre medelam. Confessori supplicavit devotissime, ut pro sui intercederet filii sospitate. Oravit mater pro filio. Pro se oravit et filius lacrymis perfusus²⁰ uberibus. Exaudivit autem eos Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius²¹ consolationis²² in sua invocatione, Qui prope

¹² Genesis 22.

¹³ The heading in B is: *Item aliud miraculum de quodam adolescentulo sanato.*

¹⁴ *tenui*] *todina*, B. Raine notes that *todina* was in the printed copy, but he believed it to be an unintelligible word. However, *todina* *gracilitas* is given the meaning of 'extreme thinness' in *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, prepared by R. E. Latham (London, 1994), although it is marked with an obelisk, indicating a suspicion that this form may be due to a misprint or other scribal error.

¹⁵ *opilionis pedes*] *opilionum pedi*, B.

¹⁶ *tetige*] *tegete*, B. Raine notes that the editor of the *Acta SS.* supposes this is identical with *tecto* or *tugurio*.

¹⁷ *dubitans*] *indubitans*, B.

¹⁸ Lazarus, see John 11.

¹⁹ *jam*] *ergo*, B.

²⁰ *perfusus*] *profusus*, B.

²¹ *totius*] *om.* B.

²² II Corinthians 1.3.

est omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate. Non potuit eis deesse Dominus adjutor, pro quibus intervenit tantus intercessor. Volens ergo Dominus urgentis solennitatis diem ostensione miraculi memorabilius solennem, et in posterum solennius haberi memorabilem; adstantibus universis qui ad horas matutinas convenerant, morbum quo laboraverat adolescentulus mirabiliter effugavit, et eum erexit incolumen. Relaxatis nervis extensae sunt tibiae; rectificati²³ sunt flexus²⁴ poplitum; pedibus, qui distorti fuerant, incedendi reparatur officium. Erectus igitur et pedibus innixus, vultum attollebat ad cæum, quem paulo ante ad terram habuerat defixum: in speciem restitutus est humanam, qui antea in motu suo effigiem repræsentaverat belluinam: in suæ tamen erectionis initio vicinæ pyramidis usus est appodiamiento,²⁵ ad modum pueri plostello innixi humum pæne signantis mento.²⁶ Adhærens tumbæ, deambulavit a latere; et eam gyro circuiens, suam prætentavit valentiam, diffidens adhuc viribus propter longam gradiendi insolentiam. Vires tandem suas expertus, assumpta confidentia a tumba se amovit, et solo naturali pedum adjutus fulcimento, ante et retro, dextrorsum et sinistrorsum deambulavit.

Cum denique cantu hymnidico, pulsatis campanis, ad altare duceretur a clero, aliud annexuit Dominus virtutis indicium præscripto miraculo. Cum enim flexis procidisset genibus ante altare, laudans Dominum in multitudine virtutis Suæ, nec haberet quid offeret Domino, qui misericordiam fecerat cum ipso; ecce, qui dederat ut posset incedere, donavit et quod sibi posset offerre. Laudabilem offerendi consuetudinem sua confirmavit auctoritate, quamvis, secundum psalmistam, super vitulum novellum, cornua producentem et ungulas,²⁷ placeat Domino laus cum cantico et magnificatio cum laude. Assem namque eadem hora jacentem conspexit ex opposito super tapetum,²⁸ in gradu supremo ante altare evolutum et extensum; quem manu extensa acceptum exurgens offerebat ad aram. Celebratis divinis domum reversa est mater cum filio, gaudens et hilariter²⁹ eum habens in reditu præcessorem, quem paulo ante, tristis et mœrens, ad ecclesiam detulerat humeris suis insidentem.

Capitulum III

*Fossor quidam Beverlacensis cæcus factus est.*³⁰

Anno revoluto, cum urgeret ejusdem dies solennitatis, suspenso, ut decuit, opere quolibet servili, manu transigendo laicali, satagebat clerus in ecclesia, omni qua potuit diligentia, Deum vel sanctum debitis officiis venerari. Sed erat fossor quidam in villa Beverlaci, animo

²³ *rectificati*] *rectificatæ*, B.

²⁴ *flexus*] *fluxus*, B.

²⁵ This is not a crutch, as suggested by Raine, but a medieval baby walker with wheels.

²⁶ *pæne signantis mento*] *pæde signantis incerto*, B.

²⁷ Psalms 68.32.

²⁸ *tapetum*] *tapetium*, B.

²⁹ *hilariter*] *hilaris*, B.

³⁰ The heading in B is: *De operario cæcato qui diem sancti Johannis noluit observari.*

irreverenti et infrunito, qui nihilominus instante sollennitatis die operi fossoris præsimebat insistere. Hic a quadam scrobe suam effodit argillam; vel cupiditate lucelli cum non egeret illectus,³¹ vel forte angustia rei familiaris inductus,³² cum tamen³³ mendicare quam peccare³⁴ tunc temporis exstitisset honestius. Decuit igitur ut unius pœna a vesana populus cohiberetur³⁵ audacia. Oportuit ut manifestis indiciis patefieret virtus sancti confessoris. Factus est ergo, ut in ipso conatu operis adesset ultio tam præsumptionis temerariæ,³⁶ quam³⁷ præsumptuosæ temeritas. Clauserunt namque se oculorum ejusdem palpebræ, et ita sibi invicem cohærebant quasi glutino conviscatæ, ut nisi pilorum prominentia extremitates et locum conjunctionis indicasset, potius continuæ fuisset viderentur quam contiguæ. Repentino casu stupefactus, abjecta scrobe manus apposuit ut cilia divideret; sed facilius partes rupisset continuas, quam palpebras dissociasset conclusas.

Quid plura? qui paulo ante visum habuerat acutum et perspicuum, se jam doluit oculorum lumine destitutum. Necesse igitur habuit ut illum haberet tutorem et advocatum, quem prius offenderat per contemptum. Restabat ut qui inflixerat supplicium, supplicanti præstaret auxilium; et qui pœnam intulerat ad correptionem, curam afferet ad suæ virtutis ostensionem. Ducebatur igitur ad sancti confessoris ecclesiam, superposita manu læva ductoris humero, dextram subeunte baculo. Priusquam humiliaretur, deliquit; multiplicatæ sunt infirmitates ejus, et postea acceleravit ostendens se sacerdotibus. Quod publice commiserat, publice confessus est;³⁸ et³⁹ injecta sibi quæ decuit pœnitentia, ibidem per octo dies jugi vigilabat⁴⁰ jejuniorum acerbitate, invictumque⁴¹ non relaxabat spiritum ab oratione. Obstructus est meatus et via lacrymarum; sed quod per oculos exire non potuit, per poros partium adjacentium in modum sudoris erupit.

Decursis jam octo diebus, apparuit ei in somnis de nocte vir quidam, reverendi admodum vultus, statura procerus, ætate maturus, habitu pontificali indutus; qui ipsum manu dextera apprehensum et erectum, passu incedens pomposo,⁴² circa ambitum duxit ecclesiæ, educens eum ad ostium quod⁴³ aquilonem est⁴⁴ respiciens; et processione finita, ad locum quo eum apprehenderat mansuete reducens. Apposita deinde manu ad oxellum,⁴⁵ sudore, qui illis in partibus evaporare solet, ob vicinitatem cordis et caloris abundantiam, oculos ejus perunxit, et,

³¹ *illectus*] *electus*, B.

³² *inductus*] *indutus*, B.

³³ *tamen*] *victum*, ins. B.

³⁴ *peccare*] *pro es fodere*, B.

³⁵ *populus cohiberetur*] *plurimum cohibetur*, B.

³⁶ *temerariæ*] *temeræ*, B.

³⁷ *quam*] *tam*, B.

³⁸ *est*] om. B.

³⁹ *et*] om. B.

⁴⁰ *vigilabat*] *instatia. Carnem affligebat*, ins. B.

⁴¹ *invictumque*] *invictum*, B.

⁴² *pomposo*] *pompacio*, B.

⁴³ *quod*] om. B.

⁴⁴ *est*] om. B.

⁴⁵ *oxellum*] *ascellam*, B. Raine notes 'sc. *Axillam*'.

eum obdormire, præciens, evanuit. Quo facto, cum jam expergefactus a somno evigilasset, oculos, qui paulo ante palpebrarum objectu obstructi fuerant, aperuit; et visum se recepisse gavisus, adstantibus universis, Deum et sanctum una cum ipso laudantibus in operibus suis, quod ei in somnis acciderat ex ordine revelavit. Ecce hic adimpletur quod pollicitus est Dominus discipulis Suis, exspuens in terram Dominus lutum fecit, quo linivit oculos cæci nati, et visum non præhabitum mirabiliter contulit.⁴⁶ sanctus vero confessor, magistri secutus exemplum, et ab eo abundanter⁴⁷ edoctus, sudore oculos istius excæcati perunxit, et visum præhabitum miraculose restituit. Sed cæcus natus illuminatus a Domino in nullo peccaverat; imo nec parentes ejus, propter quod cæcus nasceretur; sed ut manifestaretur gloria Dei in illo. Cæcus iste, confessoris mysterio⁴⁸ illuminatus, pœnam sibi inflictam meruerat delinquendo; cui, cum⁴⁹ peccati sufficienter pœnituisset, erepto visu divinitus restituto, relaxata est pœna; ut Dominus glorificaretur, et confessoris agnosceretur potentia.

Capitulum IV

*Cæcus quidam Eliensis per Sanctum Johannem recuperat visum.*⁵⁰

Erat vir quidam in partibus Eliensibus, longo tempore visus beneficio destitutus. Hic non cessavit sanctorum adeundo limina totam perambulare regionem, visum sibi confidens divinitus restituendum per alicujus eorum interventionem. Vagatis⁵¹ igitur diversis regionis finibus, cum votum nondum esset assecutus, inspiratum est ei divinitus ut adiret Beverlacum,⁵² ibi Beati Johannis postularet patrociniū. Nulla vel brevis intercessit mora, et iter suum arripuit omni qua potuit festinantia, modico contentus viatico, innixus baculo præambulo, et⁵³ ei ducatum præstante quodam adolescentulo. Erat ei spes firma, fiducia constans, nulla dubietas suspensa, quod qui monuit quaerere, suam ei virtutem erogando clarificaretur;⁵⁴ Qui inspirare voluit indigno, ut ipsius præsidium postularet. Hanc intellexit propositi constantiam; hanc vidit humani generis inimicus confidentiam. Vidit, inquam, et invidit. Invidit nimirum servo, qui ante ruinam invidit et Domino, cum sedem suam ponere disponderet in aquilone, ut similis esset Altissimo.⁵⁵ Invidit⁵⁶ et patri protoplasto, cum ipsum⁵⁷ seducendo ejiceret de paradiso. Nitebatur igitur miselli invidus impedire processum, ne clarificaretur sanctus ei invidiosus, per illud quod in ipso futurum cognovit⁵⁸ miraculum. Antiqua⁵⁹ processit calliditate, nullum⁶⁰ sibi

⁴⁶ John 9.6.

⁴⁷ abundanter] habundanter, B.

⁴⁸ mysterio] ministerio, B.

⁴⁹ cum] non, B.

⁵⁰ The heading in B is: *De visu reddito cuidam cæco per merita sancti Johannis.*

⁵¹ Vagatis] Per agratis, B.

⁵² Beverlacum] et, ins. B.

⁵³ et] om. B.

⁵⁴ monuiti . . . clarificaretur] persuasit ut peteret petenda non negaret quod qui monuit quaerere, dare et invenire quod confessorem suum in virtutibus egrediendo clarificaret, B.

⁵⁵ Isaiah 14.13-14.

⁵⁶ Invidit] posteritati qui invidit, B.

⁵⁷ ipsum] ipso, B.

⁵⁸ cognovit] conierit, B.

⁵⁹ Antiqua] Antequam, B.

⁶⁰ nullum] nullam, B.

videns de novo excogitandum⁶¹ magis in hoc casu competere. Antiquitus namque in serpentina specie gustum pomi vetiti primitus persuasit Evæ, quam novit fragilem;⁶² Adam non ausus aggredi, quem vidit robustiorem; in femina prætentavit dolum, per quam pateret ei accessus ad virum. Similiter et hic, visa cæci constantia, personaliter non ausus est insurgere,⁶³ ut a cœpto⁶⁴ desisteret itinere; sed ductoris sui fragilitate notata, ipsum invasit, per ipsum cœptum iter impedire proposuit.

Suggestit igitur ei cogitationum malarum intentor, non immissor, ut, cum tempus et locum videret opportunum, ab eo clam recederet, ut vestes suas, necnon et suum furtive asportaret viaticum⁶⁵. Quod et factum est. Nam cum cæcus⁶⁶ ipse nocte quadam, labore fessus et longo fatigatus itinere, gravi somno premeretur, surrexit ipsius ductor, immo seductor, et abiit collectis sarcinulis, asportans cum viatico quidquid alicujus reperit valoris. Quo cum evigilasset comperto, more doluit humano: spei tamen adiutorio dolorem ita temperavit, quod a proposito, desperatione victus, nequaquam resiliivit. Novit enim quod non sit aptus Dei regno, qui manum mittens ad aratrum respicit retro;⁶⁷ quod non sit dignus palma, cui odiosa est pugna palmæ præambula. Quæsito igitur quomodolibet alio ductore, et ei qui recesserat substituto, iter continuavit inceptum, quousque ad locum pervenit desideratum. Accedens ad ecclesiam sancti, ibidem corpus maceravit jejuniis ab oculis effundens lacrymas ad aquæ modum a fontis fundo scaturientis. Aures Divinæ clementiæ devotarum precum pulsabat instantia, ut visum, quo erat ipse destitutus, ei misericorditer restitueret. Beato Confessori supplicare non destitit, ut sua intercessione sibi a Domino salutem impetrare satageret. Audierat deinde⁶⁸ ab apostolo, quoniam multum valet assidua iusti deprecatio;⁶⁹ orationi didicerat annexam esse misericordiam, secundum illud psalmistæ, Benedictus Deus qui non amovit orationem meam et misericordiam a me.⁷⁰ Cum igitur nocte quadam, lacrymarum unda perfusus creberrima, genuum flexione et orationum continuatione jaceret fatigatus, poscente quietem animalium debilitate virtutum, paulisper cœpit obdormiscere. Apparuit autem ei in somnis reverenda quædam persona, pontificalibus vestimentis induta, quæ accedens ad eum, quasi penna anserina, melli purissimo intincta, oculos ejus linivit; et mox recedens, ipsumque de percipienda sospitate certificans, requiescere præcepit. Non multum post evigilans qui cæcus fuerat, imminente diluculo, erecto capite, per fenestras vitreas lucis auroram vidit rutilare; et visum perspicacem se sensit recepisse per sancti confessoris beneficium, cujus instanter poposcerat adminiculum. Laudans ergo et benedicens Dominum, lucernam accensam sub modio non posuit sed super

⁶¹ *excogitandum*] *excogitandam*, B.

⁶² Genesis 3.

⁶³ *insurgere*] *suggestere*, B.

⁶⁴ *a cœpto*] *accepto*, B.

⁶⁵ *viaticum*] *suum*

⁶⁶ *cæcus*] *secut*, B.

⁶⁷ Luke 9.62.

⁶⁸ *deinde*] *dictum*, B.

⁶⁹ James 5.16.

⁷⁰ Psalms 65.20.

candelabrum,⁷¹ in audientia cleri et totius populi, quod ei acciderat seriatim duxit exponendum. Dumque⁷² temporis moram fecisset, in ecclesia Deum et confessorum de sospitate laudans percepta, tandem cum gratiarum actione reversus est ad propria.

Capitulum V

*Quomodo Beverlacum ab invasoribus immune servaretur.*⁷³

Cessante universali interdicto, cui per longum tempus subjacuit anglicana regio, factum est ut inter regem et regni magnates gravis et insedebalis oriretur dissensio. Magnates enim pro majori parte a regia exigebant majestate libertates quasdam et privilegia, sibi (ut asserebant) debita ex antiqua et approbata regni consuetudine. Ipsi perseveranter⁷⁴ suæ institerunt exactioni; sed eos exaudire regiæ non placuit majestati. Rationabilis igitur postulationis, sicut eis videbatur, multoties⁷⁵ irrationabilem perpessi repulsam, novum consilium duxerunt cogitandum. Convenientes ergo, unanimiter conjuraverunt, ut impeterent regem, quem suæ exactioni toties constitit se exhibuisse rebellem: a fidelitate tamen, quam regi sub juramento præstiterant, se in ipsius præsentia prius absolverent, quam contra eum arma bellando gestarent. Cum igitur dicta conjuratio regis innotuisset audientiae, cum suis deliberavit domesticis, quam posset industria eorum viribus resistere. Tandem maligno suorum familiarium acquiescens⁷⁶ consilio, nuntios in partes destinavit transmarinas, qui inde sibi strenuos in subsidium adducerent bellatores. Convenerunt igitur undequaque ad ejus mandatum alienigenae⁷⁷ et malefactores, eo animosius, quo eos pollicebatur stipendiis amplis donandos, regiisque ditandos muneribus. Horum tyrannidem inermes quidam et imbecilles Angligenae formidantes, necnon et alii viri strenui, viam mediam eligentes, ut nec parti regiæ, nec parti adhærerent adversæ; hinc ad castrorum tutamina, hinc ad secessuum quorumcunque latibula, hinc ad cœnobiorum locorumque religiosorum⁷⁸ præsidia, relictis domibus et agris, cum uxoribus et pueris, cum⁷⁹ sua se transtulerunt familia: parvipendebant enim jacturam totius possessionis suæ, dummodo corporalia supplicia, exquisitaque tormenta, quæ aliis didicerunt illata, quoquo modo possent evitare. Quia vero villam Beverlaci privilegiatam noverant a diebus antiquis, confugerunt eo ex partibus adjacentibus plurimi, Dei confisi præsidio et sancti confessoris.

Advenerunt illuc una cum aliis milites cujusdam magnatis vicini, scilicet comitis, ei nolentes contra barones adhærere, et partem regiam cum ipso fovere; ibique perhendinaverunt sub Dei et sancti protectione. Comes super hoc indignatus, et militum suorum inibi moleste ferens

⁷¹ Matthew 5.15.

⁷² *Dumque*] *Cum vero per aliquantum*, B.

⁷³ The heading in B is: *De vindicta accepta circa infringentes libertatem sancti Johannis*.

⁷⁴ *perseveranter*] *perseverarentur*, B.

⁷⁵ *multoties*] *multotiens*, B.

⁷⁶ *acquiescens*] *allubescens*, B.

⁷⁷ *alienigenæ*] *alinigenæ*, B.

⁷⁸ *religiosorum*] *religiosorumque*, B.

⁷⁹ *cum*] *et*, B.]

receptionem, canonicis, ballivis, et burgensibus communiter dedit in mandatis, ut hostes et seductores, quos (ut asserebat⁸⁰) penes⁸¹ se receptaverant, omni dilatione prætermittenda a villa propulsos excluderent, nec eos diutius ibidem receptaculum habere permetterent. His insuper mandatis terribiles adjecit comminationes, constanter asseverans, quod nisi obtemperarent mandatis, eos in manu valida invaderet; villamque⁸² totam in cinerem et favillam redigeret. Sed quamvis ex his⁸³ comminationibus irruere possent in viros constantes tremor et formido, ipsi nihilominus qui mandata susceperant, divino fidentes adminiculo, et patroni sui sancti, quod sæpius experti fuerant, certi patrocínio, eo magis permanserunt intrepidi, quod mandatum quod acceperant, nullo sciebant rationis firmamento muniri. Inito autem consilio, ei dederunt in responsis, quod nec homines suos, nec alios quoslibet qui eo tanquam ad asylum confugerent,⁸⁴ a villa, sicut nec a corpore ecclesiæ, seducerent; ne eo ipso privilegia sua mererentur amittere, si sibi ab antiquis⁸⁵ diebus indulta abuti præsumerent libertate. Quo audito, comes non modico furore accensus,⁸⁶ lucri avidus, et more lupino ad rapinam paratus,⁸⁷ necnon satellitum tam equitum quam peditum armata stipatus multitudine, castra illico movit; [et villam]⁸⁸ Beverlaci,⁸⁹ cujus inhabitatores sibi rebelles cognoverat, evertere proposuit.

Cum autem audisset quod ex orientali parte, propter fractionem pontis Hullæ fluvii nequaquam liberum haberet accessum; ex parte aquilonali in villam destinavit irruere, ubi nullum obstitit offendiculum. Non ei accessus ab oriente, et merito: cum in sancti sui domesticis expugnare niteretur orientem ex alto.⁹⁰ Ad aquilonem divertit, existens a patre⁹¹ diabolo, qui sedem ponere disposuit in aquilone;⁹² unde et prophetatum est, malum esse parandum omnibus habitatoribus⁹³ terræ.⁹⁴ Cumque non longe a villa, per spatium scilicet octo milliarius, cum suo hospitaretur exercitu, crastina illucescente aurora illam invasurus; humilitatis amator Dominus, qui propria virtute colla calcat superbiorum atque sublimium, imminenti periculo celere opposuit remedium. Nam cum post cœnam comes et sui commilitones ex more suo colluderent, et faces accensas in alterutrum projicerent, decidit ex improvviso facula quædam super pedem comitis; quæ pedi adhærens, nequaquam inde excuti, nequaquam inde a festinantibus ministris tanta celeritate potuit amoveri, quin eum ita reliquisset cauteriatum, ut vix eum terræ valeret affigere; inde crastino ascensurus equum, vix contingere posset scansilis orbiculum. Perterritus igitur omine tristi et auspicio infelici, de prudentum virorum consilio a proposita destitit præsumptione;

⁸⁰ *asserebat*] *asserebant*, B.

⁸¹ *penes*] *pene*, B.

⁸² *villamque*] *villam*, B.

⁸³ *his*] *hiis*, B.

⁸⁴ *confugerent*] *et*, ins. B.

⁸⁵ *antiquis*] *admittere quis*, ins. B.

⁸⁶ *accensus*] *commilitanibus suis*, ins. B.

⁸⁷ *paratus*] *paratis*, B.

⁸⁸ *et villam*] om. B.

⁸⁹ *Beverlaci*] *Beverlac*, B.

⁹⁰ Luke 1.78.

⁹¹ I have translated this as *parte*.

⁹² Isaiah 14.13.

⁹³ *habitatoribus*] *finibus*, B.

⁹⁴ Jeremiah 1.14.

pœnæ magis formidine, quam virtutis revocatus amore. Ecce! hic miraculum satis illi consimile, quod accidit auras carpente sancto confessore. Nunc enim⁹⁵ iste, præsumens irruere in peculiarem populum sancti, ustus est in pede; tunc ustus est diaconus suus in facie, temere se ingerens ut particeps esset visionis suæ, dum ei appareret oranti Spiritus Sanctus in columbina specie.

⁹⁶Erat eodem tempore vir alius, magnus et potens, quo nullus in regno major, nullus in totius regionis ambitu potentior. Accesserunt ad eum, cognita ejus potentia et tyrannide, ut dicebatur quidam mentis malignæ, indemnitate Beverlaci moleste ferentes, et ex eorum successibus macrescentes invidia suggillante: quibus damna sua viderentur leviora, si vel omnibus, vel saltem vicinis essent communia; videretur eis sua læsio mitior⁹⁷ et tolerabilior, si alliis consimilis infligeretur vel gravior. Hi, inquam, se offerentes illius potentis conspectui, constanter asseverabant Beverlacenses præ aliis regiæ majestati esse rebelles; regis et regni, libertatum et privilegiorum suorum obtentu, infestos⁹⁸ esse proditores. In cujus rei argumentum allegabant, quia in villa Beverlacensi⁹⁹ jugis erat inimicorum regis receptatio; ibidem recondebantur eorundem thesauri inextricabiles; quod alios, injurias, contumelias, et damna plurima perpeccos, ipsi soli redderent indemnes. Ut autem efficacior esset ipsorum instigatio, protestabantur sub juramento, quod si ipse in persona eo vellet accedere, vel saltem commilitones et servientes suos in manu robusta eo destinare, tantam ibi obtineret pecuniæ, auri et argenti, abundantiam,¹⁰⁰ qua adjutus universitatem hostium suorum trepidam redderet et confusam. Idipsum ei intimabant et sui familiares, insatiabili desiderio quæstui et lucro inhiantes; ad idem instigabat¹⁰¹ prædictus, nondum sufficiente pœna correptus; per alium exequi volens et perficere, quod per se nec ausus est adimplere.

Horum crebris et repetitis persuasionibus adquiescens magnas prætaxatus, concepit in¹⁰² animo,¹⁰³ et protestatus est in propatulo, quod Beverlacensium seditionem non relinqueret ulterius impunitam; quodque¹⁰⁴ per supplicium eis infligendum aliorum coerceret audaciam. Puniendi etiam modum non¹⁰⁵ reliquit indeterminatum; acerbitatem¹⁰⁶ inferendi supplicii sub silentio non sustinuit occultari: jurejurando namque confirmavit, quod in propria persona eos impeteret; quod nihil¹⁰⁷ penes eos inveniri posset pecuniæ, quam¹⁰⁸ eis relinqueret; quod

⁹⁵ *enim*] om. B.

⁹⁶ The heading *Alium miraculum* is inserted here in B.

⁹⁷ *mitior*] *minor*, B.

⁹⁸ *infestos*] *manifestos*, B.

⁹⁹ *Beverlacensis*] *Beverlaci*, B.

¹⁰⁰ *abundantiam*] *babundantiam*, B.

¹⁰¹ *instigabat*] *eum ut credebatur et comes*, ins. B.

¹⁰² *in*] *irascim*, B.

¹⁰³ *animo*] *sed*, ins. B.

¹⁰⁴ *quodque*] *quod*, B.

¹⁰⁵ *non*] om. B.

¹⁰⁶ *indeterminatum*; *acerbitatem*] *indeterminatu acerbitate*, B.

¹⁰⁷ *nihil*] *nihilque*, B.

¹⁰⁸ *quam*] om. B.

domus¹⁰⁹ combustibiles traderet incendio; lapidea ædificia multiplici dirueret machinamento; quosdam¹¹⁰ captivate¹¹¹ mancipandos ergastulo [traderet]¹¹² carceris tenebrosi; quod non relinqueret lapidem in ipsius ecclesiæ fabrica, eo quod hostibus suis ostia præbuisset aperta. Comminationum¹¹³ suarum seriem fine conclusit terribili, dicens, quod ante dierum octo decursum Beverlacum tali traderet exterminio, tantæque desolationi, quod viso loco deserto in posterum diceretur a transeuntibus, 'Hæc fuit villa Beverlaci.' Audientes hæc Beverlacenses, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt, tremor apprehendit eos. Qualis igitur fuit¹¹⁴ et quam clamosa pusillanimum lamentatio, quanta propter notam comminantis tyrannidem feminei sexus formido, quam larga inter mulieres lacrymarum effusio, non est nostræ facultatis evolvere.

Viri autem et maturiores ætate viriliter se gerentes, et saniori utentes consilio, sub vultus constantia nitebantur, ut decuit, timorem prudenter dissimulare; ne eo ipso hostes suos hilares redderent et jucundos, si eos deprehenderent turpiter timore confusos. Certum erat [non ita]¹¹⁵ hanc emanasse comminationem ab homine, quin careret effectu; non esse impossibile comminantem mutare propositum, qui de rerum numero esset mutabilium. Notum erat Jonam a Domino missum prophetasse Ninivitis, intra quadraginta dies esse Ninivem subvertendam;¹¹⁶ cum tamen competentem egissent pœnitentiam, pii Conditoris indignatione remissa, non fuisse subversam. Si ergo Dominus manum revocavit ultionis conditionaliter intentatæ, cum eos qui deliquerant vidisset pœnitentes; quanto magis illos perdi non sineret, quos in ea qua conturbantur¹¹⁷ parte penitus novit¹¹⁸ innocentes. Confisi sunt se eadem facilitate hujus posse potentis malitiam effugere, qua a supradicti comitis insultu liberatos se noverant Dei virtute, et patrocinantis Confessoris opere. Meditabantur ergo quilibet intra se, 'Si Dominus salus mea, quem timebo? Si Dominus protector vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo?'¹¹⁹ Clamaverunt igitur ad Dominum, et salvi facti sunt. In Deo speraverunt, et non sunt confusi.¹²⁰ Infra namque spatii brevitatem, infra modici temporis angustiam, quam dictus magnas Beverlacensium subversioni temerario præfixerat ausu, contigit ut subita correptus ægritudine, repentino miserabiliter expiraret interitu; justo Dei judicio rueret ipse, qui eos cogitaverat destruere; diem clauderet extremum, qui aliis minitaverat exterminium. Tantam igitur gratiam tantumque favorem populo Beverlacensi¹²¹ in suis et sancti confessoris meritis dignatus est Dominus impendere, ut in toto tam diræ¹²² persecutionis tempore nulla incursione turbarentur hostili, qua certum erat fere

¹⁰⁹ domus] domos, B.

¹¹⁰ quosdam] trucidaret in ore gladii, ins. B.

¹¹¹ captivitate] om. B.

¹¹² [ergastulo [traderet]] om. B.

¹¹³ Comminationum] sua, ins. B.

¹¹⁴ fuit] fuerit, B.

¹¹⁵ non ita] om. B.

¹¹⁶ subvertendam] subvertiendam, B. Jonah 3.4.

¹¹⁷ conturbantur] accusabantur, B.

¹¹⁸ novit] nocuit, B.

¹¹⁹ Psalms 26.1.

¹²⁰ Psalms 21.6.

¹²¹ Beverlacensis] Beverlaci, B.

¹²² diræ] diurne, B.

universas urbes Angliæ turbari; fere nullus inveniretur, qui ei injuriari auderet, vel si esset qui hoc attentaret, ultio gravis festina non de esset.

Capitulum VI

*Quomodo lumen mirificum e tumba Sancti Johannis radiaverit.*¹²³

Non est, ut arbitror, sub silentio prætereundum notabile quoddam, quod ad tumbam sancti diebus illis accidit miraculum. Cum namque tempus urgeret Quadragesimale, compertum est primitus a quibusdam ecclesiæ ministris in crepusculo serotino, ab ipso mausoleo immensæ claritatis eradiare fulgorem eo in loco, ubi columnæ marmoreæ¹²⁴ illud sustinentes superpositum, super lapidem pyramidis fundabantur inferiorem. Videbatur autem lumen erumpens, per columnas ascendendo, primitus emicare; deinde se in latum diffundens, miro fulgore totum spatium, duobus lapidibus columnarum adjutorio interceptum, illustrare. Advocabant sibi alios rei hujus compertores, ut essent ejusdem visionis participes qui et perhibere possent testimonium veritatis, cum congruum adesset tempus revelationis. Idem lumen, quod viderant primi, viderunt et ipsi; nec erat lumen apparens momentaneum, sed quasi per horam unam continuatum. Non potuit, sed nec debuit, res ista tam miraculosa subteriri; tanta meruit lucerna poni super candelabrum, non sub modio recondi. Factum est igitur ut publicaretur istud, relatu et testificatione eorum qui intererant ecclesiæ ministrorum, quorum ex subsequentibus verum constitit fuisse testimonium. Convenerunt enim hora, qua lumen antea apparuerat, ad ecclesiam plurimi oculata fide desiderantes rei veritatem experiri. Datus est autem plurimum, immo fere omnium qui aderant, devotioni, singulis diebus, per duarum hebdomadarum spatium vel amplius, lumen modo prædicto renitens intueri.

Erant tamen plerique, qui [licet]¹²⁵ cum aliis, lumen ipsum manifeste intuentibus visus aciem ad tumbam converterent; ad ejus tamen virtutem, quasi oculis suis ne viderent obscuratis, penetrare non possent: quibus credibile est, fidem sinceram internamque defuisse devotionem, et ob hoc in oculos exteriores tantam irruisse caliginem. Non transiit igitur ad videndam coruscationem luminis eorum visus, aliquo interveniente spirituali et invisibili offendiculo; sicut legitur, quod opposita nube non transit oratio;¹²⁶ quemadmodum etiam legitur in evangelio, quod oculi discipulorum euntium in Emmaus,¹²⁷ cum appareret eis Dominus in via, tenebantur ne eum agnoscerent; quia nimirum talem Se exhibuit eis in corpore, qualis apud eos habebatur in mente.¹²⁸

¹²³ The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum.*

¹²⁴ *marmoreæ*] *marmoræ*, B.

¹²⁵ *licet*] om. B.

¹²⁶ Lamentations 3.44.

¹²⁷ *Emmaus*] *Eumaus*, B.

¹²⁸ Luke 24.16.

Erant alii, quibus licet datum esset lumen ipsum evidenter conspiceret, erronea tamen laborarent et illuderentur opinione. Æstimabant enim lumen dictum, per reverberationem luminis cujusdam cerei, ante feretrum indeficienter ardentis in pelvi, ad corpus marmorei mausolei perpolitum et planum ibidem irradiare; et secundum flammæ ejusdem cerei scintillationem, visum¹²⁹ ad lapidem per columnas ascendere. Ad hujus igitur tollendum erroris scrupulum, ad hanc amovendam ambiguitatem, ut indubitanter constaret lumen tumbæ ex cerei lumine nullatenus sumpsisse originem, claudi et pessulo obserari jussa sunt ostia duo, unum chori et aliud pulpiti,¹³⁰ quæ tumbæ intererant et cereo; per quorum medium videri posset aer medius fuisse immutatus, et luminis ad tumbam¹³¹ facta fuisse reverberatio. Clausis ergo, ut jussum fuerat, et obseratis duobus ostiis, nihilominus in uno¹³² etiam soluto¹³³ evidentius visum est ad tumbam lumen coruscare præfulgidum,¹³⁴ cum majus nimirum superveniens luminare minus obfuscare soleat, et ei afferre minoramentum. Aperto igitur patuit indicio, ab illa vera luce, quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum,¹³⁵ ortum habuisse lumen, quod ibidem apparuerat. Clarificavit autem merito lux ista Beatum Johannem, cui in¹³⁶ mortalitate posito non fuit vanum surgere ante lucem super quem adhuc superstitem signatum erat lumen vultus Dominici, id est¹³⁷ lumen gratiæ, qua reformatur imago Dei in homine ad ejus similitudinem condito superiori virtuti animæ impressum fuerat, id est rationi; qui et lucerna a Domino erat illuminata, cum officium gereret prædicatoris; in qua fuit lux, id est¹³⁸ cognitio,¹³⁹ quæ lucet in homine tamquam in fictili vase; unde dicit apostolus, 'Habemus thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus'.¹⁴⁰

Capitulum VII

*De ruina cujusdam turris ecclesiæ Beverlacensis.*¹⁴¹

Erat eodem tempore, in medio crucis ipsius basilicæ, præcelsa¹⁴² quædam turris exstructa, admirabilis pulchritudinis et immensæ, adeo ut in eo se jactitaret virtus et subtilitas artis cæmentariæ. Processum erat eatenus in ipsius turris fabrica, ut completum esset opus lapideum; hoc solum totius superesset consummationi, ut superponeretur tectum¹⁴³ lapidei operis, proportionatæ celsitudinis.¹⁴⁴ Artifices qui præerant operi, non tantum quantum oportet

¹²⁹ visum] fuisse lumen repercusum, ins. B.

¹³⁰ pulpiti] pulpeti, B.

¹³¹ tumbam] tumulum, B.

¹³² in uno] immo, B.

¹³³ soluto] solito, B.

¹³⁴ præfulgidum] præfulgorum, B.

¹³⁵ John 1.9.

¹³⁶ in] hæc, ins. B.

¹³⁷ id est] dum, B.

¹³⁸ id est] idem, B.

¹³⁹ cognitio] veritatis, ins. B.

¹⁴⁰ 2 Corinthians 4.7.

¹⁴¹ The heading in B is: *Aliud miraculum.*

¹⁴² præcelsa] precella, B.

¹⁴³ tectum] ligneum, ins. B.

¹⁴⁴ proportionatæ celsitudinis] proportionale celcitudini, B.

circumspecti; non tam prudentes, quam in arte sua subtiles; magis invigilabant decori, quam fortitudini; magis delectationi,¹⁴⁵ quam commodo stabilitatis. Qui cum columnas quatuor erigerent cardinales, velut totius supercollacandæ molis fulcimina; eas subtiliter, quamvis non firmiter, inserebant operi antiquo, eorum more qui pannum novum assuunt¹⁴⁶ inveterato.¹⁴⁷ Unde factum est, ut nec bases, nec stylos columnarum illius efficerent firmitudinis, ut sustinere sufficerent molem immensam tam admirabilis¹⁴⁸ et tantæ arduitis; quarum debilitas, quamvis in processu operis satis posset adverti per hiatus et rimas partium per columnarum¹⁴⁹ quarundam marmorearum fissuram in longam a base usque ad epistylum; ab operis tamen incepti nequaquam arbitrabantur continuatione desistendum, cum tamen certum sit, paratum esse ad ruinam illud ædificium quod super debile collocatur fundamentum. Quanto igitur lapidum ampliorem superponebant cumulum,¹⁵⁰ tanto magis accelerabant turris præcipitium: eo immensiores factæ sunt stylosum et basium rimæ, quo plus eos præsumpserunt onerare.

Tandem factum est, ut, metu imminentis ruinæ, tam cleri quam plebis desisteret pars magna ab ingressu ecclesiæ. Sacerdotes nihilominus et Levitæ, et alii qui ex injuncto sibi officio ad chorum frequentandum erant astricti, horis statutis et debitis eo convenerunt, ut Divinis vacarent obsequiis. Confisi sunt quod non permetteret eos obrui, vel morte subitanea aliquatenus præoccupari, cui totis viribus, pura mente, interna devotione satagebant famulari. Non diffidebant de confessoris sancti subsidio, cujus reliquiæ in eo, qui præsens erat, continebantur inclusæ locello. Patefecit autem, qui sequebatur eventus, quod ejus confessoris est¹⁵¹ miserator Dominus. Nam cum circa mensis Octobris initium media nocte surgendum esset ad confitendum Domino, ac nocturnum officium de more celebrandum in choro; quidam sacerdotum, qui, Deo, ut reor, disponente jacens in lecto, partem noctis transactam præter morem solitum duxerat insomnem; diuturnitate jacendi, et dormiendi etiam impotentia fastiditus, surgens, etiam¹⁵² adiit matricularios; quos reperit dormientes; a somno suscitavit, eosque ut pulsarent induxit, cum superesset adhuc quasi unius horæ spatium, ut eis signum surgendi et pulsandi præberet horoscopium. Cum igitur, congregato ad ecclesiam clero, nocturna decantaretur synaxis, corruit non longe a decantantibus lapidum pars magna de turri; quorum audito fragore omnes nimirum magno sunt timore percussi. Summa igitur festinantia se transferebant a stallis suis, et inceptum continuabant officium, stantes ad alterutrum latus altaris. Non multo post auditus est alius fragor priore major, lapidum plurimorum iterum de turri corruentium; ac si præmissa levi quadam et simplici admonitione ut recederent, sequeretur edictum peremptorium, cui contumaciter supersedentibus minitaretur supplicium.

¹⁴⁵ *delectationi*] *cælaturis*, B.

¹⁴⁶ *assuunt*] *assunt*, B.

¹⁴⁷ Matthew 9.16; Mark 2.21; Luke 5.36.

¹⁴⁸ *admirabilis*] om. B.

¹⁴⁹ *columnarum*] *columpnellarum*, B.

¹⁵⁰ *cumulum*] *tumulum*, B.

¹⁵¹ *Ejus Confessoris est*] *eis Confessoris meritis et precibus*, B.

¹⁵² *etiam*] *ecclesiam*, B.

Relicto igitur choro, locum tutiorem, magis a turri distantem, arbitrabantur adeundum, et transeuntes sub pendente ruina descenderunt in ecclesiae naviculam; ubi consistentes a latere fontium, ad finem usque coëptum perduxerunt officium. Vix completo officio ad domos suas, licet satis vicinas ecclesiae, pervenerant; et ecce! tota turris fundotenus collapsa, partes adjacentes secum trahens ad casum, vehementum dedit fragorem, in auribus humanis horrendum. Advertere licet in hoc eventu quam admiranda fuerit gratia Salvatoris, quantae fuerit efficaciae virtus sancti confessoris. Disponente namque Domino, partes suas interponente sancto, turri ruituræ¹⁵³ provisum est illud tempus ruinæ, quo turbæ laicali læsio nulla posset inferri. Cum ministris ecclesiae facta est admiranda dispensatio, cum et¹⁵⁴ præter morem consuetam horam surgendi¹⁵⁵ prævenirent, et bipartitus lapidum casus, præconatus vicem gerens, eis persuasisset ut alio se transferrent. Indultum erat etiam ipsis, qui intra septa ecclesiae recubuerunt, matriculariis, dum, ut amoverent thoralia sua, transferrent stratoria; eis nulla ingereretur læsio corporalis. Deventum erat igitur adhuc,¹⁵⁶ ut orientalem partem naviculæ ipsius ecclesiae in chorum oporteret accommodari, altare vero supra tumbam erigi, feretrumque ultra medium tumbæ directæ collocari. Quod cum factum esset, satis efficaci conjectura deprehensum est, quod lumen ad tumbam dicendum¹⁵⁷ est aperuisse, et¹⁵⁸ eum portendisse qui futurus erat eventum; quod scilicet corpus sancti confessoris ad locum illum fuisset referendum, a quo fuerat ante translatus.¹⁵⁹ Per hujus igitur sancti confessoris merita, decurso præsentis vitæ stadio, nobis annuatur bravium permansurum, ab eo qui vivit et regnat Deus per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ *turri ruituræ*] *mirifice*, B.

¹⁵⁴ *et*] om. B.

¹⁵⁵ *surgendi*] om. B.

¹⁵⁶ *adhuc*] *adhoc*, B.

¹⁵⁷ *dicendum*] *dictum*, B.

¹⁵⁸ *et*] om. B.

¹⁵⁹ In B the following is inserted: *Multitudine miraculorum vincimur ad plenum exprimere omnem copiam eius signorum sed sufficiant hæc ad præsens de innumerabilibus quæ per eum dominus operatus est.*

¹⁶⁰ *Amen*] om. B.

APPENDIX 5B

OTHER MIRACLES III OF SAINT JOHN THE BISHOP

A dead person is revived, a withered man healed, blind men made to see.

Since Almighty God performs many miracles amongst the faithful in order to strengthen faith and promote the growth of the Christian religion, it must be feared that those who ignore them, by concealing beneath the secrecy of silence those things that deserve and demand to be preached publicly to the glory of the Creator and benefit of the faithful, will be accused of ingratitude and negligence. For the psalmist confesses that he has not hidden God's righteousness within his heart, he has not hidden his loving-kindness and truth from the great congregation.¹ From which it is clearly understood that divine loving-kindness should not be concealed, nor should silence be maintained about the works of divine compassion, but they should be zealously made public to the glory and honour of his name. Since, therefore, God glorifies himself by a frequent demonstration of miracles, and does not cease to glorify his holy confessor John, it is pleasing to reveal some of them in public and, having written them down, to convey them for the remembrance of future generations. I admit that the inexperience of my speech is completely inadequate to describe all the things that have been performed by divine influence within the space of five years. I hope very much that those who will interpret the public account, and apply their diligent intellect to the miracles which they will learn have been performed through him, will be inspired to divine worship and to increase their veneration of the holy confessor. However, they should not expect an elaborate account in the present narrative, nor the pompous trappings of words by which the agreeable simplicity of naked truth refuses to be obscured. Indeed there should be no desire for eloquence of this kind, nor vanity of glory, nor temporal advantage, just as it is written in Leviticus, 'He who gives his seed to the idol Moloch, will be put to death, and all the people of the land shall stone him'.² But enough of this.

¹ Psalms 40. 11-12.

² Leviticus 20. 2.

Chapter 1

A boy who fell from the high arch of the church of Beverley and was killed, gets up safe and sound.

It happened one summertime that, within the cemetery enclosure of the church of Saint John on the northern side, a representation of the Sunday resurrection was performed by the words and action of players (as is usual). A great multitude of both sexes flocked together there, having been drawn there by various vows, for pleasure of course, or to be amazed, or for the sacred purpose of being inspired with devotion. Indeed, when a large number of people could not get in because of the dense crowd standing around, especially some who were very small in stature, several people entered into the church, either so that they might pray, or to look at the paintings, or to avoid the boredom of this day through some sort of recreation and amusement. Then some young boys, having gone through the doorways of the church, by some lucky chance found a half-open door through which stairs ascended to the roof. Running to it with boyish recklessness, they climbed the arches of the church over the walls, step by step, with the intention, I suppose, that they might look more freely upon both the clothes and gestures of the actors, and hear their speeches more easily through the great windows of the turrets, or if there were openings anywhere in the glass windows; in this they were imitating Zacchaeus, who since he was small in stature, climbed up a sycamore tree in order to see Jesus.³ But, look! The watchmen have been told what the boys were doing. No doubt fearing that the boys' rashness in wanting to see the players performing the aforementioned presentation might break the glass windows, or somehow destroy them, they chased swiftly after them; and when they had scolded those boys for their impetuosity, and beaten them very soundly, they forced them to go back.

One of the boys, when he had seen the punishment of his friends, fearing to fall into the hands of the pursuing men, withdrew even higher, until by running swiftly he reached a great cross on the far side, at that time erected above the altar of St Martin. Standing there and looking downwards, he carelessly put his foot on a square stone which, since it loosened from the wall and fell off, plummeted down upon the stone pavement with a great crashing, and not withstanding the hardness, it was smashed to smithereens. Indeed, the young boy, having been deprived of his support, struck with a dreadful stupefaction, fell to the ground and there lay lifeless for a long time, very much like a corpse. Many people stood around sighing heavily, groaning piteously over such an accident, grieving for his suffering with many tears. His parents wailed and tore their hair, they interspersed their cries and howling with frequent sobs, not knowing that in a short time, because of divine dispensation, their sadness was going to be changed into joy, their weeping into laughter. For God, not allowing the church which had been dedicated in his and the confessor's honour, to be defiled by, as it were, human slaughter, but

³ Luke 19.3-4.

wanting the church to be possessed of greater authority in the future, and also wanting to provide evidence of the truth of that representation of the resurrection which was being performed at the same time, in the sight of everyone present he raised up the boy, who was believed to be dead, so unharmed that there was not a single scratch to be seen on his whole body. Moreover it was done so that those who were unable to see the dramatic representation because of the great number of people outside the church would see a more marvellous expression of the resurrection inside the body of the church; and not only of the resurrection, but of the Lord's passion. For truly, through the cutting off of the stone, which detached itself from the wall without human agency, the Incarnation of the Lord, born of a virgin without male intervention, was clearly indicated: through each fall, that is to say both of the stone and of the boy, his passion was signified, of man and of God. Further, the stone that had been broken into pieces in the fall, carried with it the image of a ram that had been struck down; truly the child was an image of Isaac remaining unharmed.⁴ Therefore the fall was a sign of his passion relating to his human nature; furthermore, the miracle by which he was raised up was a sign of his resurrection in accordance with his divinity.

Chapter 2

A little boy of Beverley, crippled in all of his limbs, is healed.

There was a twelve-year-old boy of Beverley, the son of a poor woman, who, suffering from a serious but curable illness, had lain in his sickbed for a long time. This illness subsiding over the course of time, another more grave and incurable sickness had succeeded it. Because of his long illness he had become feeble to such an extent that his skin stuck to his bones, his flesh having been eaten away; he was so greatly exhausted and weakened by his thinness, that he scarcely looked human. The skin was wrinkled into creases; the oppressing weakness of the bones deprived the marrow of juice, sucking it out like a leech; both the shins and shanks were completely inept and useless for walking because of their extreme thinness. The tendons binding together the shin and thigh bones were so contracted through weakening that the knees could not be straightened out, neither could the shinbones from the legs nor the feet from the buttocks be separated by stretching out; and the feet were deformed, as if they were the feet of a bird; the toes of the feet were bent back, like the curves of an iron hook. When he needed to move about in his mother's house, he crawled on his hands and knees like a four-footed animal. His poor mother, who had borne him in her womb and who shared his suffering, had been accustomed to carrying him on her back to the church of St John, mainly on feast days; laying him near to the tomb, she would carry him back when the service was over. Indeed, all that remained for her was to hope for divine assistance now that this disease had grown worse in the space of three years.

⁴ Genesis 22.

Therefore, completely giving up hope of a human cure, she put her trust in God not in man, not doubting that he who had revived a man who had been dead for four days could raise up one who had been crippled for three years.⁵ Now when she had borne him to church, as was her custom, on the day of the anniversary of the burial of the blessed confessor,⁶ and had laid him at the tomb, she very earnestly called on merciful God that he might deem it worthy to confer a cure on her son. She beseeched the confessor most devoutly to intercede in respect of her son's health. The mother prayed for her son. Her son prayed for himself and was bathed in copious tears. Then the 'Father of mercies and God of all comfort',⁷ who is in truth close to all who call upon him, paid heed to them through his [John's] invocation. The Lord our helper could not fail them, so great an intercessor intervened for their sake. Since the Lord wanted the imminent day of memorable solemnity to be held more solemnly memorable in future memory by means of the manifestation of a miracle, with everyone watching who had assembled at matins, he miraculously put to flight the disease which the boy had suffered, and he raised him up safe and sound. The tendons relaxed, the legs were stretched out; the ability to walk was restored to the feet, which had been twisted. Upright, therefore, and supported by his feet, he raised up to heaven his face, which a little earlier he had had fixed upon the ground: he, who before had looked like a monster in his movement, was restored to human appearance. However, when he first stood up he made use of the adjacent pyramid⁸ as a support, like a child supported by a baby-walker, nearly marking the ground with his chin. Clinging to the tomb, he walked along the side and, going round it in a circle, he tested his strength, being anxious about it as yet because of being long unaccustomed to walking. Finally, having tested his strength, his confidence gained, he moved himself away from the tomb and, helped only by the natural support of his feet, he walked about backwards and forwards, to the right and to the left.

When at last, after the bells had been rung, he was led to the altar by the clergy accompanied by the singing of hymns, the Lord added more evidence of his power to the aforementioned miracle. Indeed, when he had fallen down on bended knees before the altar, praising God in his great virtue, he had nothing that he might offer to God, who had taken pity on him. Lo, he who had granted that he should be able to walk, even gave something that could be offered to him. By his authority he confirmed the laudable custom of giving although, as the psalmist wrote, 'more than a young bull-calf, with horns and hoofs', praising with song and magnifying with thanksgiving will be pleasing to God.⁹ At that same moment he espied a coin in front of him on the covering which had been unrolled and spread out on the top step in front of the altar;

⁵ Lazarus, see John.11.

⁶ Feast Day of St John's Translation, 25 October.

⁷ 2 Corinthians 1.3.

⁸ 'The word 'pyramid' is used . . . to mean structures either over, or marking the location of, early graves or tomb-shrines. The word is also used by some writers for the tomb-shrines themselves, that is, stone structures above or around the graves themselves, at or just above ground level', Philip Rahtz, *Glastonbury* (London, 1993), p. 33. See also Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 34-35.

⁹ Psalms 68.32.

stretching out his hand he took it and offered it to the altar. With divine praises the mother returned home with her son rejoicing, and joyfully having in front of her on the journey the one whom, a little time before, sad and mournful, she had borne upon her back to the church.

Chapter 3

A labourer of Beverley was made blind.

The year having come round again when his feast day was imminent, menial work and lay manual labour having been suspended everywhere, as was proper, the clergy busied themselves in church, with all the diligence of which they were capable, to venerate God and the saint by the required ceremonial observances. But there was a labourer on a farm of Beverley, disrespectful and foolish in spirit, who nevertheless undertook to set to work digging on this ceremonial day. He dug out his clay from a ditch, either having been enticed by greed for a small profit, although he was not in need, or by chance brought to straitened family circumstances when, nevertheless, it would have been more decent if he had begged at that time rather than sinned. Consequently it was proper that the people be prevented from insane insolence through the punishment of one man. It was fitting that the merit of the blessed confessor be made visible by manifest signs. Accordingly it happened that in this very attempt to work retribution was present, as much for reckless presumption, as for presumptuous recklessness. For his eyelids closed, and stuck to each other as if sealed together with glue, so that if the sticking out of the lashes had not revealed the ends and the place where they joined, they would have seemed to be continuous rather than contiguous. Stunned by the sudden incident, having left the ditch, he tried to separate the eyelids with his hands, but he could have more easily ripped the whole eyelids than have separated the closed lids.

What more? He who a little time before had had sharp and clear vision now grieved that he had been deprived of the light of his eyes. He therefore needed that very protector and helper whom previously he had offended through his contempt. It remained for the one who had inflicted the punishment to offer assistance to the one who was praying, and that he who had brought the punishment as a reproof might effect a cure as a manifestation of his merit. Therefore he was led to the church of the blessed confessor, his left hand placed on the arm of a guide, a stick in his right hand. Before he might be humbled, he sinned; his infirmities were multiplied, and afterwards he hurried to show himself to the priests. What he had publicly committed, he publicly confessed, and a penance which was fitting was imposed upon him. In that place for eight days in a row he kept vigil by the rigour of fasting, and he did not allow his indomitable spirit respite from prayer. The opening and way of tears was blocked, but what could not escape through the eyes burst forth as perspiration through the pores of the cheeks.

Now, the eight days having passed, a man with a reverend countenance appeared to him in his sleep at night, tall in stature, mature in age, dressed as a bishop, who, having grasped him with his right hand and raised him up, and walking with a dignified step led him around the perimeter of the church, leading him as far as the door which is on the north side and, the procession over, led him back gently to the place where he had laid hold of him. Then placing his hand on the man's armpit, with the sweat that is accustomed to emanate from those areas because of the nearness of the heart and abundance of heat, he anointed his eyes and, commanding him to sleep on, he vanished. After this had been done, he woke up from sleep. Having been aroused, he opened his eyes which a little time before had been blocked by an obstruction and, overjoyed to have recovered his sight, he revealed in due order what had happened to him in his sleep, as everyone stood around praising God and the saint with him for their deeds. Lo! Here it was fulfilled what the Lord promised to His disciples when, spitting on the ground, the Lord made clay with which he anointed the eyes of a man who had been born blind, and he miraculously bestowed sight which had not been possessed before.¹⁰ Truly the holy confessor, following the example of his master and having been taught much by him, anointed the eyes of that man who had been blinded and by a miracle restored the sight which he had previously possessed. But the man who had been blind from birth to whom the Lord had given light had not committed any sin; nor indeed had his parents that he should have been born blind; but so that the glory of God should be made manifest in him. This blind man who had been mysteriously given light by the confessor had deserved the punishment inflicted on him because of his offence and, when he had sufficiently repented his sin, his sight which had been suddenly removed was restored to him by divine providence; the penalty was reduced so that God might be glorified, and the power of the confessor be recognized.

Chapter 4

A blind man of Ely recovered his sight through St John.

There was a man in the vicinity of Ely who for a long time had been bereft of the benefit of sight. He never ceased travelling about the whole region visiting the resting places of saints, being confident that his sight would be restored to him by divine providence through the intervention of one of them. Therefore when he had roamed throughout the whole region, since he had not yet achieved his wish, he was inspired by God to make his way to Beverley so that he should ask there for the support of St John. He lost no time at all, and he set out on his journey with all the speed he could, contented with a moderate amount of travelling money, supported by a stick before him, and led by a certain youth going ahead. He had firm hope, steadfast faith, no lingering doubt that he who taught us to seek [the truth] would be glorified by expending his virtue on him and wanted to inspire an undeserving man so that he should ask

¹⁰ John 9.6.

him for assistance. The enemy of humankind understood this constancy of purpose; he saw this confidence. He saw, I say, and he envied. Without doubt, he who before the Fall envied even God and arranged to put his seat in the north so that he might be like the most High, also envied the servant.¹¹ He envied also the first father when, by seducing him, he drove him from paradise. Therefore he tried to hinder the progress of the unfortunate man so that the saint whom he envied would not be glorified by that miracle which he, himself, knew was going to happen. He proceeded by ancient cunning, seeing that he was not going to devise anything new in this situation. For long ago in the form of a serpent he persuaded Eve, whom he knew to be weak, to take a taste of the forbidden fruit.¹² He had not dared to approach Adam, whom he saw was stronger; he tested his cunning on the woman, through whom he would gain access to the man. Similarly here, having seen the constancy of the blind man, he did not dare to attack him personally, so at the beginning of the journey he held back; but having noticed the weakness of his guide, he attacked him; he proposed to hinder the newly begun journey through him.

Therefore the director, not the sender, of evil thoughts suggested to him that, when he should see an opportune time and place, he should leave him secretly, stealthily carrying off his clothes and also his money. Which is what happened. For one night when the blind man, weary from toil and tired by the long journey, was overpowered by a deep sleep this guide, or rather seducer, got up and left, having collected his little bundles, carrying off whatever else he found of value along with the money. When he woke up and discovered this, he grieved, as is human; but with the help of hope he tempered his distress such that he did not in any way relent from his intention through despair of support. Indeed he knew that he who, having put his hand to the plough, looks back, is not fit for the kingdom of God;¹³ that he to whom the contest which precedes the palm is odious, is not worthy of the palm. Therefore having sought another guide by every means possible, and having replaced the one who had left, he continued the journey that he had started, until he arrived at the place he longed for. When he reached the church of the saint, he weakened his body there by fasting, shedding tears from his eyes like water gushing from the base of a spring. His earnestness of devoted prayers assailed the ears of divine mercy to mercifully restore his lost sight to him. He did not cease imploring the blessed confessor to press hard to obtain a cure for him from the Lord through his intercession. He had heard from the apostle that the fervent prayer of a just man is worth much;¹⁴ he had heard that mercy was connected to prayer, according to the psalmist, Blessed be God who has not taken away my prayer and his mercy from me.¹⁵ When, therefore, one night, when he had been drenched by a constant flood of tears, he lay down, exhausted by kneeling and continuous prayers, his physical weakness crying out for the rest of virtuous living creatures, he began to

¹¹ Isaiah 14.13-14.

¹² Genesis 3.

¹³ Luke 9.62.

¹⁴ James 5.16.

¹⁵ Psalms 65.20.

fall asleep for a brief while. Then there appeared to him in his sleep a venerable person dressed in pontifical robes who, going up to him, seemed to anoint his eyes with a goose feather which had been dipped in the purest honey; and soon, as he was leaving, told him that his health was going to be regained and advised him to rest. Shortly, the man who had been blind woke up. As the day was dawning, he raised his head and saw through the glass windows the light of dawn glowing golden red; he realized that his sharp sight had been restored through the goodness of the holy confessor, whose support he had earnestly beseeched. Therefore praising and blessing God, he did not hide the light which had been lit under a bushel but put it on a candlestick;¹⁶ in the hearing of the clergy and all the people he related in due order what had happened to him. Then, when he had spent some time in the church praising God and the confessor for his restored health, at length, with an expression of thanks, he returned home.

Chapter 5

How Beverley was kept free from invaders.

When the general interdict under which the English region had lain for a long time came to an end, it happened that serious and irreconcilable dissension arose between the king and the magnates of the realm. Indeed, for the most part, the magnates demanded from his royal majesty certain liberties and privileges due to them (as they claimed) from ancient and approved custom of the realm. They pursued their demand persistently, but his royal majesty was not disposed to listen to them. Therefore, as it seemed to them that they had many times put up with an unreasonable refusal of their reasonable demand, they decided that a new plan had to be thought out. Accordingly, coming together they unanimously swore an oath that they would attack the king, whom it was clear had so often shown himself to be an opponent to their demand, nevertheless, before taking up arms to fight against him, they would first release themselves, in the king's presence, from the fealty to him which they had sworn under oath. Consequently, when the said conspiracy had come to the attention of the king, he consulted with his household as to how he could resist their forces. At length, assenting to the evil advice of his household, he sent messengers overseas who were to bring back strong warriors in his support. Therefore, foreigners and malefactors from all over came to him at his command, the more readily because he promised them that they were going to be given ample rewards, and were going to be made wealthy from royal revenues. Some unarmed and weak Englishmen, and also other able men, fearing the tyranny of these men, choosing neutrality, adhered neither to the royal nor to the opposing side. Therefore, abandoning their homes and fields, they moved with their wives and children, and their household, here to the protection of the castles, there to any secluded hiding places wherever, there to the protection of monasteries and of religious places. Indeed they considered it of little account to throw away all their possessions if only they could

¹⁶ Matthew 5.15.

avoid in any way whatsoever the physical agonies and fierce torments which they had learned had been inflicted on others. Because they knew that the town of Beverley was truly privileged since ancient days, a great number of people from adjacent areas took refuge there, being confident in the protection of God and the holy confessor.

Soldiers arrived there together with others belonging to a certain noble of the neighbourhood, an earl to whom they were unwilling to attach themselves against the barons and support the royal party with him; they took shelter there under the protection of God and the saint. The earl, who had been made angry because of this, and annoyed that his soldiers had been received there, ordered the canons, bailiffs and burgesses jointly that, when they had expelled, without delay, the enemies and seducers whom (as he claimed) they had admitted into their charge, they should keep them out of the town and should not allow them to have shelter there any longer. Further, he added terrible threats to these orders, firmly declaring that unless they complied with his demands he would attack them with a formidable force and would reduce the whole town to ashes and cinders. But even though these threats struck fear and trembling in the resolute men, nonetheless, those men who had been given the orders, having confidence in divine support, and sure of the oft-experienced help of their patron saint, remained even more undaunted because they knew that the order that they had been given was not supported by any foundation of principle. Moreover, when they had formed a plan, they told him in response that they would remove neither his men, nor anybody else who fled there for asylum, either from the town, or from the body of the church lest, through that very reason, they deserved to lose their privileges if they presumed to abuse the liberty which had been given to them since ancient days. Having heard this the earl, who had been aroused to great fury, greedy for gain, and prepared to plunder like a wolf, and also accompanied by an armed multitude of followers, both cavalry and footsoldiers, moved his camp there; and he proposed to destroy [the town] of Beverley whose inhabitants he knew to be rebellious to him.

Moreover, since he had heard that he would not have any free access at all from the east because of the break in the bridge over the river Hull, he decided to invade the town from the north, where he faced no obstacle. Access from the east was not open to him, and deservedly so because he strove to attack God in [the persons of] the servants of his saint.¹⁷ He turned aside to the north, showing himself to be the son of the devil, who arranged to set his seat in the north,¹⁸ whence it was foretold that evil was going to break forth on all the inhabitants of the land.¹⁹ And when he camped with his army not far from the town, that is eight miles distant, intending to attack the town at dawn the next day, the Lord, the lover of humility, who by his own power treads upon the necks of haughty and proud men, quickly applied a remedy to the

¹⁷ Luke 1.78.

¹⁸ Isaiah 14.13.

¹⁹ Jeremiah 1.14.

threatening danger. For when the earl and his fellow soldiers sported together as usual, after dinner, and flung lighted torches to each other, one torch unexpectedly fell down on top of the earl's foot which, sticking to the foot, could not in any way be shaken off, nor could it be removed fast enough by the quick-acting servants until it had left him so burned that he scarcely had the strength to stand. Consequently, going to mount his horse the next day, he was scarcely able to touch the ring of the stirrup. Therefore, terrified by the unlucky omen and inauspicious sign, on the advice of prudent men he desisted from his proposed presumption, having been dissuaded more from fear of punishment than from love of virtue. Lo! This was quite a similar miracle to that which happened to the holy confessor when he was alive. Now, that man who presumed to make an attack on the saint's own people was burned on the foot; then, his deacon was burned on the face, recklessly rushing to share his vision when the Holy Spirit appeared to him in the form of a dove while he was praying.²⁰

There was at that time another man, great and powerful, in respect of whom no-one in the realm was greater, no-one within the boundaries of the whole region was more powerful. Certain men approached him, recognizing his power and tyranny, because he was said to be a man of evil mind, as they were incensed at Beverley's security from financial loss, and being vilely eaten up with envy because of its successes, regarding which their own losses would have seemed easier to bear if they had been shared either by everyone, or even by their neighbours; their grievance would seem less severe and more tolerable to them if a similar or more severe [injury] were to be inflicted on others. These men, I say, going to see that powerful man, firmly declared that the people of Beverley, above others, were rebellious to his royal majesty; that they were hostile traitors to the king and the realm, under the pretext of their liberties and privileges. In proof of this they alleged that in the town of Beverley there was a constant reception of enemies of the king; indescribable treasures of theirs were stored away there; that those alone who were suffering no loss should repay those who had experienced injustices, indignities, and very many losses. Indeed, so that their incitement should be even more effective, they bore witness under oath that if he wished to attack in person himself, or at least to designate instead a strong force of his fellow soldiers and servants, he should obtain there such an enormous amount of money, gold and silver, to the extent that, strengthened, he would cause all of his enemies to become confused and alarmed. Also his servants, yearning with an insatiable desire for acquisition and profit, urged him to do this. The aforementioned, who had not yet been sufficiently punished, urged this, wishing to pursue and accomplish through another that which he had not dared to carry out by himself.

The said magnate, acquiescing in the frequent and repeated inducements of those men, decided and testified publicly that he would no longer leave the sedition of the people of Beverley

²⁰ *Vita xi.*

unpunished, and that he would restrain the audacity of others through the punishment that was going to be inflicted on them. Also, he did not leave the mode of punishment undefined; he did not allow the severity of the penalty which was going to be paid to be concealed under silence: for he confirmed by swearing an oath that he would attack them personally; that he would not allow them to keep any of the money that could be found in their possession; that he would burn down those houses which were combustible; he would pull down buildings of stone by all manner of engine; he would imprison in a dark jail those who were captured; that he would not leave a stone in the fabric of that church, as it had presented open doors to his enemies. He ended his string of threats with a terrible conclusion, saying that before eight days had passed he would consign Beverley to so great a desolation by such destruction, that when the deserted place was seen in the future it would be said by passers-by, 'This was the town of Beverley'. Hearing this, the people of Beverley were dismayed; they were alarmed; terror seized them. We cannot speak of what kind, and how noisy, was the wailing of faint-hearted people, how great was the terror of the female sex because they recognized the threatening menace.

However the men, both the older men who were acting courageously, and those who were behaving more sensibly, having taken counsel, prudently strove to conceal their fear, as was proper, beneath a countenance of self-possession, so that in this way they would not make their enemies cheerful and happy if they were to discover them shamefully confused by fear. It was [not very]²¹ certain that this threat had been issued by the man in such a way that he might not carry it out; it was not impossible that the man who was making threats, who belonged to a changeable race, would change his mind. It was known that Jonah was sent to prophesy to the Ninevites that within forty days Nineveh would be destroyed.²² However, when the people had undergone sufficient repentance, the indignation of the pious Creator having been assuaged, the city was not destroyed. Therefore if the Lord held back the hand of retribution, which he had threatened subject to certain conditions, when he saw that those who had transgressed were repenting, how much more would he refuse to allow those to be destroyed whom he knew to be innocent in that matter by which they were troubled. They trusted that they would be able to escape the wickedness of this powerful man with the same ease with which they knew they had been delivered from the affront of the firstmentioned earl by the power of God, and the work of their protecting confessor. Therefore they reflected among themselves, 'If the Lord is my salvation, whom shall I fear?'²³ If the Lord is the defender of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?'. Therefore they called to the Lord, and were saved. In God they put their trust, and they were not confounded.²⁴ Now a short time after the deadline which the aforesaid magnate, in his impudent rebellion, had placed on the destruction of the people of Beverley, it happened that, suddenly seized by sickness, he died miserably an unexpected untimely death. The very

²¹ This was inserted by the editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, although it is absent from the *Beverley Cartulary* version.

²² Jonah 3.4.

²³ Psalms 26.1.

²⁴ Psalms 21.6.

man who had intended to destroy others perished by the just judgement of God; he who had threatened destruction to others died on the last day. The Lord saw fit to dispense so great a mark of favour and so much goodwill on the people of Beverley for their merits and the merits of their holy confessor that, in general, they were not thrown into as much disorder at that time by any hostile assault of dreadful persecution, in the same way that almost all the cities of England were clearly disturbed. Almost no-one could be found who would dare to harm it (Beverley), or if anyone were to try to, violent swift retribution would follow.

Chapter 6

How a marvellous light shone from the tomb of St John.

I think it proper that a certain remarkable miracle that occurred at the tomb of the saint in those days should not be passed over in silence. For, when Lent was imminent, it was first discovered by certain ministers of the church in late dusk that a light of immense brilliance shone out from that mausoleum in the place where the marble pillars were fixed, which held the tomb up over the base of the pyramid. Moreover, in bursting forth, the light seemed, by rising through the pillars, to flash forth at first, then spread itself out very widely to illuminate with an extraordinary brilliance the whole space caught between the two supporting stones of the pillars. They summoned to them other observers of this phenomenon so that they might share that vision and would be able to bear witness to its truth when the appropriate time of revelation arrived. That same light which the first men had seen, they too saw; nor was the light appearing momentarily, but continued for about an hour. It was neither possible nor proper that such a miraculous thing be concealed; so great a light deserved to be put on top of a candlestick, not hidden away under a bushel. It came about, therefore, that it was made public by the official report and testimony of the ministers of the church who were present, whose testimony, as was apparent from the following things, was the truth. For a great number of people assembled at the church at the hour when the light had previously appeared, longing to experience the true nature of the event by seeing it for themselves. Furthermore, it was granted to the devotion of the majority, indeed of almost all who were present, that they should see the light shining in the aforesaid manner every day for the space of two weeks or more.

Yet there were a great number of people who, [although] they keenly watched the tomb with others who were clearly looking at this light, nevertheless were unable to penetrate to the excellence of this [manifestation] as though, with their eyes obscured, they could not see. In regard to these people, it is likely that they lacked pure faith and private devotion, and because of this so much darkness had encroached upon their external eyes. Therefore their sight did not penetrate to the glittering vision of light, as some spiritual and invisible obstacle had intervened; just as it is written that our prayer does not pass through the cloud which has been set before

us;²⁵ just as it is also written in the Gospel that the sight of the disciples going to Emmaus, when the Lord appeared to them on the way, was restricted so that they did not recognize him; because without doubt he showed himself to them in the flesh in just the same form as he was with them in their minds.²⁶

There were others who, although they had been permitted to see this light clearly, nevertheless were deceived and were mocked for their false opinions. They reckoned that the said light shone upon the highly polished and flat surface of the marble mausoleum through the reflection of the light of some candle continually burning in a bowl in front of the shrine and, following the flickering of the flame of this candle, the vision ascended to the stone through the pillars. Therefore in order to exclude the suspicion of this error, and remove this uncertainty so that it would be established without doubt that the light of the tomb in no way derived its origin from the light of the candle, two doors were ordered to be closed and fastened with bolts, one of the choir and the other of the pulpitum, which lay between the tomb and the candle. By these means, the air in the middle could be seen to be still and the light to be a reflection on the tomb. Then when two doors had been closed and barred, as had been ordered, none the less, yet again, very clearly through one unlocked [door] a very bright light was seen gleaming at the tomb, since without doubt a greater light falling upon a lesser would be liable to obscure and diminish it. Therefore it was evident, by a visible sign, that the light that had appeared in that place had had its beginning from that true light, which lights every man who comes into this world.²⁷ Furthermore that light deservedly illuminated St John who had been laid to rest in death, for whom it was not vain that the light should rise up, on whom, while he was still alive, the light of the face of the Lord was marked; that is, the light of grace, by which the image of God is recreated in man who is formed in his likeness, which had been impressed on the superior power of the spirit, that is reason; and who was the lamp lit by the Lord, since he performed the office of a preacher; in which [lamp] there was light, that is knowledge, which shines in man as much as in a clay vessel; whence said the apostle, 'We have that same treasure in earthen vessels'.²⁸

Chapter 7

Concerning the collapse of the tower of the church of Beverley.

At that time there was a very high tower which had been built over the crossing in the middle of this church, which was of such remarkable beauty and size that it boasted of the skill and competence of the stonemason's craft. The building of this tower had advanced to such an

²⁵ Lamentations 3.44.

²⁶ Luke 24.16.

²⁷ John 1.9.

²⁸ 2 Corinthians 4.7.

extent that the stonework had been completed; all that remained to be done was that a stone roof of proportionate height should be put on. The masons who presided over the work were not as careful as they should have been, much less prudent than they were subtle in their art; they paid more attention to ornamentation than to strength; more to aesthetics than to proper stability. For when they were erecting the four main pillars as supports for the whole massive superstructure, they inserted them elegantly, rather than firmly, into the old building works in the manner of those who sew a new patch onto old clothing.²⁹ Therefore it happened that they made neither the bases, nor the uprights of the pillars of a strength sufficient to sustain a huge structure of such a remarkable and lofty height, in spite of the fact that their weakness could be seen well enough in the course of construction by the crevices and cracks, and by the splitting open of some marble columns along the length from the base all the way to the architrave. Yet they did not at all consider stopping from continuing the work they had started, although it was certain that the building, which was built on a weak foundation, was ready to collapse. Thus the more they laid on the mass of masonry above, the more they hastened the fall of the tower: and the more they presumed to overload the uprights and bases, the bigger the cracks became.

At length it happened that a large number of the clerks as well as of the people stopped going into the church because of the fear of imminent collapse. Nevertheless the priests and Levites and others who were obliged to go to the choir regularly as a consequence of their bounden duty assembled at the appointed hours so that they might perform divine office. They trusted that he, whom they served industriously with all their strength, with pure mind, and inward devotion, would not allow them to be crushed, or to be somehow seized by sudden death. They did not despair of the help of the holy confessor, whose relics were preserved enclosed in a chest in that very place. However, the event that followed revealed that the Lord is one who pities his confessor. For, about the beginning of October, when it was necessary to get up to praise God in the middle of the night and to celebrate the customary night office in the choir, one of the priests who (by God's will as I believe), as he had been lying in bed and had spent part of the night awake contrary to his usual practice, disdained having to lie in bed for a long time and, unable to sleep, got up and went to the watchmen whom he found asleep. He aroused [them] from sleep, and led them in to ring the bells, although nearly an hour early, to give them the signal to get up and strike the hour. Then, the clergy having assembled at the church, while the nocturnal office was sung a large part of masonry fell down from the tower not far from those who were singing. When they heard the noise of this they were all totally seized by great fear. So with the greatest haste they moved from their stalls and continued the office they had begun, standing on the other side of the altar. Not long after, another noise was heard, greater than the first, again of a great many stones falling down from the tower, just as if, some mild and simple

²⁹ Matthew 9.16; Mark 2.21; Luke 5.36.

warning having been sent in advance so that they might draw back, a peremptory command would follow which would threaten punishment to those who stubbornly ignored it. Therefore, abandoning the choir, they decided to move to a more secure location further from the tower, and passing under the overhanging ruin, they descended into the nave of the church where, taking up a position at the side of the font, they conducted all the way to the end the office they had begun. When the office was completed, they had scarcely reached their homes, although they were fairly near to the church; when lo, the whole tower, which collapsed into ruin down to the ground, pulling to destruction with it the adjoining parts, made a violent noise, terrible to human ears. One might consider in this event how much was due to the wonderful grace of the Saviour, how much to the effectiveness of the virtue of the holy confessor. For by God's will, by the intervention of their saint on their behalf, the time of ruin when the tower was going to fall down was foreseen, so that no harm could be inflicted on the crowd of laity. The remarkable dispensation was performed for the ministers of the church when, contrary to custom, they got up earlier than usual, and the twofold collapse of the stones, which was a sign forcing change, persuaded them to move themselves somewhere else. Favour was also [bestowed] on those who rested within the enclosure of the church, the watchmen, since as they moved their bedding to throw off their coverlets, no bodily harm was inflicted upon them. Therefore it came about that the eastern part of the nave of this church had to be turned into the choir, the altar had to be erected over the tomb, and the shrine had to be set up directly behind the middle of the tomb. When this had been done, it was sufficiently understood by effective reasoning that the light at the tomb must have meant to have revealed and to have presaged what was going to happen; that it is clear that the body of the holy confessor had to be restored to where it had been before it was translated. Therefore, through the merit of the holy confessor, when life's struggle has been run, that heavenly reward which is going to endure [for eternity] is granted to us from him who lives and reigns, God through all eternity. Amen.

APPENDIX 6A

ADDITIONAL MIRACLES

THE BEVERLEY CARTULARY: BL, MS AD 61909

1. Transcription of fol. 10^v

(This story is also added to the end of the *Vita* in the *Acta Sanctorum*)

De quibusdam miracu[lis que attin]gebant post [mortem sancti]Johannis¹

Dominus et Salvator noster Jesus Christus multa miracula per dilectum suum Joannem operatus est. Quorum primum hoc est. Accidit quodam tempore, ut quidam ardore febrium oppressus ad sanctum ipsius sepulcrum pervenerit, ac sensu alienatus, dum ibi diu devolveretur, tandem spiritus malignus ab ipso fugatus est. Qui etiam² integræ sanitati per S. Joannis merita restitutus, assumpto baculo suo, ad propriam domum perrexit, atque ipsum postea nunquam eædem infirmitates invaserunt.

2. Transcription of fols 10^v-11^v

(This story has also been interpolated into the *Acta Sanctorum* at the end of Folcard's *Vita*)

De quodam sacerdote infirmitate tumulum sancti antistitis qui ab omne infirmitate continuo est curatus³.

In quodam postea tempore abbas Brithunus invitavit abbatem de Swina in anniversario die S. Joannis ad Beverlic,⁴ habentem secum illuc quemdam presbyterum, nomine Druchwald, qui et tanta infirmitate detinebatur, ut vix illuc ire poterat. Item postea cum Abbas de Swina domum redire proposuit, rogatu suo Brithunus Abbas ipsum infirmum presbyterum, donec incolumis fieret, in custodia recepit, et maxime propter invocationem nominis S. Joannis atque amorem. Cum quo etiam⁵ ipse Abbas de Swina quemdam diaconum suum, qui vocabatur Adde, quatenus procuraretur attentius, reliquerat; cui vero⁶ Abbas Brithunus Wlverd presbyterum addiderat, ut ipse infirmanti presbytero omnia ei⁷ procurando necessaria famularetur. Tunc autem qui infirmabatur sacerdos rogabat ipsum Brithunum Abbatem, ut corpus suum si obisset inibi in

¹ There is no heading in A.

² *etiam*] *et*, A.

³ There is no heading in A.

⁴ *Beverlic*] *Beverley*, A.

⁵ *etiam*] *et*, A.

⁶ *vero*] *enimvero*, A.

⁷ *eu*] *in*, A.

cœmeterio illo sepeliri permetteret, quia ipse sanctus episcopus, inquit, se antea ad sacerdotalem promoverat gradum. Quod postquam impetraverat, eidem ipse presbyter gratias prece supplici atque devota persolvit.

Insequenti vero nocte in tantum aggravabatur infirmitate, quod eam vivus minime putabatur posse transire. Mane autem facto ipse Abbas venit ad ipsum, dicens ei ego⁸: Credo cito melius te fore futurum, si allatus fuisses ad monasterium, in quo sunt multæ reliquiæ sanctorum martyrum. Hoc idem quoque [ait]⁹ se credere ipsum: et contestans continuo, post horam tertiam allatus est in ipsum monasterium, ipse¹⁰ etiam Deo grates referens, quia in ipsum vivus meruit introire. Et cum intentius ante altare S. Joannis Evangelistæ orasset, inde ad sepulchrum ipse progressus est, supplici eum prece deposcens, quatenus sibi in infirmitate sua erga suum medicum dignaretur auxiliari. Ac sæpius gratia impetrandi commemorata, quam erga Deum habebat, inde progrediens monasterium S. Martini, quod in se continebat multas quoque sanctorum martyrum reliquias, ingressus est. Quarum igitur impressione ut signum Sanctæ Crucis fronti suæ intentum est, ac eo regresso ad tumultum sancti confessoris, continuo ab ipsa infirmitate qua detinebatur curatus est, et postea sanus et incolumis domum rediens, hoc ipsum miraculum, quod in se factum fuerat, cum ingenti lætitia sæpe et multum solebat referre.

3. Transcription of fol. 11^v

(This story has also been interpolated into the *Acta Sanctorum* at the end of Folcard's *Vita*)

*De quadam sanctimoniali curata precibus eiusdam pontificis*¹¹

Quodam etiam tempore contigit quamdam sanctimoniam de Esech, cujus manus contractæ erant, membraque universa invaletudine detinebantur, ad sancti confessoris tumultum devenisse, ac sui universi languoris sine mora curationem inibi recepisse, per intercessionem ipsius sancti confessoris. Sanitate igitur recepta, ipsa multis hominibus in eodem die quo curata est propinando ministravit; et in eadem¹² postea sanitate multis vixerat annis. Et hæc per intercessionem hujus sancti confessoris fiebant, ad laudem et honorem Creatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum amen.¹³

⁸ *ego*] om., A.

⁹ *ait*] om. A, B.

¹⁰ *ipse*] *ipsi*, B.

¹¹ There is no heading in A.

¹² *eadem*] *ea*, A.

¹³ *amen*] om., A.

4. Transcription of fols 35^v-36^r

(This story also appears in Capgrave's *Vita* in an abbreviated form¹⁴)

Aliud miraculum

Accidit namque quod quædam mulier de Kyngestona super Hulle per feretrum beati johannis episcopi et confessoris et omnia in eo contenta, impetuose et falso iuraverat statim amens effecta fuit, ita quod terram velut vermis comedebat. Quæ cum ducta fuisset beverlacum ad tumbam beati johannis prædicti ita ipso furore vexabatur quod non erat ei requies die vel nocte sed semper in clamore continuo per tridum existerat. Tandem sopori dedita videbatur sibi quod beatissima virgo maria cum quodam episcopo vestibus pontificalibus induto eidem assistebat et os suum quodam panno tergebat quæ beato johanni dicebat 'johannes remitte huic mulieri quod temere per te iuravit'. Qui respondit 'Ad præceptum tuum domina dimitto'. Et mox funiculus quo manus dicte mulieris strictissime ligabantur de manibus suis cecidit in terram. Ipsa vero expurgata restituta pristinae sanitate deo et beato johannis laudes quas potuit solvere conabatur. Et mane cum in choro per clerum laudes matutine more debito solverentur ipsa sana ut dicitur effecta per medium chori transivit ad altare gratias agens deo et sancto johanni confessori suo quo miraculo legitime probato clerus laudes solitas egit deo.

5. Transcription of fols 36^{r-v}

(This story also appears in Capgrave's *Vita* in an extremely abbreviated form¹⁵)

Aliud miraculum

Ex tumba sancti johannis archiepiscopi et confessoris die sancti barnabe apostoli anno domini millesimo trecentesimo duodecimo¹⁶ manavit oleum quo oculi cuiusdam pueri qui per tres menses ante clare videre non poterat liniti. Statim cœpit clarius intueri. Inchoavit itaque prædictam oleum manare in mane diei prædicti et crevit paulatim usque post redditionem laudum vespertinarum ad quantitatem unius coclearii. Suo tunc per seniores chori probato ac etiam præfato miraculo approbato clerus gratias solitas egit deo. Dominus autem johannis de drokesfordia episcopus bathoniensis prædicto miraculo interfuit et præditum puerum diligenter

¹⁴ 'Mulier quædam super feretrum Sancti Johannis crimen perjurii committens amens efficitur. Sopori tandem dedita videbatur sibi quod beata virgo Maria cum quodam episcopo pontificalibus induto eidem assistebat, et os suum quodam panno terens, Sancto Johanni dixit, 'Johannes, remitte huic mulieri, quæ temere per te jurare non timuit.' Qui respondit, 'Ad præceptum tuum, domina, dimitto.' Et mox funiculus quo manus mulieris erant ligatæ in terram dubito ruptus cecidit, et mulier expurgata sanata se sentiens gratias Deo egit'; *HCYI*, 539. Inserted before this is another miracle: 'Post obitum suum multa pro ipso miracula ostendere usque in hodiernum diem dignatus est Dominus: inter quæ pueros duos cæcitate a nativitate percussos illuminavit, contractas mulieres binas gressibus restituit.'

¹⁵ 'Anno autem Domini millesimo tricentesimo duodecimo de tumba Sancti Johannis oleum emanare usque in horam diei sequentis tertiam non cessavit, et ultos cæcos inde linitos meritis viri sancti visum recipere fecit'; *HCYI*, 539.

¹⁶ 11 June 1312.

examinavit. Qui ad interrogationem prædicta pontificis colores pannorum et aliarum verum competenter discernibat. Oleum vero ex eadem tumba iugiter manavit usque ad horam tertiam diei sequentis quo die dictus episcopus fecit missam de sancto johanne prædicto ad magnum altare solenniter decantari. Qua peracta episcopus Norwythiensis et episcopus prædictus qui præsentibus intua missa fuerunt ad prædictam tumbam accesserunt et oleum sic manans in pluribus locis eiusdem tumbæ suis oculis conspexerint. Quo viso deo et beato johanni immensas gratias redderunt.

6. Transcription of fols 38^{r-v}

(A version of this miracle also appears in the *Chapter Act Book* – see no.16 below)

Aliud miraculum

Dum quidam puer de north feribi loquelam divino iudicio perdidisset parentes ipsius ipsum quadam cruce in domo prioratus de feribi signari fecerunt, votum insuper visitandi limina sancti iohannis beverlaci ex cordis affectione intima emisissent. Quo facto et dicto puero ad dictum sanctum mensurato, superna pietas sibi loquelam restituit meritis et precibus dicti sancti. Porro usu loquendi sibi cælitus restituto, idem puer die sequente cum parentes ipsius iter peregrinationis suæ versus dictum sanctum incepissent, usum videndi totaliter amittebat. Quo viso, prior dictæ domus ipsum ad beverlacum cum suis parentibus ire fecit. Qui statim cum parentes sui et ipse ad tumbam dicti sancti devotis orationibus paululum instetissent, lumen oculorum est per dei gratiam assecutus meritis et precibus dicti sancti.

7. Transcription of fol. 38^v

Aliud miraculum

Ad honorem dei qui sanctos suos non cessat magnificare, ex tumba sancti iohannis die translationis eiusdem oleum emanavit. Quod cum canonici et vicarii an verum esset oleum hesitarent, clausis ostiis eiusdem tumbæ recesserunt et præfatum miraculum tunc publicare prout moris est distulerunt donec inde fieret certiores. Die proxima sequente ad dictam tumbam seniores ecclesiæ accesserunt et in eadem fere quantitate qua dimiserant idem oleum invenerunt. Quo per ipsos prolato quod verum esset oleum tum confricatione manuum, tum modis aliis consuetis, ipsum miraculum publicabant et laudes altissonas domino reddiderunt.

8. Transcription of fols 38^v-39^r*Aliud miraculum*

Quidam pauper et mendicus in villa beverlaca omni solacio gressuum suorum per septem annos et amplius notorie destitutus, victum suum quærens rependo miserabiliter et serpendo et aliquando baculis se modo quo potuit sustendendo. Tandem cum quadam noctem lectulo suo sopori se dedisset, videbatur sibi quod quidam formosus homo in habitu pontificali sibi assisteret sibi que diceret quod ad tumbam suam accederet et ibi sanitatem membrorum suorum integram optineret. Qui a sompno expergefactus dicte non inmemor visionis acceptis baculis suis quibus sustentabatur, ad tumbam sancti iohannis spe sanitatis adipiscende quam citius properabat. Ad quam cum orationi sedule paululum institisset, plenam sanitatem sui corporis et suorum membrorum nutu divino suffragantibus meritis et precibus dicti sancti se sentiit assecutum. Qui surgens abiectis baculis quibus antea utebatur ipsam tumbam trinis vicibus circuevit gracias agens deo qui gressum sibi restituit meritis et precibus dicti sancti.

9. Transcription of fols 39^{r-v}*Aliud miraculum*

Quidam adolescens scolasticus goxhilli in lindissa per instigationem duorum malignorum in speciebus mulierum sibi apparentium quarum una viridi et alia rubeo vestiebatur, dictum iuvenem vigilantem et vestitum a lecto suo usque ad ostium camere in qua iacebat per caput et pedes deferentium et in gutture stringentium, subito diebus undecim mutus est effectus. Quod cum mater eius comperisset deo et sancto iohanni unum denarium plicuit super eum vovens interim dictum sanctum apud beverlacum singulis annis dum vixerint semel peregre visitare si suis sanctis precibus sanitate pristina fuerit restitutus. Tandem octavo die apud beverlacum personaliter accedentes deo et sancto iohanni oblationes suas devotissime perferunt. Et dictus adolescens de aqua qua anulus dicti sancti lotus fuerat bibebat et in signum sanctæ crucis lingua eius dicto anulo imprimebatur. Illi vero ad tumbam sancti iohannis moram traxerunt per triduum dei misericordiam et dicti sancti suffragium expectantes. Tandem dictus adolescens nutu divino sopori deditus, vidit dominum iesum christum crucem cruentatis manibus deferentem et beatam mariam matrem suam coronam auream in capite optinentem ac etiam beatum iohannem pontificalibus vestibus indutum sibi apparere, et benedicere precipiendo et quod surgeret indilate. Ille autem expergefactus gracias egit deo et beatæ mariæ ac etiam beato iohanni confessori suo, et recte postea loquebatur. Quo miraculo legitime prolato clerus laudes altissonas dedit deo.

10. Transcription of fols 39^v-40^r*Aliud miraculum*

Quadam mulier de nunnkilling⁷, anicia nomine, lumine oculi sui dexteri occulto dei iudicio penitus orbata, cum confluentia ceterorum Christi fidelium ad ecclesiam beati iohannis veniebat prout facere consuevit annis singulis precipue per sex annos precedentes videlicet a tempore quo nimio furore vexata ad tumbam prefati sancti optatæ reddita fuerat sospitati. Que cum in crastino ascencionis dominicæ ad tumbam prædicti sancti orationi devotius institeret, ex ipsa tumba sacrum oleum emanavit, et pannos præfatæ mulieris pectorales humectavit. Ipsa vero oculum lumine orbatum quo per novem annos et amplius nichil videre poterat, ex ipso oleo linebat, cursumque orationi devote insistens paululum dormitabat. Multi vero circa predictam tumbam circum astantes sacrum oleum fluereque videntes ad præfatam mulierem dixerunt. Mulier non es digna ibi procumbere ubi sacrum oleum sic emanat. Mulier vero expergefata se clarum visum in præfato oculo per merita ipsius sancti sentiens se adeptam laudes et gracias quas potuit deo et beato iohanni devotione sedula referebat.

11. Transcription of fols 40^r-^v*Aliud miraculum*

Quidam puer de beverlaco iohannes nomine per diutinam infirmitatem ita contractus claudus curvus et debilitatus effectus, quod per sex septimanas de loco quo sedit vel iacuit absque baculi sustentamento seu humano adiutorio nullo modo potuit se movere. Tandem cum idem puer in domo parentum suorum circa horam nonam casualiter dormitaret videbatur sibi ut postea asseruit bona fide quod beatus iohannes ad eum veniebat tenensque cereum accensum in manu sua de quo stillavit ceram liquefactum super caput eius dicens. Vade ad tumbam meam et sanitatem pristinam consequeris. Mox idem puer expergefatus matri suæ domum reversæ curavit præfatam visionem apertius indicare. Dixitque Mater deferat me ad ecclesiam beati iohannis. Quem cum ad ecclesiam detulisset puer tumbam sancti iohannis adivit baculo sustentatus ibique paululum traxit moram. Hora vero quæ vespertinæ laudes per clerum more debito solvebantur idem puer rectum gressum et integram sanitatem in omnibus membris suis per merita et intercessionem sancti iohannis divinitus est adeptus. Quibus assecutis illico surrexit et abiecto baculo quo prius sustentabatur lætus et hilaris per ecclesiam discurrebat deo et sancto iohanni confessori suo laudes et gracias quas scivit et potuit referendo.

12. Transcription of fols. 40^v-41^r

(A version of this miracle also appears in the *Chapter Act Book* – see no. 13 below)

Aliud miraculum

Quædam pauper muliercula agnes nomine, oriunda de Schirburn in elmet, quæ per sex dies continuous mentis alienationem notorie sustinebat, ad tumbam sancti iohannis beverlaci adducta fuit ibique cum fortissimis vinculis per idem tempus acrius ligaretur in ipsa alienacione mentis permansit furore continuo fatigata ecclesiam et locavicina clamore continuo et horribili replebat et etiam conturbabat. Tandem superna pietas cuius misericordia esset super omnia opera eius ipsius miserta per merita et suffragia dicti sancti ipsam pristine et integre restituit sanitati. Quæ ut postea in probatione miraculi antedicti coram capitulo referebat, se per sompnum vidisse ut sibi videbatur beatum iohannem predictum albis vestibus pontificalibus indutum iuxta se incedentem sibi que dicentem. Sequere me quia restituta es pristine sanitati. Et statim expergefata ruptis vinculis quibus vincta fuit se incoluminem per dei gratiam sentiit atque sanam. Quæ licet in infirmitate fortissima ita ut a tribus vix ligari potuit tamen sana facta ita debilis est effecta quod sine humano adiutorio vix incedere potuit sive stare. Quo miraculo legitime prolato ac etiam publicato clerus ad tumbam dicti sancti laudes altissonas soluit deo qui in sanctis suis semper est et extitit gloriosus. Cui laus et gloria per infinita secula seculorum, Amen.

MEMORIALS OF BEVERLEY MINSTER

The *Chapter Act Books* contain four miracles relating to St John of Beverley, the first two of which appear in different forms in the *Beverley Cartulary*; the others are not found anywhere else. All four are given in the form of letters patent from the Minster Chapter, and apart from a few minor variations, they have the opening sentences in common

‘Universis S. Matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos pervenerit hæc scriptura, Capitulum ecclesiæ S. Johannis Beverlacensis Salutem in amplexibus Salvatoris

‘Quum mira virtutum opera, quæ per intercessionem¹⁷ et suffragia¹⁸ dicti sancti Deus omnipotens per suam invisibilem potentiam operatur, ad laudem et gloriam ipsius et honorem dicti confessoris sui gloriosi, nec non ad consolationem fidelium expedit esse nota, ut nomen

¹⁷ *intercessionem*] *preces*, in no. 13.

¹⁸ *suffragia*] *merita*, in no. 13.

Altissimi ubilibet exaltetur, et sua majestas in eadem¹⁹ ecclesia majoris²⁰ venerationis et devotionis frequentia a Christi fidelibus collaudetur.²¹

‘Devotioni vestrae sinceræ harum serie elucescat, quod . . .

13. *MBM I*, p. 362

(A version of this miracle appears in the *Beverley Cartulary* - see no. 12 above)

Littera testimonialis de miraculo

Universis S. Matris ecclesiæ etc. . .

. . . Agnes de Schirburn in Elmet, latrix præsentium, quæ mentis alienationem occulto Dei iudicio, notorie sustinebat; In qua alienatione permansit per multos dies in eadem ecclesia furore continuo fatigata, ut evidenter et legitime nobis constat, Ad tumbam præfati incliti confessoris die Veneris proxima post translationem S. Benedicti Abbatis superna pietas integræ restituit sanitati.

Quocirca devotionem vestram in Domino exortamur ut in dicto suo sanctissimo confessore laudetis Dominum qui sic eum dignatus est crebris miraculis illustrare.

In cujus rei testimonium atque fidem eidem has litteras nostras patentes concessimus gratiose.

Datas Beverlaci xj Kalendas Augusti A.D. mcccxviii.

14. *MBM I* pp. 400-01

(A version of this miracle appears in the *Beverley Cartulary* - see no. 6 above)

Littera testimonialis de miraculo

Universis S. Matris ecclesiæ etc. . .

Devotioni vestrae sinceræ harum serie notum fiat quod, cum Johannes, natus Willelmi de Northferibi, decennis fuisset, occulto Dei iudicio mutus factus, parentes ipsius ipsum quadam cruce in domo Prioratus de Feribi signari fecerunt, votum insuper visitandi limina dicti sancti cum dicto puero ex cordis affectione intima emis(er)unt.

¹⁹ *eadem*] *eiusdem Confessoris*, in no. 13.

²⁰ *majoris*] *amplioris*, in no. 13.

²¹ *Et devotionis . . . collaudetur*] replaced by frequentia laudetur et glorificetur a Christi fidelibus universis

Quo facto, et dicto puero ad dictum sanctum mensurato, superna pietas sibi loquelam restituit, meritis et precibus dicti sancti.

Ad hoc, loquela sibi divinitus restituta, idem puer die sequente cæcitate divino iudicio est percussus. Parentes vero sui de huiusmodi casu votum quod emiseraunt cum omni celeritate peragere cupientes, dictum puerum ad tumbam dicti sancti cum devotione debita adduxerunt, qui cum aliquantissimam ibidem moram traxissent, devotisq[ue] orationibus non sine lacrimarum effusione dicti sancti patrocinium flagitassent, dictus puer lumen oculorum recepit per Dei gratiam et merita dicti sancti.

Quæ omnia coram nobis fuerunt ostensa legitime et probata, ipsumq[ue] puerum de visu et loquela examinavimus diligenter: examinatus vero de loquela legit[ur] versum psalterii infrascriptum, Magnificate Dominum, mecum, etc.

Quocirca devotionem vestram in Domino exoramus ut Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in suo sancto confessore, laudetis, qui est sanctorum omnium gloria et corona.

In cuius rei testimonium, etc. has litteras patentes fieri fecimus sigilli nostri munimine consignatas.

Datas Beverlaci Xiii Kalendas Februarii A.D. millesimo cccxxi.

15. *MBM* II, p. 26

De Miraculo

Universis S. Matris ecclesiæ etc . . .

Devotioni vestræ sinceræ harum serie notum fiat, quod cum Johannes filius Roberti Dandi de Melton exhibitor præsentium fuisset occulto Dei iudicio per diutinam infirmitatem usu et solatio gressuum suorum totaliter destitutus, ita quod super pedes suos per mensem unum stare non posset nec incedere; quovis modo venit sibi in mente ut limina dicti sancti causa sanitatis adipiscendæ visitaret; tandem advectus ad ecclesiam prædictam in eadem per unam ebdomodam mansit reptando et serpendo, ab ingredientibus diebus singulis postulando victum suum; Die vero Dominica, videlicet, octavo Kalendas Martii ad tumbam dicti sancti portatus et juxta ipsam tumbam positus, orationibus ibidem diutius insistebat, et cum orationes aliquantulum protraxisset subito dormiebat, eviligans vero hora, qua processio in eadem ecclesia celebratur,

se redditum sanitatis pristinae sentiebat, stetitque supra pedes suos et per ecclesiam distabat, laudans et glorificans Deum, qui ipsum sanitati restituit per merita et suffragia dicti sancti.

Quocirca devotionem vestram in Domino exoramus, ut Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in suo glorioso confessore laudetis, qui est sanctorum omnium gloria et corona.

16. MBM II, pp. 32-3

(A version of this miracle appears in the *Beverley Cartulary* - see no. 6 above)

De miraculo

Universis S. Matris ecclesiae etc . . .

Devotioni vestrae sinceræ harum serie notum fiat, quod cum Matilda de Seterington præsentium exhibitrix fuisset occulto Dei iudicio per diutinam infirmitatem usu et solatio gressuum suorum totaliter destituta, Ita quod super pedes suos per tres menses et amplius stare non potuit nec incedere, quovis modo, scilicet, de loco ad locum suis manibus miserabiliter se promovit: Tandem de consilio quorundam bonorum virorum ad ecclesiam nostram prædictam sub spe sanitatis adipiscendæ advecta, ad tumbam dicti sancti et etiam in eadem ecclesia eadem infirmitate detenta, circiter tres ebdomades moram traxit. Die vero Sabbati proximo ante diem Willelmi Confessoris atque Pontificis, hora vesperarum ad tumbam dicti sancti posita orationibus diutius insistebat, et cum orationes aliquantulum protraxisset, miseratio divina ipsam restituit pristinae sanitati per merita et suffragia ut creditur dicti sancti. Præmissa omnia probata fuerunt tum per notorietatem, tum per testes, sufficienter et legitime pro nobis.

Quocirca devotionem vestram in Domino exoramus ut Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in suo glorioso confessore laudetis, qui est sanctorum omnium gloria et corona.

In cujus rei testimonium has litteras patentes sibi fieri fecimus, nostri sigilli munimine roboratas.

Datas Beverlaci ii Idus Junii A.D. supradicto.

17. *Historia Anglicana, I, 261-62*

This miracle is dated 1343 by the editor of the *Chronicles*.

De quodam juvene mirabiliter sensu alienato. Eodem tempore, contigit quoddam mirabile in partibus Borealibus, de quodam juvene, qui fuerat in familia Domini J. Baronis de Grastock: qui cum equitaret lætus et hilaris per quendam campum seminatum cum siligine, et cerneret siliginem in modum æquoris fluctuare, repente considerat quemdam homunculum rubeum de siligine caput erigere; qui quanto plus consideravit eundem, tanto plus videbatur sibi eum crescere in statura: qui appropinquans arripuit frenum eius et, vellet nollet, duxit eum in siliginem, ad locum ubi, ut sibi visum fuit, pulcherrima domina cum multis puellis sibi similibus residebat; quæ mox jussit eum equo deponi, et pelle carnibusque lacerari; et demum excoriari mandavit. Deinde prædicta domina, caput suum secans per medium, cerebrum, ut putabat, abstulit, caput vacuumque reclusit. Quibus ita gestis, eum levare fecit in equum, et abire dimisit. Nec mora: expers et inops ingenii cœpit furere, et furiosos gestus continuare. Cumque pervenisset ad villam proximam, quædam puella quæ et ipsa de domini sui familia fuerat, et eum multum dilexerat, venit ad eum et curam illius egit; et ne damna inferret sibi ministrantibus, catenus eum coartari fecit; quæ duxit eum ad multos sanctos transmarinos pro consequenda sanitate, sed cum nihil profecisset ibidem, regressa est in Angliam cum eodem. Non tamen defuit sibi ille rubeus et rufus, qui sibi prius apparuit; sed ubique visibilis sibi affuit. Et licet tribus aut quatuor catenis ligatus fuisset, eas semper solvere consuevit. Tandem, apud Sanctum Johannem de Beverlaco, post sex annos hujus miseræ, recepit integram sanitatem. In placidum nempe soporem resolutus, visum fuit sibi pulcherrimam dominam ejus caput iterato dividere, et cerebrum, per priorem ablatum dominam, restituere loco suo. Restitutus provide pristinæ sanitati, duxit præfatam puellam quæ eum circumduxerat, et ex ea quindecim filios generavit; qua defuncta, ad sacros ordines se contulit, et presbyter est effectus, et promotus ad ecclesiam de Thorp Basset. Dum autem Missam cum devotione summa celebraret, et corpus Christi, prout moris est, populo videndum manibus elevaret, apparuit rufus ille præfatus, et ait, - 'Sit amodo tibi custos, quem te tenes in manibus, novit nempe ipse te quam ego melius custodire'.

APPENDIX 6B

ADDITIONAL MIRACLES

THE BEVERLEY CARTULARY: BL, MS AD 61909

1. Translation of fol. 10^v

(This story is also added to the end of the *Vita* in the *Acta Sanctorum*)

About certain miracles which happened after the death of St John.

Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, has performed many miracles through his beloved John, of which this is the first. It happened at one time that someone oppressed with a burning fever, and also out of his mind, came to the tomb of this saint; while he lay down there for a long time, at last the malignant spirit was banished from him. Having been restored to complete health through the merits of St John, he went home, taking his stick, and never afterwards did these infirmities assault him.

2. Translation of fols 10^v-11^v

(This story has also been interpolated into the *Acta Sanctorum* at the end of Folcard's *Vita*)

About a sick priest who was immediately cured from all infirmity at the tomb of the holy bishop

Sometime afterwards Abbot Berthun invited the Abbot of Swine to Beverley on St John's feast day. He brought with him a priest called Druchwald, who was so ill that he was hardly able to get there. And afterwards when the Abbot of Swine proposed to return home, at his request, and mainly because of the invocation of the name and love of St John, Abbot Berthun accepted the ill priest into his safe-keeping until he should recover. The Abbot of Swine left one of his deacons with him, who was called Adde, so that [the sick man] should be looked after more attentively; Abbot Berthun also added the priest Wlverd, so that he should attend to the ill priest in administering to all his needs. Then, also, the priest who was ill asked Abbot Berthun to allow his body to be buried in the cemetery if he should die there, because he said that that saintly bishop had earlier raised him to the priesthood. After he had been granted his request, the priest thanked him with humble and devoted prayer.

The following night his illness got so much worse that, barely alive, it was thought that he would not get through the night alive. But in the morning, the abbot came to him, saying to him, 'I believe that you will get better quickly, if you are brought to the minster, in which are many relics of holy martyrs'. He (the sick man) said that he himself believed this also, and

continuously calling on God, after nine o'clock in the morning he was brought into that minster, also giving thanks to God because he had entered there alive. And when he had prayed very intently before the altar of St John the Evangelist, he progressed from there to the tomb, earnestly asking him with humble prayer that he should deign to help him in his illness. And he continually reminded him of the gift he possessed of having whatever he asked from God. Going on from there he entered the chapel of St Martin,¹ which also contained many relics of martyr saints. Then an impression of the sign of the holy cross was made on his forehead with one of them, and having gone back to the tomb of the holy confessor, straightaway he was cured from that illness which had held him, and afterwards, returning home healthy and well, he used, often and with great happiness, to relate this very miracle which was performed on him.

3. Translation of fol. 11^v

(This story has also been interpolated into the *Acta Sanctorum* at the end of Folcard's *Vita*)
About a nun cured through the prayers of this bishop.

Also one time it happened that a nun of *Esech*,² whose hands were deformed, and who was possessed of an infirmity of all of her limbs, had come to the tomb of the holy confessor, and had at once received a cure there of all her illness. There, having received her health, because she was cured, she ministered to many men that day by giving them drink; and afterwards she lived for many years in that good health. And this was done through the intercession of this holy confessor, to the praise and honour of our Creator, Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns forever and ever, amen.

4. Transcription of fols 35^v-36^r

(This story also appears in Capgrave's *Vita* in an abbreviated form³)

Another miracle

It happened that a woman of Kingston-upon-Hull had impetuously sworn a false oath on the shrine and all its relics of St John, bishop and confessor. She was immediately made so insane so that she ate earth and worms. When she had been brought to Beverley to the tomb of the

¹ Although the text refers to a 'monasterium', which literally means a 'monastery' or 'cathedral chapter', this is obviously a reference to St Martin's Chapel which used to be attached to the south side of the nave of the Minster – see *VCH Yorks*, vi., 234. The first miracle story in *Alia Miracula III*, which tells of the miraculous cure of a boy who fell from a great height in the Minster, refers to a cross which used to be set above St Martin's altar; Appendices 5A, 5B.

² Unidentified.

³ 'Mulier quædam super feretrum Sancti Johannis crimen perjurii committens amens efficitur. Sopor tandem dedita videbatur sibi quod beata virgo Maria cum quodam episcopo pontificalibus induto eidem assistebat, et os suum quodam panno terens, Sancto Johanni dixit, 'Johannes, remitte huic mulieri, quæ temere per te jurare non timuit.' Qui respondit, 'Ad præceptum tuum, domina, dimitto.' Et mox funiculus quo manus mulieris erant ligatæ in terram dubito ruptus cecidit, et mulier expergefata sanata se sentiens gratias Deo egit'; *HCV* i., 539. Inserted before this is another miracle: 'Post obitum suum multa pro ipso miracula ostendere usque in hodiernum diem dignatus est Dominus: inter quæ pueros duos cæcitate a natiuitate percussos illuminavit, contractas mulieres binas gressibus restituit.'

aforesaid blessed John, she distressed herself in her frenzy because there was no rest for her day or night, but she went on continuously shouting for three days. At last, having fallen asleep, it seemed to her that the most blessed virgin Mary, with a bishop dressed in episcopal robes, stood near her and wiped her mouth with a piece of cloth and said to blessed John, 'John, forgive this woman because she swore an oath by you recklessly.' He replied, 'I release her at your command, mistress.' And soon the rope with which the hands of the woman were very tightly bound fell to the ground from her hands. Indeed, when she woke up, having been restored to complete health, she gave as many praises as she could to God and blessed John. And in the morning in the choir, when praises were duly carried out by the clergy at matins, the woman, having been made sane, as stated, passed through the middle of the choir to the altar giving thanks to God and St John his confessor, and as the miracle had been proved genuine, the clergy gave the customary praises to God.

5. Translation of fols 36^{r-v}

(This story also appears in Capgrave's *Vita* in an extremely abbreviated form⁴)

Another miracle

In the year 1312, on the feast day of St Barnabas the apostle,⁵ oil flowed from the tomb of St John, archbishop and confessor, which was smeared on the eyes of some boys who had not been able to see properly for three months. Immediately they began to see more clearly. The aforesaid oil began to flow in the morning of that day, and increased gradually until after vespers, to the quantity of one spoonful. Then when the elders of the choir proved this, and the said miracle was confirmed, the clergy gave customary thanks to God. Also John of Droxford, Lord Bishop of Bath, was present at the aforesaid miracle and diligently examined the aforesaid boys. Under the examination of the aforesaid bishop, the boys competently discerned the colours of cloths and other things. Truly the oil flowed from that tomb continually until nine in the morning of the following day, on which day the said bishop arranged that a mass for the aforesaid St John be solemnly said at the high altar. When this had been done the bishop of Norwich, and the aforesaid bishop, who had been presiding at the mass, approached the said tomb and witnessed with their own eyes the oil flowing thus in many parts of his tomb. Having seen this, they gave great thanks to God and blessed John.

⁴ 'Anno autem Domini millesimo tricentesimo duodecimo de tumba Sancti Johannis oleum emanare usque in horam diei sequentis tertiam non cessavit, et ultos cæcos inde linitos meritis viri sancti visum recipere fecit'; *HCVi.*, 539.

⁵ 11 June.

6. Translation of fols 38^r-^v

(Another version of this miracle also appears in the *Chapter Act Book* – see No. 14 below)

Another miracle

When a certain boy of North Feriby had lost the power of speech through divine judgement, his parents marked him with the sign of the cross in the priory of Feriby. In addition, out of the deepest affection of the heart, they made a vow to visit the church of St John of Beverley. When they had done this, and the aforementioned boy had been measured for the said saint, God in his mercy restored the power of speech to him through the merits and prayers of the said saint. Afterwards, when the use of his speech had been restored to him by heavenly decree, on the following day when his parents had started their journey of pilgrimage towards the said saint, the same boy totally lost the use of his sight. Having seen this, the prior of the aforesaid house made him go to Beverley with his parents. When his parents and he himself had begged at the tomb of the said saint with devoted prayers for a little while, immediately the light of his eyes was achieved through the grace of God through the merits and prayers of the said saint.

7. Translation of fol. 38^v*Another miracle*

To the honour of God, who does not cease to magnify his saints, oil emanated from the tomb of St John on the day of his translation. When the canons and vicars hesitated over whether the oil was genuine, having closed the openings of his tomb, they went away and then they put off making the aforesaid miracle public according to custom until they should become sure of it. The following day, the seniors of the church approached the said tomb, and they found the same oil in exactly the same quantity in which they had left it. Which, when they had themselves declared that the oil was genuine, first by vigorous rubbing of the hands, then by the other usual customs, they made the miracle public and gave loud praises to the Lord.

8. Translation of fols 38^v-39^r*Another miracle*

A certain pauper and beggar in the town of Beverley had been crippled for more than seven years, as was well known, and carried on his way of life by miserably creeping and crawling, and sometimes by supporting himself with walking sticks as he was able. At length, when one night he had gone to sleep in his little bed, it seemed to him that a handsome man stood by him in the vestment of a bishop, who said to him that he should go to his tomb and there he would

obtain the complete health of his limbs. When he awoke from sleep, with his mind on the said vision, he took the sticks on which he was wont to support himself, and hurried to the tomb of Saint John as fast as possible in the hope of obtaining his health. At which, when he had devoted himself eagerly to prayer for a little while, he felt that he had achieved full health in his body and his limbs, obtained for him by divine command through the favourable merits and prayers of the said saint. Getting up, having thrown away his sticks which he had used before, he went round the tomb three times, giving thanks to God who restored his feet to him through the merits and prayers of the said saint.

9. Translation of fols 39^r-^v

Another miracle

A certain adolescent belonging to a school of Goxhill in Lindsey was suddenly struck dumb for eleven days through the instigation of two malignant spirits appearing to him in the images of women, of which one was dressed in green and the other in red. They carried the said youth, awake and with his clothes on, by his head and feet, from his bed all the way to the door of the room in which he lay, and squeezed his throat. When his mother discovered this she bent one denarius over him, meanwhile promising to God and St John to visit the said saint at Beverley on a pilgrimage once every year while they should live, if by his holy prayers he would be restored to his former health. At length on the eighth day at Beverley they personally completed their offerings very devotedly to God and St John. And the said youth drank from the water in which the ring of the said saint had been washed, and his tongue was pressed into the sign of the holy cross in the said ring. Truly they tarried by the tomb of St John for three days waiting for the pity of God and the help of the said saint. At length, the said youth having gone to sleep, by divine will he saw the Lord Jesus Christ bearing the cross with bloodstained hands, and the Blessed Mary his mother wearing a golden crown on her head, and also St John dressed in bishop's vestments, appear to him and bless him, ordering him to get up without delay. Moreover, having been wakened he gave thanks to God and Blessed Mary and also St John his confessor and afterwards he spoke properly. When this miracle had been pronounced in the proper way, the clergy gave loud praises to God.

10. Translation of fols 39^v-40^r

Another miracle

A certain woman of Nunkeeling, Annis by name, having been completely deprived of the light of her right eye by the judgement of God, came to the church of St John with crowds of others

faithful to Christ as she was accustomed to do every year, especially for the six preceding years, that is from the time in which, having been plagued by excessive madness, she had been restored to health at the tomb of the aforesaid chosen saint. And so when, on the day after the ascension of the Lord she pressed on praying very devotedly at the said tomb, sacred oil issued forth from that holy tomb and moistened the breast garments of the aforesaid woman. Truly she smeared with that oil the eye which had been deprived of sight, with which for more than nine years she had been able to see nothing, and after continuing devotedly with a flow of prayer for a short while, she fell asleep. Indeed, many people standing around the aforesaid tomb and watching the holy oil flowing towards the aforesaid woman said, 'Woman, you are not worthy to lie there where the holy oil flows thus'. But the woman, having been awakened, sensing that she had acquired clear sight in the aforementioned eye through the merits of that saint, repeated, with sedulous devotion, what praises and thanks she could to God and St John.

11. Translation of fols 40^{r-v}

Another miracle

A certain boy of Beverley, named John, was contracted, lame, bent and weak through an illness which had lasted a long time, so that for six weeks he had been unable to move himself from the place where he sat, or rather lay, without a supporting stick or human assistance. At length, when the boy happened to be sleeping in his parents' house, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, it seemed to him, as afterwards he claimed in good faith, that St John came to him holding a lighted candle in his hand from which he dripped liquid wax over his head saying, 'Hasten to my tomb and you will obtain your previous health'. Soon when the boy woke up, he very clearly told his mother, who had returned home, about the aforesaid vision. And he said, 'Mother, carry me to the church of St John.' When she had carried him to the church, the boy approached the tomb of St John supported by a stick and there tarried a while. At the hour at which the praises of vespers were duly performed by the clergy, the boy then obtained the ability to walk straight and complete health in all his limbs, through the merits and intercession of St John, by divine influence. When he had obtained these things he got up and, the stick with which he was formerly supported having been thrown away, he ran to and fro through the church happy and cheerful in giving as many praises and thanks to God and St John his confessor as he knew and could.

12. Translation of fols. 40^v-41^r

(Another version of this miracle also appears in the *Chapter Act Book* – see No. 13 below)

Another miracle

A certain poor woman called Agnes, originating from Sherborne in Elmet, who for six days in a row endured madness, as was well known, was taken to the tomb of St John of Beverley, and there was bound very harshly with very strong fetters, and for another six days she continued in that madness, tormented by continuous raging; she filled up and disturbed the church and the neighbouring locality with continuous and horrible noise. At last heavenly Mercy, whose compassion rests on all his creation, having taken pity on her, restored her to her former and complete health through the merits and help of the said saint. As she afterwards reported to the aforesaid chapter in proof of the aforesaid miracle, she seemed to see in her sleep the aforesaid St John dressed in white pontifical clothes, walking next to her and saying to her, 'Follow me because you have been restored to your former health.' And immediately, having been wakened, the fetters with which she had been bound having been broken, she knew that she was healthy and sane through the grace of God. She, who although in her illness was so very strong that three men could hardly restrain her, yet, having been made sane, was then made so weak that she could hardly walk or stand without human assistance. When this miracle had been proclaimed in the proper way and also made public at the tomb of the said saint, the clergy gave high praises to God who, in his saints, always is, and is found, glorious. To whom let there be the praise and the glory forever and ever, Amen.

MEMORIALS OF BEVERLEY MINSTER

The following four miracles are given in the form of letters patent from the Minster Chapter, and, with minor variations, have their opening sentences in common:

'To all the sons of holy Mother Church who read this letter, the Chapter of the Church of St John of Beverley give greeting in the loving embrace of the Saviour

'When almighty God performs wondrous miracles by means of his invisible power, through the intercession and influence of the said saint, they should be made known to his own praise and glory and to the honour of his said glorious confessor, and for the consolation of the faithful, so that the name of the Most High should be exalted everywhere, and that his glory should be praised by all the faithful of Christ by the church being more frequented with greater devotion and veneration.

'Let it be known to Your Devotion through the relation of this letter that . . .'

13. MBM I, p. 362*A letter of testimony about a miracle*

To all the sons of holy Mother church . . .

. . . Agnes of Sherborne in Elmet, the bearer, suffered derangement, as is well known, through the judgement of God. In which derangement she remained for many days in that church, tormented by continuous raging, as is clearly and properly established by us. At the tomb of the aforesaid glorious confessor on the Friday following the translation of St Benedict, abbot, God in his mercy restored complete sanity to her.

Wherefore we urge your devotion in the Lord that, in his said most holy confessor, you should praise the Lord who considers it worthy to illuminate him with frequent miracles.

We have gladly agreed to these our letters patent in respect of the testimony of this affair and our faith in the same.

Dated at Beverley on 22 July 1318

14. MBM I pp. 400-01*A letter of testimony about a miracle*

To all the sons of holy Mother church . . .

. . . when John, son of William of North Feriby, was ten years old, he became dumb through the judgement of God. His parents marked him with the sign of the cross in the priory of Feriby; in addition, out of the deepest affection of the heart they made a vow to visit the church of the said saint with the said boy.

When this had been done, and the said boy had been measured for the said saint, God in his mercy restored the power of speech to him through the merits and prayers of the said saint.

When the power of speech had been divinely restored to him, on the following day the same boy was struck by blindness by divine judgement. Indeed his parents, because of this misfortune, wishing to carry out the vow they had made as quickly as possible, brought the said boy to the tomb of the said saint with due devotion. When they had spent a very considerable time there, and they had tearfully beseeched the protection of the said saint, the said boy received the light of his eyes through the grace of God and the merits of the said saint.

Everything was properly demonstrated and proved by us, and we carefully examined the boy in sight and speech: indeed when examined as to speech, he read a verse of the Psalm , ‘O praise the Lord with me’.

Wherefore we urge your devotion in the Lord so that you should praise our Lord Jesus Christ in his holy confessor, who is the glory and crown of all that saints.

In testimony of this thing etc. we cause these letters patent to be issued in a deed under our seal

Dated at Beverley on 29 January 1321/2

15. MBM II, p. 26

About a miracle

To all the sons of holy Mother church . . .

. . . when John, the son of Robert Dandi of Melton, the bearer, through the judgement of God, had been completely deprived of the use and comfort of walking because of a long illness, so that he was unable to stand nor walk on his feet for a month, it somehow came to him that he should visit the church of the said saint for the sake of achieving his health. At length, having been carried to the aforesaid church, he remained there for a week crawling about, seeking his living every day from those coming in. On Sunday 22 February, having been carried to the tomb of the said saint and placed next to his tomb, he prayed there for a long time, and when he had prayed for some time, he suddenly fell asleep. Waking at about the time that the procession in the church was celebrated, he found that he was cured, and he stood on his feet and walked about the church, praising and glorifying God, who restored his health through the merits and influence of the said saint.

Wherefore we urge your devotion in the Lord, so that you should praise our Lord Jesus Christ in his glorious confessor, who is the glory and crown of all the saints.

Dated at Beverley on 22 February 1322

16. *MBM II*, pp. 32-3*About a miracle*

To all the sons of holy Mother church . . .

. . . Matilda of Settrington, the bearer, through the hidden judgement of God, had been completely deprived of the use and comfort of walking through a long illness such that she was unable to stand or walk for more than three months, that is to say she somehow wretchedly moved herself about from place to place on her hands. At length on the advice of some good men, she was carried to our aforesaid church in the hope of achieving her health at the tomb of the said saint, and having been detained in that church because of that illness, she remained there for about three weeks. On the Saturday before the day of William the confessor and bishop, at the hour of vespers, having been placed at the tomb of the said saint, she persisted for a long time in prayer and, when she had prayed some time, divine compassion restored complete health to her through the merits and influence, as it is believed, of the said saint. Everything reported had been proved to us sufficiently and legitimately, first by reputation, then by witnesses.

Wherefore we urge your devotion in the Lord etc. . .

Dated at Beverley on 12 June 1323.

17. *Historia Anglicana*, 1, 261-62

This miracle is dated 1343 by the editor of the *Chronicles*.

About a certain young man who was deprived of his mind in an extraordinary manner.

Once upon a time an amazing thing happened in the north, concerning a certain young man who was in the household of Sir J., Baron of Greystoke. When he was riding happy and joyful through a field planted with wheat, and was watching the wheat move to and fro in the manner of waves, he suddenly noticed a little red man raise his head from the wheat. He seemed to grow in size the more he watched him. Approaching, he seized his reins and, whether he wished to or not, led him into the wheat, to a place where, as it seemed to him, a very beautiful lady lived with many girls like her, who then ordered him to be taken off his horse, and his skin and flesh to be lacerated; and finally she ordered that he be flayed. Then the aforesaid lady, cutting his head through the middle, removed his brain, as he supposed, and closed up his empty head. When these things had been carried out, he was lifted onto his horse, and allowed to leave. Immediately, destitute and defenceless, he repeatedly did insane things. And when he

arrived at the next town, a certain girl, who was both from the household of his lord, and who loved him very much, came to him and made his cure her aim; and so that she should not be injured in looking after him, she had him bound with chains; she took him to many saints abroad in order to obtain his health, but when no progress was made there, she returned to England with him. However, that red and red-haired man who appeared to him previously, was not absent from him, but he was visible and present to him everywhere. And although he was bound with three or four chains, he was always in the habit of unbinding them. At last, at the church of St John of Beverley, after six years of his misery, he acquired complete sanity. Indeed, relaxed in a peaceful sleep, it seemed to him that a very beautiful lady again split open his head, and his brain, which had been removed by the previous lady, was restored to its place. Having been providently restored to perfect health, he married the aforesaid girl who had led him around, and fathered fifteen sons with her; when she died, he applied himself to holy orders, and became a priest, and was appointed to the church of Thorpe Basset. Furthermore, while he was celebrating the Mass with complete devotion, and had elevated the body of Christ in his hands, as is the custom, in order that the people should see, the aforesaid red man appeared, and said, - 'Now may he whom you hold in your hands be your guardian, surely He knows how to protect you better than I.'

APPENDIX 7

ADDITIONAL TEXTS

1. Transcription of fol. 28^r of the *Beverley Cartulary*

(Deficient at the beginning)

. . . sam suis humeris humiliter imponentes iuxta tanto patrono honorem debitum letanias canentes usque ad summum altare ecclesiæ quæ eiusdem fuerat devocionis baiularunt. Et in loco honestissimo dictam sub fideli custodia posuerunt capsulam sigillis suis tutissime signatam. Huius igitur confessoris sanctissimi iohannis translationem meritis eius digne poscentibus iustus deus miraculis atque virtutibus perornavit. Nam cæcis visum surdis auditum mutis loquelam claudis gressum paraliticis solidationem ceteris qui affuerunt infirmantibus curacionem tribuens sanctum suum translatione dignum et in suis precibus singulis et omnibus pro suis fuis peregrinis ostendit exauditum. Redeunt itaque alacres a sollempnitate præcipue translationis supradicti antistitis iohannis hillares sani et gaudentes ubi ad eam de quibuscumque partibus infirmi venerant debiles et dolentes. Sic luctus in plausum planctus in solatium. Stridor in organum et mæror in tripudium convertitur dum omne suspirium per iohannis meritum transfertur in gaudium.

Translation of fol. 28^r of the *Beverley Cartulary*

. . . humbly putting the casket on their shoulders, singing litanies as an honour which was due to so great a patron, they carried it all the way to the main altar of the church which was consecrated to him. And in that most honourable place they put the said casket, sealed up very securely with his seals under faithful protection. Therefore, since his merits worthily demanded it, the just God greatly honoured the translation of this most holy confessor, John, with marvels and miracles. By granting sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the mute, walking to the lame, solidity to paralytics, healing to other sick people who were present, he revealed his saint to be worthy of his translation, and to have been heard in his each and every prayer poured out on behalf of his pilgrims. Accordingly, the happy people returned from the solemn service of translation of the abovementioned Bishop John, cheerful, healthy and rejoicing, whereas they had come to him from various regions sick, crippled and grieving. In this manner lamenting [was changed] into cheering, mourning into consolation. Wailing was changed into harmony, and grief into jubilation, while every possible sigh was transformed into joy through John's worthiness.

2. Transcription of fols 28^{r-v} of the *Beverley Cartulary*

In quorum temporibus et a quibus gloriose translatus est.

De translatione gloriosi confessoris iohannis qualiter facta sint iam in genere prædictum est verum etiam restat aliquid in specie declarandum. Tempore translacionis sancti iohannis beverlaci præsulis memorati præfuit ecclesiæ eboraci alfricus archiepiscopus septimus decimus a iohanne qui anno tertio sui præsulatis romam ivit et a iohanne papa pallium accepit. Ipseque cum edsio dorobernensi archiepiscopo et ferme totius anglia præsulibus die sancto pasche edwardum in regem inunxit Wyntonie qui sanctus edwardus confessor dicitur et apud londoneas more regio sepelitur. Iste etiam alfricus archiepiscopus capsam auro et argento et lapidibus pretiosis ornatam opere incompabili apud beverlacam fabricari fecit et elevatum de sepulcro ligneo mirabili artificio insculpto pretiosum corpus gloriosi patris sancti iohannis archiepiscopi cum ingenti cleri plebisque exultacione multis additis reliquiis in eam honorifice collocavit. Sicque beati iohannis prædicti translatio veneranda trescentesimo sextodecimo depositionis suæ anno et dominice incarnationis millesimo tricessimo septimo octavo kalendas novembris tempore iohannis papæ et edwardi regis anglia per venerabilem patrem alfricum eboracensem archiepiscopum consenciente clero et populo sollempniter est peracta. Cuius corpus sacratissimum in ecclesia beverlaci cum debita reverentia a tumulo in chorum ad summum altare eiusdem ubi nunc recolitur disponente domino venerabiliter est translatum. In quo loco per eius merita gloriosa declarantur miracula plurima ad laudem dei et gloriam sancti sui. Nos ergo fratres karissimi translationem hodiernam sancti iohannis archiepiscopi eiusque sancta miracula celebri cum devotione debite recensentes suo interventu a malis omnibus protegamur et decurso præsentis vitæ stadio animente domino ad æterna cælorum gaudia transferamur.

Translation of fols 28^{r-v} of the *Beverley Cartulary*

In whose time, and by whom he was gloriously translated.

It has been told before, in a general way, how things were arranged concerning the translation of the glorious confessor, John, but also something remains to be declared specifically. At the time of the translation of St John, the abovementioned prelate of Beverley, Ælfric was in charge of the church of York, the seventeenth archbishop since John, who went to Rome in the third year of his episcopacy and received the pallium from Pope John. And he with Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury, and almost all the bishops of England, on Easter Sunday at Winchester anointed Edward as king, who is called St Edward the Confessor, and is buried at London according to royal custom. Also this same archbishop Ælfric had had made at Beverley a reliquary decorated with gold and silver and precious stones in a work beyond compare, and with the exultation of the many clergy and people, honourably placed in it, with many additional relics, the precious body of the glorious father St John, archbishop, elevated from the

wonderfully skilfully carved wooden tomb. And thus was the venerable translation of the aforesaid St John solemnly performed by the venerable father Ælfric, Archbishop of York with the approval of the clergy and people, in the three hundred and sixteenth year of his burial, on 25 October 1037 in the time of Pope John, and King Edward of the English. His most holy body was translated in the church of Beverley, with due reverence, from the grave to the high altar in the choir where now it is honoured reverently by the will of the Lord. In which place, through his glorious merits, very many miracles are revealed to the praise of God and glory of his saint. Therefore may we, most dear brothers, duly commemorating with solemn devotion today's translation of St John the bishop and his holy miracles, be protected from all evil through his intervention and, the length of the present life having run its course, may we be transported to the eternal delights of heaven by inspiration of the Lord.

3. Transcription of fols. 9^v-10^r of the *Beverley Cartulary*

This is interpolated between chapters 12 and 13 of the *Vita* in the *Beverley Cartulary* and the *Acta Sanctorum*.

¹Nec mirum si gratus apud Dominum² et homines hic electus Dei Joannes extiterit, utpote qui a magistro et doctore clarissimo et³ inter Theologos facundissimo sufficienter edoctus sit,⁴ Theodore scilicet Cantuariensi⁵ archiepiscopo, de quo Sanctus Beda refert in Ecclesiastica Anglorum Historia: Erat, inquit, tempore Ceddæ episcopi Romæ quidam monachus, nomine Theodorus, natus Tharsi⁶ in Cilicia, vir et seculari et⁷ divina literatura, Græce, et Latine, et Hebraice sufficienter instructus, probus moribus, et ætate venerandus, qui ordinatus a Vitaliano⁸ papa Britanniam missus est, et venit ad ecclesiam suam Cantuariæ, secundo postquam consecratus est anno. Hic etiam Theodorus in suam suscepit disciplinam quamplures de regione Britannica, inter quos quemdam habebat magnæ sanctitatis discipulum, nomine Joannem, quem postmodum vidimus archipræsulem metropolitice ecclesiæ B. Petri Eboracensis tempore Alfridi⁹ regis ordinatus, quem Dominus Jesus Christus tantum dilexit, ut ei in columbina specie Spiritum Sanctum divina celebranti transmiserit. Fuit autem Theodorus in archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi per annos viginti et unum, menses tres, dies viginti et sex, et sic migravit ad Christum. Joannes vero multos quoque diaconatus ordine et Presbyterii sanctificavit honore, de quorum collegio Sanctus extitit Beda, qui multa Apostolicæ fidei scripsit utilia. Ipse etiam Joannes habebat quemdam magnæ sanctitatis Diaconum, nomine Brithianum, quem in monasterio suo, quod Beverley dicitur, Abbatem sanctimonialis vitæ constituit. Idem vero

¹ The heading in B is, *De sancto Theodoro magistro sancti Johannis*.

² *Dominum*] *Deum*, B.

³ *et*] *om.*, B.

⁴ *edoctus sit*] *est edoctus*, B.

⁵ *Cantuariensi*] *Cantuariæ*, B.

⁶ *Tharsi*] *Tharso*, B.

⁷ *et*] *ex*, B.

⁸ *Vitaliano*] *Vithaliquo*, B.

⁹ *Alfridi*] *Ealfridi*, B.

Joannes episcopus omnes ad se venientes ad viam veritatis convertit, et pro grege sibi commissio et omni populo Christiano jugiter et sine intermissione oravit.¹⁰

Translation of fols. 9^v-10^r of the *Beverley Cartulary*

It is not surprising if this John, chosen of God, enjoyed the favour of the Lord and men, as one might expect of one who was sufficiently instructed by a very illustrious master and doctor, and the most eloquent of theologians, namely Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, about whom St Bede rendered an account in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*: There was, he said, in the time of Bishop Chad, a monk of Rome called Theodore, native of Tarsus in Cicilia, a man ably instructed in both secular and divine literature, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, of proven integrity, and advanced in age who, consecrated by Pope Vitalian, was sent to Britain and came to his church of Canterbury the year after he was consecrated. Also this Theodore received into his school very many people of the region of Britain, amongst whom he had one disciple of great holiness, by the name of John, whom afterwards we see consecrated as the archbishop of the metropolitan church of St Peter of York in the time of King Alfred,¹¹ whom the Lord Jesus Christ loved so much that he sent the Holy Spirit in the form of a sacred dove to him when he was celebrating divine service. Furthermore, Theodore was in the archiepiscopacy of Canterbury twenty-one years, three months, and twenty-six days, and then left to be with Christ.¹² Indeed John sanctified many with the order of deacon and the honour of priesthood, from amongst whom was St Bede, who wrote many things useful to the apostolic faith. John himself also had a deacon of great holiness named Berthun, whom he established in his monastery, which is called Beverley, an abbot of holy life. This bishop, John, converted everyone who came to him to the way of truth, and he prayed for the flock entrusted to him and all Christians continually and without end.

¹⁰ *Fuit autem Theodorus . . . oravit*] om. B.

¹¹ This refers to King Aldfrith, not King Alfred the Great.

¹² i.e. died.

4. KING ATHELSTAN'S CHARTER¹³

- This know all men, whoever they be,
 Who hear and see this charter,
 That I, Athelstan the king,
 Have granted and given to St John
 5 Of Beverley – so I say to you -
 Toll and team, that know now ye,
 That is given into is (St John's) hand
 In every king's day.
 10 Be it wholly free, for ever and aye,
 Be it in frankalmoign, be all free,
 As regards every man and even as regards myself;
 Thus I decree, by Him that made me!
 Except as regards one archbishop
 15 And as regards the seven minster-priests
 That serve God where St John rests.
 This give I to God and St John
 Here, before you every one,
 All my daintiest corn, every bit of it,
 20 To uphold his minster well,
 Yea! four thraves, by the King of heaven,
 From every plough in the East Riding.
 If it so betide, or so happens
 That any man takes (part) here-against,
 25 Be he baron or be he earl,
 Clerk or priest, parson or churl,
 (Unless the same be wholly a stranger) -
 I desire to announce that he must come.
 So know ye well, before and beforehand,
 30 To St John's minster-door;
 And there I desire – so Christ advise me -
 That he makes amends for his misdeed;
 Or he shall be cursed, son anon,
 By all that serve St John
 35 If it so betide, and so is,
 That the man is excommunicate,
 I tell you, beyond forty days,
 Let such then be St John's laws,
 That the chapter of Beverley
 40 Unto the sheriff of York
 Must send their writ, soon anon,
 That this excommunicate man be taken;
 That this excommunicate man be taken;
 The sheriff then, so I tell thee,
 Without any writ from me,
 45 Shall arrest him – so Christ advise me!
 And lead him into my prison,
 And keep him, that is my will,
 If men propose new laws
 50 In any other king's days,
 If they be good, let them be observed,
 (And) administered by those of the minster.
 The amercement for the misdeed
 I give to St. John, so Christ advise me!
 55 If one be summoned regarding limbs or life,
 Or (if) men claim land in opposition
 Against my decree, by a writ of right,
 I desire that St John have the authority
 That no one shall fight for it in the field
 60 Either with staff, or with shield;
 But I desire that twelve men shall decide it;
 So shall it be – so may I bear the bell!
 And as for him that may refuse for him to do
 [so,
 Away from men let him be for every and aye
 65 (Just) as if he were overcome in the field,
 Let his confession of defeat be taken.
 This grant I to God and St John
 Here before you, every one;
 If one be found slain, or drowned,
 70 Or dead within St John's precinct,
 Let his own men, without deceit,
 His own bailiffs, namely, hold the view of
 [him);
 Let no other coroner have the power.
 So much freedom I give thee
 75 As heart may think of or eye may see.
 Thus have I thought and provided for.
 I desire that there [may] every be
 A congregation and minster life
 Lasting here, without strife.
 80 God help all those same men
 That give their help to the town. Amen.

¹³ This translation is taken from *MBM* II, 280-87. See also J. R. Witty, 'The Rhyming Charter of Beverley', *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, 22 (1921), 36-44 for a discussion of the vocabulary. See especially pp. 40-41.

APPENDIX 8: Documents relating to Saint-Jean Brévelay

de Souffigne, Curé de St-Jean Brévelay, diocèse
 de Nantes, certifie à qui il appartiendra que le
 vingt quatre janvier mil Sept cent quatre
 vingt-trois, époque à laquelle led. révé-
 rend franciscain étoient généralement
 toutes nos églises; voulant empêcher
 une profanation inévitable dans ces cir-
 constances malheureuses, vu d'ailleurs
 l'impossibilité où s'étoit de Recourir
 alors aux ^{moyens rigoureux} ~~vogues~~ prescrits en pareils
 cas, j'ai ordonné un chef-emergent qui ren-
 fermeroit ded. of. de la Reverend. comme
 Reliques de St-Jean Brévelay, patron de
 la paroisse sus-mentionnée, en présence
 de Julien Legalliard, Laboureur, demeurant au
 village de St-Luc, prêtre paroisse, de Jean Pierre
 Giguello et Jeanne oulle sa femme, ainsi la bou-
 reurs, d'interdire ensemble au village de St-Go-
 nne en cette même paroisse, et y Trouver
 un Crâne avec quelques os que se reconnus
 parfaitement être les mêmes Reliques
 que s'il est exposé en la paroisse ci-dessus
 à la vénération des fidèles. Troisième
 quelles Reliques renfermées en trois

Large de sept pouces huit lignes,
Longue d'un pied sept pouces huit lignes,
garnie en satin d'un fond blanc avec des
Dés de divers Couleurs et bordée
d'un galon fauve or.

après avoir procédé à la Bénédiction
de l'eau et d'autre en la manière pres-
crite, en présence de Julien marie mar-
tan, Recteur d'Esclandren, de plusieurs
maréchaux, Curé de la même paroisse,
de Jacques Laroche, prêtre de Bignan,
de Jérôme Guillo, ancien prêtre des dits
Julien Legalland, Jean pierre Giquello,
et d'autres oislo, tous de l'évêché de
Tanner, et spécialement convoqués
à cet effet par le Recteur d'Esclandren.

La Bénédiction qui orne la précitée
Capote est de trois Requiens

Sus mentionnés avec une nouvelle
étiquette en tout semblable à l'ancienne
au lieu de ces autres de consistance:

médailles divers formes d'antiques devant
du quarre de bois qui seroit de base au
chef Sus mentionné, portoit en toutes
lettres Sus d'un étiquette ancienne,
mais alors fort usée à lire, cette
inscription: St. Jean Beverley. fide
clara ex outre quel Requiens con-
tenus au chef en question étoient, à
ma connaissance, intacts à l'époque
Sus dite du vingt quatre Janvier mil
sept cent quatre vingt deux, et abso-
lument telles qu'on les exposoit à la
vénération des fidèles depuis un temps
immémorial.

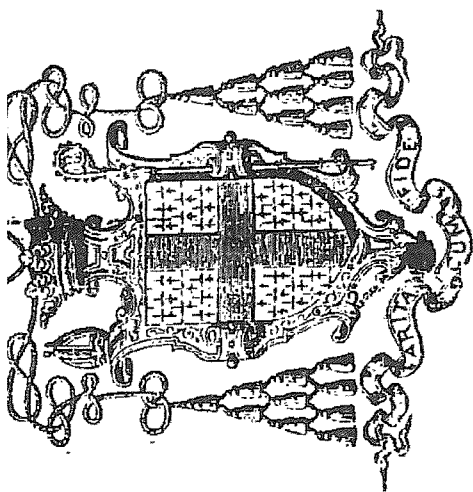
ayant eu le bonheur de conserver jusqu'à
aujourd'hui ces Requiens précieux à l'abri de
toute espèce d'irrévérence dans une

Boîte propre, destinée à cet usage, par
fait faire une Capote en argent.

Longue d'un pied, neuf pouces, six
lignes, et Large de huit pouces, cinq
lignes. plus une Boîte en carton,

rablés à l'abri de toute indiscretion.
 cette formalité Remplies j'ai R en
 fermé dans l'intérieur de la cassette
 en question, la sus-dite Boîte,
 ainsi scellée avec un double du
 présent, dûment Signé pour servir
 en tant que Besoin. en foi de
 tout ce que dessus ont Signé avec
 moi les dits Julien-Marie marzan,
 nicolas marq D'eano, Jacques
 Largoët, Jérôme Guillo, Guillem
 Galliard, Jean-pierre Giquello, Jeanne
 villo ayant déclaré ne s'associer
 Signes, de ce interpellé fait double
 à St Jean-Brevelay, le 20^{me} Aoust
 l'An 2^{me} de l'Émancipation
 18^{me} Aoust. interligne, deux mots, moyennant
 rigoureusement. approuvé, nature deux
 mots, rigoureux, et deux, rayés nuls.
 St. Laroque et de signaux.

après quoi j'ai Reçue en présence
 des témoins précédemment dénommés
 les deux saignées qui ferment la sus-dite
 médaille. ensuite j'ai Déposé dans
 la dite Boîte devant les personnes
 dénommées plus haut le Reste des
 offrandes ci-dessus entre-mêlées de
 Coton et Revêtues de nouvelles
 étiquettes portant ces mots, St.
 Jean Brevelay, en Remplacement
 de St. André ancienement, dont deux
 deus sont encore les dits, mais
 presque entièrement pourvus par
 suite de l'humidité qu'ils ont
 contractée. puis j'ai scellé en
 présence des mêmes témoins
 la dite Boîte d'un Cachet en
 Cire Rouge portant pour en-
 reinte les lettres majuscules, S.
 J. pour motte ces Restes venant



JOANNES-MARIA BÉCEL

MISERATIONE DIVINA ET SANCTE SEDIS APOSTOLICE GRATIA EPISCOPUS VENETENSIS,

Universis et singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis fidem facimus et testamur Nos, ad majorem Dei gloriam, suorumque Sanctorum venerationem recognovisse sacra particulari et assiduo Sancti Joannis De Beverley Episcopi et Confessoris.

quas ex authenticis locis extractas reverenter collocavimus in theca lignea decorata, ad instar templi efformata, tabulis crystallis munita, bene clausa, et funiculo viridi — colligata, ac sigillo nostro signata.

Prædictas insuper reliquias publicæ fidei venerationi in diocesi nostrâ exponi per-mittimus.

Datum Venetiis, sub signo sigilloque nostris ac Secretarii nostri subscriptione, anno Domini millesimo octingentesimo sexagesimo octavo die vero mensis Septembris 18-

+ Joannes - Maria

Episcopus Venet.

De mandato Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi
D. D. Episcopi Venetensis,

M. M. B. B. B.

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