

*Christopher Hamilton*

# St Cuthbert's Deathbed Speech:

## Why Did Bede Write a Second Prose Life?

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### **Introduction**

Two Germanic tribes, the Angles and the Saxons, invaded England beginning in the 5th century. The Angles came from the Denmark peninsula, and the Saxons came from northern Germany. By the seventh century, the Angles and Saxons had successfully settled, and were ruling most of England.

The region of Northumbria in the seventh century spanned, approximately, what is now Scotland and the most northern parts of England. St Cuthbert was himself an Anglo-Saxon, and Northumbria was his stomping-grounds.

Northumbria in the seventh century is a fascinating period to study. We have a lot of primary sources from this time period, and it was a time of tremendous change and tremendous cultural output—due, largely, to the Christianization of these tribes. In fact, during the time of Cuthbert, many of the people were still pagan—or pagans who had recently been forced to convert to Christianity. His hagiographies show Cuthbert baptizing, preaching, and sometimes rebuking pagans. In one story, a group of pagans began to jeer at a group of monks, who, through some misfortune, were helplessly being taken out to sea on rafts. Cuthbert rebukes them saying, "Do you realize what you are doing? Would it not be more human of you pray for their safety rather than to gloat over their misfortune?" The group of pagans replied, "Nobody is going to pray for them. Let not God raise a finger to help them! They have done away with all the old ways of worship and now nobody knows what to do."<sup>1</sup>

Christianity first came to England, and then Northumbria, from continental Christians sent by Pope Gregory the Great in 596 AD.<sup>2</sup> The second—and more permanent—wave of Christianity came from the Irish, when King Oswald of Northumbria asked Bishop Aidan of Iona to teach his people their new religion. In 635 AD, Aidan set up his see at Lindisfarne, an island on the east coast of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> In his *Historica Ecclesiastica*, Bede tells us that the monastery at Iona "was for a long time the principal monastery of nearly all the northern Irish and all the Picts and exercised a widespread authority."<sup>4</sup>

By the mid-seventh century, the Irish had already been Christians for a long time—since St Patrick's missionary efforts in the fifth century. Consequently, the Irish had developed their

own cultural expressions of Christianity, and Irish missionaries brought these cultural expressions with them to Northumbria and Gaul. Many of these traditions were venerated outside of Ireland, while others became problematic, and required help from Rome, which inspired the Synod of Whitby in 664 AD to address contentious issues surrounding the dating of Easter and tonsure. The dating of Easter was fundamentally an issue of Christian unity, and the disagreement engendered discord between Christians. Jesus, the Apostles, and—as we will see—St Cuthbert all continually decry discord and demand unity. However, the fallout of the Synod of Whitby did not end quickly. In fact, it continued beyond Cuthbert's lifetime, and was a central concern for his hagiographers.

St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne's outstanding holy life inspired four hagiographical accounts of his life and miracles to be written within just fifty years of his death. I will begin by introducing the four different hagiographical accounts.

## The Four Lives of St Cuthbert

We do not know the author of the first hagiography. This anonymous account of the "Life of St Cuthbert" was composed either by "the brethren of the Church of Lindisfarne," as Bede says, or by an individual monk of Lindisfarne, as literary considerations suggest.<sup>5</sup> It is, of course, possible for an individual monk to have composed the work and for everyone at the time to have attributed the work to the entire brethren. In this case our individual monk would merely be representing the brethren, and would have the stories of miracles from first-hand witnesses. Thus, it would have been appropriate for Bede to attribute the work to entire brethren. For the purposes of this essay, however, it will be sufficient to assume one author.

The Anonymous finished the prose Life somewhere between 699 AD and 705 AD. These dates are given for the following reasons: Book IV, chapter 14 of the Anonymous relays the famous story of how, after eleven years in the grave, Cuthbert's body was found uncorrupt—it looked and felt the same as a living man. Cuthbert died in 687, which would place the finding of the incorrupt body in 698 AD, and which would place the earliest date for the composition of the Anonymous' prose Life at 699 AD. In Book II, I chapter six, moreover, the Anonymous tells us that as he was writing, Aldfrith was "reigning peacefully" on the throne of Northumbria. Aldfrith died in 705, thus making 705 AD the latest date of composition.<sup>6</sup> Only seven manuscripts have survived the last 1,300 years. What is fascinating about these seven manuscripts, however, is that they were all found on the continent, not in England; moreover, "it is almost certain that every one was *written on the continent*."<sup>7</sup>

The Anonymous articulates an impressive writing process. He cites his sources carefully. He has eyewitness accounts. For example, he cites the priest Tydi, who was still alive and who witnessed and testified about various miracles.<sup>8</sup> The Anonymous also names public, trustworthy individuals who learnt the story "from St Cuthbert's own lips"<sup>9</sup>—for example, Bishop Tamma, or Elias, a priest from Lindisfarne. The Anonymous also reveals that he made use of an overwhelming amount of sacred material at his disposal—and by "sacred material," he most likely meant continental hagiographies or relics.<sup>10</sup> Last, he assured his readers, "I have written [only] what has been received on *good authority* and *tested*."<sup>11</sup> Evidently, the Anonymous did not think his readers were credulous—certain evidences were required.

The remaining three Lives were composed by Bede. He wrote from his monastery at Jarrow, and made good use of its extensive library. The library of Wearmouth and Jarrow was famous due to the proactive work of their abbots to obtain literature from Rome. "The large and noble library, which [abbot Benedict] had brought from Rome, and which was necessary for the

edification of his church, he commanded to be kept entire, and neither by neglect to be injured or dispersed."<sup>12</sup> Thus, in the libraries of Jarrow, Bede was able to work under the tutelage of such distinguished thinkers as Pope Gregory the Great, St Benedict, St Augustine of Hippo, and St Antony of Egypt.

The second Life was likely written just a few years after Anonymous' prose Life. It was neither a supplementary nor a redundant work—this Life was in *metrical* form. According to Michael Lapidge, in his article, "Bede's Metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*", Bede completed his first rendition of the Metrical Life (the manuscript known as Besancon 186) by 705 or shortly afterwards. Lapidge goes on to postulate that the "vulgate" Metrical Life—the revised and finished product, the work that was widely circulated—was completed sometime in the second decade of the eighth century.<sup>13</sup>

Next, Bede probably completed his *prose* Life in 721 AD, but the dating is not certain. As Colgrave notes, Bede tells us in another work, *De temporum ratione*, that he finished the prose Life "some years ago," and we know definitively that *De temporum ratione* was finished in 725 AD. Thus, it seems probable that the phrase, "some years ago", would place the date of the final product *near* 725 AD. The work is dedicated to Bishop Eadfrith, who, therefore, must have still been alive at the time of its first presentation; but Bishop Eadfrith died in 721 AD, which fixes the earliest date in which it was completed. Consequently, Bede's prose Life is placed flexibly at 721 AD.

The last account is a miniature hagiography within the larger work *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The *H.E.* is undoubtedly the most important primary source for modern historians concerned with Anglo-Saxon England. It was completed just four years before Bede died, and it displays a literary master at the pinnacle of his craft. This miniature hagiography within *H.E.* has not been recognized as such. Rather, scholars writing on Cuthbert seem only to consider hagiographies those works entitled *Vita*. This is a mistake. In the fourth book of *H.E.*, Bede leaves his main project—giving a historical account of the Church in England—and writes a six-chapter account of Cuthbert's Life, death, and miracles—the fundamental criteria for a hagiography.

## Framing the Question

The way in which we ask the question limits and focuses the possible answers. For example, why did Bede write a second prose *Vita*? In other words, why did Bede write *another* prose *Vita*—a prose *Vita* already existed that was, seemingly, perfectly adequate and well-accepted. Framing the question in this way focuses us on Bede's *motives*. Our task could also be approached by asking, "What changed at the monastery of Lindisfarne such that another account was needed." Framing our inquiry this way places the concerns of the Christian *community* in Northumbria in the foreground.

It is surprising how little attention these questions have received. Bertram Colgrave published a book in 1969 entitled "Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert," wherein he places the Anonymous prose Life and Bede's prose Life side-by-side, and yet Colgrave never addresses the question explicitly of the causal relationship—or the lack thereof—between the two.

In this paper, I explore the complex and unresolved question of why Bede wrote a second prose account so soon after the Anonymous penned the first. I am going to present three answers to this largely uninvestigated question. The first two will come from the prevailing scholarship, while the last will present my own view.

## The Case of Walter Berschin

*St Cuthbert: His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, published in 1989, is a comprehensive study devoted to Cuthbert from a wide-range of disciplines. It is, to this day, the best work of its kind on the subject. Even so, only one article, of thirty-one, explicitly addresses the question of why a second prose Life was written. This is an article by Walter Berschin entitled, "*Opus deliberatum ac perfectum: Why Did the Venerable Bede Write a Second Prose Life of St Cuthbert?*"<sup>14</sup> It will be helpful to state up-front that Berschin approaches this question from a background in literature, and this will inform his interpretation.

According to Berschin, Bede looked at the Anonymous' prose Life and his own metric Life as a unity, a composite whole; the first part being a prose "Life" composed of four books—the standard structure for a Christian hagiography on the Continent—and the second part being a metrical "Life" composed of one book with forty-six books. Berschin, then, argues that the main reason Bede wrote a second prose Life was because the first prose Life—written by the Anonymous—*was not structurally symmetrical* to Bede's metric Life. He explains that once Bede wrote a metrical Life, he was *compelled* to write a parallel prose Life:

"After the first step the second had to be taken. The *Life* of the Anonymous monk of Lindisfarne and the *Vita metrica* of Bede did not match. The concept which Bede developed in the *Vita metrica* of a holy man as a perfect temple of God demanded a corresponding *opus deliberatum ac perfectum* in prose. That is not the only, but I think the main, reason why the Venerable Bede wrote a second prose Life of St Cuthbert."<sup>15</sup>

Berschin provides further evidence for his thesis. A large portion of his article is based on an impressive argument connecting St Augustine of Hippo's fascination with the number, forty-six, to the number of chapters in both Bede's *metrica* and *prose vita*, and concludes that Bede deliberately planned his "Lives" to have forty-six chapters. According to Berschin, Augustine explains the importance of the number forty-six in at least three works: *In Iohan*, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, and *De trinitate*. According to Berschin, it seems very likely that Bede received this idea from Augustine. Bede champions the importance of the number in one of his homilies, in his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah, and he even describes the number, in one place, using the exact words Augustine uses.<sup>16</sup> That Bede received this idea from Augustine seems even more probable if we remember that Bede is writing from the monastery of Monksworth and Jarrow, whose voluminous library would very plausibly have many of St Augustine's writings.

Berschin gets the title of his article from Bede himself. In his preface to the prose Life, Bede explains how, when the work was finished and approved by the elders, teachers, and bishop, many more miracles were brought to light "which well deserved to be mentioned if it had not seemed scarcely fitting and proper to insert new matter or add to *a work which was planned and complete*."<sup>17</sup> Bede is apparently compelled by the asymmetry to compose a second prose Life that could sit side-by-side with the metrical Life. Therefore, according to Berschin, "Bede considers his bipartite Life an *opus deliberatum ac perfectum*."<sup>18</sup> This would explain why Bede did not add any of the miracles that were brought to light after his Life was completed. "Any supplementary chapter would have disturbed the balance between metrical and prose lives."<sup>19</sup>

However, I do not find Berschin's larger argument satisfying. When Bede speaks of 'a planned and complete work,' couldn't this be another way of saying, "I do not want to revise, I do not want the trouble of investigating into new miracles, tracking down witnesses, and then have to re-present the new completed work before the bishops, teachers, the community of Lindisfarne, and other monks important to the project"?

Moreover, Berschin does not provide evidence for why we should think that when Bede speaks of 'the planned and complete work,' Bede is speaking about a bipartite composite whole, rather than just the one work he is presenting. More importantly, his larger argument about structural asymmetry *depends* upon Bede understanding the Anonymous' prose Life and metrical Life as a composite whole.<sup>20</sup> If Bede did not see these Lives as a composite whole, then Bede would not have seen an asymmetry. It does seem likely that Bede ended up structuring his prose Life to have forty-six chapters (1) because of the significance of the number, and (2) because of his desire to "achieve a parallelism between the metrical Life and [his own] prose Life. Since the metrical Life had forty-six chapters, the prose Life should not have forty-seven or fifty."<sup>21</sup> This seems correct—it would be hard to imagine that Bede wrote both metrical and prose Lives with forty-six chapters by accident. However, Berschin does not clearly distinguish this obviously true structural analysis with the crucial point mentioned above—that Bede needs to view the Anonymous Life and the metrical Life as a composite. Berschin conflates these two different claims. It is a very different thing to say Bede structured the prose Life like the metrical Life, and Bede's primary *motivation* for writing another prose Life was a structural asymmetry that he recognized after he completed the metrical Life. Furthermore, while it is possible that Bede planned from the start to make a twin composition, it would be far-fetched to say that was the *reason* he wrote a prose Life.

In addition, it is difficult imagining that Bede spent years composing a hagiography about a saint—a saint whom Bede very likely thought was the most important saint for his people—primarily because the first prose Life did not structurally match the metrical. This is related to another aspect I find problematic: Berschin's argument seems "to boil down" to a supposition about Bede's psychology, wherein Bede has a slightly obsessive compulsive idiosyncrasy that compels him to make symmetrical the "Lives of St Cuthbert."

Last, I would also like to suggest that there are some limitations to Berschin's approach in answering this question. Berschin expresses the typical concerns for scholars of the *history of literature*.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, throughout the article, he demonstrates a primary concern for the structural, linguistic, and cultural influences exhibited in the "Lives of St Cuthbert." For example, Berschin provides a defense of the structural importance of the Anonymous Life being composed of four books,<sup>23</sup> and discusses the "motifs of Mediterranean origin,"<sup>24</sup> and explains Bede's stylistic superiority in comparison with the Anonymous.<sup>25</sup> However, while literary methodology is helpful for interpreting certain types of material, and for answering certain kinds of questions, it cannot answer our question. One reason for this might be that the concerns of the intended audience (as well as the authors themselves) are quite different from the concerns of scholars for the history of literature. It is more likely that the answer to our inquiry lies within the concerns of seventh- and eighth-century Northumbrians. One such concern of theirs was the theo-political changes occurring at the monastery at Lindisfarne as alluded to by Bede and others. Thus, it would have been more beneficial if Berschin focused on providing a defense for claims such as, "the Venerable Bede tried to replace the first prose Life by the anonymous monk of Lindisfarne."<sup>26</sup> If literary considerations have not been able to answer the question of why

Bede wrote a second prose Life, then what kind of considerations will? The second answer provided by scholars suggests theo-political considerations.

## The Irish Reformation

This theo-political answer is what I call "The Irish Reformation." However, the larger issue is a serious misunderstanding of St Cuthbert's theology, politics, class-relations, personality, etc. all resulting from either the Irish Reformation's interpretation of Northumbrian Christianity, or a disinterest in Christianity more generally.

The Irish Reformation is the idea that Irish Christianity was, from the beginning, theologically distinct and dissident from Roman Christianity. It is not the case that scholars actually think there was a small reformation happening, but rather the language of "Irish Reformation" is meant to draw a caricature of how scholars speak about the traditions of the Irish as akin to the traditions that came out of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>27</sup> In the modern liberal university, the "bourgeois narrative" has a virulent Protestant bias. While what I will propose in "St Cuthbert's Deathbed Speech" below is an interpretation of what might be happening theologically in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria, the Irish Reformation represents the narrative underlying some of the existing solutions for why Bede wrote a second prose Life.

One such illustration is found in Alan Thacker's article, "Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert," where he postures Iona against Lindisfarne, Columba against Cuthbert, and ultimately the Irish against an increasingly Romanized Northumbria. He does this by a thorough literary examination of the Adomnan's *Life of Columba* and the Anonymous' *Life of St Cuthbert*—by comparing the structures and influences, showing in which ways the two *Lives* are similar, and ways in which they are different. He says, "it cannot be denied that there are important differences between the works of Adomnan and the Anonymous, in addition to the absence of tomb miracles already noted. Reference to pastoral activity and healing prominent in the Lindisfarne *Life* where they are heavily influenced by the Martinian prototype, are noticeably absent from the *Life of Columba*."<sup>28</sup> Thacker suggests the monks of Lindisfarne—under the pen of the Anonymous—deliberately diverged from Irish hagiographical tradition in important respects in favor of a hagiographical style which began with St Martin. Clare Stancliffe too postures Iona against Lindisfarne when she suggests that Lindisfarne may have promoted the cult of Cuthbert in conscious rivalry the cult of Columba.<sup>29</sup>

The Irish *did* have a developed hagiographical tradition that is in some ways distinguishable from Anglo-Saxon or Mediterranean hagiographical styles. The problem is when this observation is used as additional evidence for a theological point that has already been assumed—i.e. that the Irish are theological dissidents from Rome. But the fact that there are distinct cultural ways of writing—different hagiographical traditions—does *not* mean that there are distinct theological convictions. It is also worth pointing out a logical error in this argument, namely, the logical fallacy of "begging-the-question." It is begging-the-question to conclude the Irish are theologically distinct from Rome because of evidence A, B, and C, when this conclusion is assumed even before the evidence is brought forward.

The last example of how the Irish Reformation narrative has led to a misunderstanding of Cuthbert theologically and politically is found in Clare Stancliffe's article, "Cuthbert: Pastor and Solitary." Here, Stancliffe seeks to show which parties influenced the Anonymous and Bede in their depiction of Cuthbert as both pastor and solitary. She speaks of the political and hagiographical influence Iona had in Lindisfarne, and the conflict coming from Rome's triumph in the Synod of Whitby. The Irish Reformation narrative sets up a specific way of reading the

times. Cuthbert is an exemplar eremitic monk, and is also one who submits to the ruling of the Synod of Whitby. Consequently, Cuthbert is seen as the ideal saint who can bridge the gap between Irish and Roman Christianity. However, all we have said is that Cuthbert is an exemplar eremite and obedient to authority. The Irish Reformation narrative assumes that these two qualities of St Cuthbert represent two different theological traditions. As a result, the assumption is that Anonymous' prose Life of St Cuthbert was insufficient because it was either too Irish, or not a sufficient advertisement for Roman sovereignty; and thus Bede, who is Roman Catholic, would compose another prose Life to propagate Roman policy. Thus, as Clare Stancliffe states, "[In Bede] Cuthbert was being portrayed as the product of Celtic and Roman traditions; the groundwork was laid for the role of Cuthbert as *unifier*."<sup>30</sup> When I present my view below, I will address a very different interpretation of what the early Christians mean—and therefore what Cuthbert and Bede mean—when they speak of "unity".

As stated above, the Irish Reformation represents the larger issue, namely, a misunderstanding of Northumbrian Christianity, or a disinterest in Christianity more generally. The following section is a case in which modern values misguide the interpretation of St Cuthbert. Thacker demonstrates this very thing when he not only places Columba against Cuthbert, but also places an economic-class designation on both of them to fit the narrative. He says, "Columba was linked to his branch of the Ui Neill with the same close, almost magical bonds that tied Cuthbert to the house of Ecgrith."<sup>31</sup>

## **Power Dynamics and Class-Strife in *The Lives***

A number of scholars have written on the influence of power dynamics after Cuthbert's death in the success of his cult. The logic of this opinion goes like this: St Cuthbert had a tremendous cult following that lasted over 500 years after his death, and the incredible success of the cult probably was possible because of the campaigns of the local elite—those with money and power. Alan Thacker says, "To achieve those heights a saint needed considerable promotion, the active manipulation of those who had something to give."<sup>32</sup> The most significant promotions and manipulations, according to this narrative, were provided by the aristocracy—during his lifetime, and extending afterwards—the church hierarchy, and, of course, by Bede's "Lives." This is clearly articulated by James Campbell:

"If one asks why it was that the cult of Cuthbert far exceeded, indeed swamped, that of Aidan, Bede's stress on how far Aidan sought to limit his social relationships with kings and noble, may provide us with a clue. Aidan was a foreigner, and difficult; Cuthbert a fellow countryman, perhaps congenial. It was not just royal abbesses whom Cuthbert visited: his *vitae* find him also in the houses of two *comites* and a *prefectus*. We may suppose that when he was not in his monastery (perhaps to an extent when he was) his time was spent with the Northumbrian nobility."<sup>33</sup>

According to Campbell, the difference between a holy-man with a successful cult and a holy-man without a cult is class-relations. Cuthbert had social relations with kings and nobles, while Aidan never gave special attention to them.<sup>34</sup>

I disagree with this interpretation. Thacker and Campbell exhibit a pre-occupation with class, a slightly anachronistic habit inherited from neo-liberal economic language, and, in particular, critiques of stratified economic class inaugurated by Marx. In contrast to Campbell's

depiction of the eight-century monastery as a kind of "noblemen's club," where the monastery is not a community of *ora et labore*, but a community of Germanic self-indulgence with feasting and drinking, Bede thinks highly of monastic communities. He does not allude to Lindisfarne as being aristocratic, lazy, or decadent; rather Bede tells us Cuthbert's motivation for going to the community at Lindisfarne was that they were "well adorned with holy monks, under whose example and teaching he might make good progress."<sup>35</sup> Bede also speaks highly of the first community Cuthbert lived with—the community at Melrose. Cuthbert considered staying at Melrose because their "sublime virtue," especially that of Boisil.<sup>36</sup> If the monastery of Lindisfarne was aristocratic and lazy, then it would be much more likely that Bede would have just been silent about it rather than telling an outright lie.

In addition to a pre-occupation with class, Campbell, in the quotation above, perpetuates a common reading of Cuthbert's personality, which seems to suggest that Cuthbert was friendly and well liked, especially among the local elites, to whom he often visited. However, this not what Bede says. In Cuthbert's deathbed speech, Cuthbert says of himself, "I know that, although I seemed contemptible to some while I lived..."<sup>37</sup> Moreover, upon my reading of the Lives, St Cuthbert does not seem to spend an inordinate amount of time with or give special treatment to the nobility. On the contrary, Cuthbert is portrayed as giving precedent to the poor. Both Bede and the Anonymous mention that Cuthbert would be gone for sometimes two to three weeks preaching to those in extreme poverty in the mountains.<sup>38</sup> Never is Cuthbert mentioned spending a comparable amount of time with the nobility. In fact, Cuthbert is not mentioned spending any significant amount of time with the nobility.

This interpretation of Cuthbert's personality was similar to one shared by Bertram Colgrave many years earlier. In the introduction to the *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, Colgrave describes Cuthbert as humble and mild in character.<sup>39</sup> I disagree with his interpretation of Cuthbert's personality. In *The Lives*, Cuthbert is a preacher, a miracle worker, and a spiritual warrior. Bede makes use of the language of war to depict Cuthbert. When Cuthbert was training to become a full-hermit on Farne Island, he "fought [in the outer precincts of the monastery] in solitude for sometime [sic] with the invisible enemy, by prayer and fasting, he sought a place of combat farther and more remote from mankind."<sup>40</sup> Bede tells us that before Cuthbert, no one could dwell on Farne Island because of demons that dwelt there. "But when the soldier of Christ entered, armed...the wicked foe himself was driven far away together with the whole crowd of his satellite."<sup>41</sup> Even if we allow for some rhetorical exaggeration from Bede—who after all *is* writing to the still very Germanic Anglo-Saxons, whose economy is war-based, and whose heroes are great warriors—we still get a strong picture of Cuthbert's personality. In a different story, Cuthbert himself tells stories to young monks saying, "How many times...have [demons] cast me down headlong from a high rock; how many times have they hurled stones at me as if to kill me!...and attempted to drive me from this place of combat."<sup>42</sup> This is not a meek depiction of St Cuthbert. It is possible that Cuthbert's eager obedience makes him sound servile in the ears of modern thinkers, but the Northumbrians would not have seen it that way. Today's culture teaches us to think of obedience as irrational and servile, but for the Northumbrians, obedience was part of religion, and serious consequences came from disobeying God—or, if you were pagan, the gods. Great warriors and kings are not considered weak for having God/gods as an authority over themselves.

More importantly, in order to uphold the Irish Reformation narrative, it was necessary to see Cuthbert's personality in this light. This is evident in Colgrave's re-interpretation of St Cuthbert's deathbed speech. Colgrave says, "Bede in his Prose Life puts into the mouth of the



dying saint prophetic words which, though they seem peculiarly out of place on the lips of the humble-minded Cuthbert, were nevertheless destined to come true: 'For I know that, although I seemed contemptible to some while I lived, yet, after my death, you will see more clearly what I was and how my teaching is not to be despised'.<sup>43</sup> What is Colgrave's evidence for such a claim? Colgrave implies Bede re-wrote Herefrith's deathbed speech, and his evidence is Cuthbert's meek and mild personality, who would never say anything so intense and dogmatic—only Bede is *that* dogmatic. I have already stated why I think Colgrave's interpretation of Cuthbert's personality is wrong. When I present my own view below, I will go into greater detail into why I think the dogmatic words recorded by Herefrith as Cuthbert's dying admonishments to be genuinely his.

## St Cuthbert's Deathbed Speech: The Synod of Whitby

The theo-political confusion displayed in the Irish Reformation narrative is, in a sense, quite understandable given the language of "the traditions of the Irish" in *H.E.* However, Bede speaks of the traditions of the Irish as subordinate to the authority of Rome—as displayed at the Synod of Whitby in 664 AD. There are two ways of interpreting the language of "the traditions of the Irish": first, we can view the traditions of the Irish as modern Protestants, or we can view the traditions of the Irish—like almost all things at that time—under the authority of Rome.

It is my contention that the phrase, "traditions of the Irish," does not mean the Irish were theologically distinct from Rome; rather, the traditions were the sacred instructions passed down through the generations from those who first taught the Irish Christianity. Bishop Colman, explaining "his rite and its origin" says, "The Easter customs which I observe were taught me by my superiors, who sent me here as a bishop; and all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have observed these customs," and "it is recorded that they owe their origin to the blessed evangelist Saint John, the disciple especially loved by our Lord, and all the churches over which he presided."<sup>44</sup> There are two important things to point out here: first, we must be mindful of ancient Bardic law and the deep-rooted sensitivity to the knowledge that is passed on by tradition. Second, Bishop Colman is fundamentally appealing to *the catholicity of their tradition*, not their distinctiveness.<sup>45</sup> This is in contradistinction to the Irish Reformation narrative articulated by John T. McNeill in "The Celtic Churches Incorporated in the Western Hierarchical Church."<sup>46</sup> He says:

"It was inevitable that the strongly organized Roman system with its universal claims would sooner or later absorb the relatively uncoordinated, dispersedly directed Celtic communities. With every encounter there would naturally come a loss of autonomy for the Celtic party...By the time of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) little remained of the former Irish spontaneity and self-direction in continental lands...The abounding energy and apostolic impetuosity of an earlier day were no longer characteristic [of the Church in Ireland]. In terms of great leadership and bold endeavor we enter on a descending slope."<sup>47</sup>

If Bishop Colman is appealing to the catholicity of their tradition, then McNeill's analysis of the Synod of Whitby is wrong—and wrong in the way predicted by the Irish Reformation narrative. The purpose of the Synod of Whitby is not a theatrical display of dissent, rather its purpose is to hear all parties out and come to a consensus.

The two primary issues of contention were the dating of Easter and the monastic tonsure. The tonsure in Ireland had a long cultural heritage dating back to the druidic tonsure in their days of paganism. The catholic tonsure was Peter's tonsure, which imitated a crown of thorns. On the other hand, serious problems were arising because the Irish did not celebrate Easter on the same day as the rest of the world, as Wilfrid says, "Easter is observed by men of different nations and languages at one and the same time, in Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece and throughout the world wherever the Church of Christ has spread."<sup>48</sup> Celebrating Easter on different days was divisive within a kin-group. If part of the household was celebrating the Easter season with song, food, and general rejoicing, while another part of the household is still in the Lenten season with mourning, fasting, and general solemnity, then there would be a good deal of confusion and perhaps, eventually, resentment. This is clearly seen when Bede says, "The confusion in those days was such that Easter was sometimes kept twice in one year, so that when the King had ended Lent and was keeping Easter, the Queen and her attendants were still fasting and keeping Palm Sunday."<sup>49</sup> Thus, the conflict over the dating of Easter has much less to do with figuring out on which day Jesus rose, or how to calculate its anniversary, but it is about catholic unity, obedience, and authority. This is most clearly seen in Wilfrid's final speech, where he speaks of an important saint to the Irish of Iona, Father Columba, and his followers. Wilfrid says:

"I do not deny that they are true servants of God and dear to Him, and that they loved Him...Nor do I think that their ways of keeping Easter were seriously harmful...if any catholic reckoner had come to them, they would readily have accepted his guidance, as we know that they readily observed such of God's ordinances as they already knew. But you and your colleagues are most certainly guilty of sin if you reject the decrees of the Apostolic See, indeed of the universal Church, which are confirmed by Holy Writ."<sup>50</sup>

The conclusion of the Synod of Whitby is significant for our project because it might show us something very important about why Bede wrote a second prose Life of St Cuthbert. According to Wilfrid and Bede, there were catholics and schismatics, not Irish Christianity and Roman Christianity. The cultural aspects of Christianity are decisively *not* Roman. There are local cultural expressions of Christianity on all continents of Christianity at this time. In Northumbria we see certain traditions of the Irish *promoted* by Bede, most clearly seen in the "Life of St Cuthbert." Other local values that were expressed in Northumbrian Christianity were the Anglo-Saxon values of treasure, warriorism, etc. as is well documented by Campbell and others.<sup>51</sup>

## **The Anonymous and the Community at Lindisfarne**

The way in which we ask the question influences and limits the possible answers, thus asking *the right question* is crucial. What was the nature of the conflict at the community of Lindisfarne while Cuthbert lay dying in the oratory on Farne Island? What was the status of this conflict 15 years later, when the Anonymous was penning the first prose Life? How had the conflict developed, or how had the community of Lindisfarne changed by the time Bede wrote his prose Life 20 years after the Anonymous? What theological and political positions of the community of Lindisfarne might have the Anonymous betrayed?

The current scholarship on St Cuthbert scarcely comments on the theo-politics of the Anonymous. It is my contention that the Anonymous does not differ from Bede on these issues. The Anonymous says of Cuthbert, "He was angelic in appearance, refined in conversation, holy in works, unblemished in body, noble in nature, mighty in counsel, *orthodox in faith*, patient in hope, wide in charity."<sup>52</sup> The Latin for "orthodox in faith" is "*fide catholicus*."<sup>53</sup> The Anonymous tells us that when Cuthbert entered the monastic Life, he took upon himself "the Petrine tonsure after the shape of the crown of thorns that bound the head of Christ,"<sup>54</sup> a fact about which Bede is conspicuously silent. Furthermore, the Anonymous deliberately portrays St Cuthbert's solitary Life in a way that instructs his readers of the proper way of pursuing the solitary Life, which is in accordance with The Rule of St Benedict.<sup>55</sup> The order is important for the Anonymous. In Book I, the Anonymous says, "In his youth, while he was still leading a secular Life...he was spending the night in vigils according to his custom."<sup>56</sup> Thus, even before Cuthbert becomes a monk, he is disciplined in prayer. In addition, Book II is about the beginning of Cuthbert's Life as a monk. Cuthbert served the Lord as prior for many years *while still living with the community*. The Anonymous does not introduce Cuthbert's move to Farne Island until the beginning of Book III. The Anonymous is saying that a monk must be disciplined and trained before he is ready for the Life of an anchorite. Bede holds these same convictions.

In sum, the Anonymous' "Life" is perhaps more politically charged than has previously been believed. However, there are also important theo-political issues about which the Anonymous is silent. Thus, his "Life" provides a commentary of the state of Lindisfarne. The condition of Lindisfarne while the Anonymous was writing was such that he was able to comment on the issues of wandering monks and of tonsure; however, he was unable to comment on the issues manifest in St Cuthbert's deathbed speech. There are three possibilities for this silence. First, the issues manifest in St Cuthbert's deathbed speech may not have been resolved, or would have enflamed divisions already existing. The second possibility is that the monks of Lindisfarne, knowing their Life of St Cuthbert would be widely read, did not want to hang out their dirty laundry, so to speak. The third is a combination of them both.

## Re-imagining St Cuthbert and Bede

Ultimately, I think the most important passage for our project is the longest passage in Bede's prose Life, one that is almost entirely absent from the Anonymous' *Vita*—the chapters surrounding the death of the saint.

Bede, in Chapter thirty-seven of his Life of St Cuthbert says, "[Cuthbert's] death let me describe in the words of him from whom I heard about it, namely Herefrith, a devoutly religious priest who also at that time presided over the monastery at Lindisfarne as abbot."<sup>57</sup> From this point through the end of Chapter forty, Bede quotes Herefrith verbatim. Walter Berschin thinks Bede stops quoting Herefrith in the middle of Chapter thirty-eight because literary considerations suggest that Bede took over "when quoting the *ultima verba* of St Cuthbert."<sup>58</sup> . It is questionable whether Berschin would have thought the same things if Colgrave had never assumed as much when he stated that "Bede in his Prose Life puts into the mouth of the dying saint..." etc.<sup>59</sup> It would seem incredible to me that Bede would alter the content of that which he deliberately assures his listeners is from Herefrith himself. Furthermore, it would be difficult to believe that Herefrith, who was Cuthbert's abbot, would allow Bede to change the content in what may have been considered the most important passage in the entire Life at the time of its completion. In addition, Bede's prose *Life of St Cuthbert* was composed with great public awareness. To seal its completion, Bede says:

"I made it my business to...bring what was written into the presence of your brotherhood, in order that it might be corrected if false, or, if true, approved by the authority of your judgment. And when...my little work had been read for two days before the leaders and teachers of your congregation and carefully weighed in every detail under your examination, no word of any sort was found which had to be changed, but everything that was written was pronounced by common consent to be, without any question, worthy of being read [and copied]."<sup>60</sup>

It seems, then, based on Bede's words, almost certain that Herefrith himself was present at the reading when the work was approved.

Now, it is my contention that if Herefrith is being quoted verbatim, then St Cuthbert must have been quite different from the way he has been imagined for the last century. For in St Cuthbert's deathbed speech, we do not see someone being held as a unifier between the Irish and the Roman. Rather, we see a man of intense personality, who was not always well liked, maybe even controversial. Herefrith says:

"When I asked him very earnestly what words he would bequeath and what last farewell he would leave the brethren, he began to utter a few weighty words about peace and humility, and about being on our guard against those who would rather fight such things than delight in them. He said: 'Always keep peace and divine charity amongst yourselves...But have no communion with those who depart from the unity of the catholic peace, either in not celebrating Easter at the proper time or in evil living...I would much rather you... [depart this place] than that in any way you should consent to iniquity and put your necks under the yoke of schismatics.'"<sup>61</sup>

This changes considerably the way we view Cuthbert and Bede, and the way we view Bede's prose Life. Understanding St Cuthbert in light of the deathbed speech informs many other chapters of his Life, and, more importantly, reveals that Bede is *remarkably* similar to Cuthbert theo-politically. Bede venerates Cuthbert's ascetic monasticism and his discipline, which is so characteristic of the Irish, culminating in his solitary retreat to the Island of Farne. In the first few words of his prose Life, Bede recalls the prophet Jeremiah "praising the hermit's *state of perfection*."<sup>62</sup> This is high praise indeed. Bede himself displays exceedingly nature-friendly account of some of Cuthbert's miracles—at times matching the nature-friendliness of the Anonymous.<sup>63</sup> Bede praises Lindisfarne for having bishops who are at the same time monks—characteristic of Irish Christianity, but Pope Gregory the Great lived similarly, as well as Augustine, and many others as Bede points out.<sup>64</sup> In addition to remarkable theo-political similarities, Cuthbert's deathbed speech reveals the same approach to catholic unity that Bede displays in his recording of the Synod of Whitby; and both Cuthbert and Bede approach unity in nearly identical ways with Paul the Apostle.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, St Cuthbert fosters catholic unity in places besides the deathbed speech. In Chapter sixteen, Bede says:

"Now there were certain brethren in the monastery who preferred to conform to their older usage rather than to the monastic rule...In fact very often during debates in the chapter of the brethren concerning the

rule, when he was assailed by the bitter insults of his opponents, he would rise up suddenly with calm mind and countenance would go out, thus dissolve the chapter...he gradually converted them to the things that he desired. For he was a man remarkable for the strength of his patience and unsurpassed in bravely bearing every burden."<sup>66</sup>

Again, this is a similar approach to the early Church Father, Clement of Rome; the first Pope after St Peter. St Clement says, "You, therefore, who laid the foundation of the rebellion, *submit to the presbyters* and be chastened to repentance," and, "Love makes no schism; love does not quarrel; love does everything in unity."<sup>67</sup> In addition, Clement calls on the authority of Christians in Rome in resolving the rebellion in Corinth,<sup>68</sup> which may be indicative of what we said earlier, namely, that almost all things at that time were under the authority of Rome. Finally, another Church Father, Cyprian of Carthage says in a letter to a man, Fidus, that he who defies church authority is a bad leader.<sup>69</sup> Thus, Cuthbert and Bede are in agreement theo-politically on all fronts. If this is indicative of Bede's comprehensive admiration, then this might help in answering our outstanding inquiry.

The importance laid on Cuthbert can perhaps be demonstrated nowhere as clearly as in the sheer amount of devotion Bede gives him. Bede wrote two major works, and one lesser work in *H.E.*, on his Life. The lesser work at the end of Book IV of *H.E.* is particularly interesting. Bede does not carve out this kind of space for any other person. All of this suggests that Bede perhaps thought of Cuthbert as the most important man of in English history up to that point. Now, having re-imagined St Cuthbert and Bede's relationship to him, I will suggest that Bede did not manufacture St Cuthbert in his image, but rather the exact opposite seems likely—St Cuthbert, being just a generation ahead of Bede, could very well have been the most influential Englishman in the Bede's spiritual and theo-political formation. At the very least, all this testifies unequivocally that Bede thought St Cuthbert's life was momentously important.

All of this leads me to believe that the *reason why* Bede wrote a second prose Life was because of the power St Cuthbert's story had on the minds and hearts of Englishmen during his own time—Englishmen who were fragmented and discouraged. The Life of St Cuthbert was an encouraging story of Christian virtue, of courage, peace, and discipline; and most importantly, a powerful story championing catholic unity. The "Life" composed by the Anonymous monk of Lindisfarne was faithful to St Cuthbert's life and miracles, but was limited in scope, primarily because it followed closely the Christian hagiographical rubric passed down through the Life of Gregory the Great, Life of St Antony, the Life of St Martin, and others.<sup>70</sup> Consequently, it left out some of St Cuthbert's most important teachings, and emphasized primarily his miracles over his politics. The key difference in the story being told between the Anonymous and Bede, then, is found in the deathbed speech.

St Cuthbert's deathbed speech illuminates the pastoral importance of that speech for the unity, and therefore the health, of the Christianity of the English. Bede wanted to create a Life of St Cuthbert, not because the Anonymous Life was inadequate or unorthodox, but because he *loved* St Cuthbert; he venerated and identified with Cuthbert, and saw the need for his story in the culture of his day.

## Conclusion

Some 1,300 years ago, on a tiny island in Scotland, an old ascetic man with holes in his boots was lying on the stone floor of a roofless oratory opposite the altar. Riddled with disease,

but with the sky above him, he spoke a few weighty words, interrupted by twinges of pain, to the priest Herefrith and a few other close disciples. These words would serve as a testimony to his life and teachings. A man remarkable for his strength in patience and humility, St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, on his deathbed, uttered prophetic words of peace and catholic unity, and then died. At the moment of his death, the brethren at the monastery of Lindisfarne, singing the order of lauds, happened to be singing the fifty-ninth Psalm, which foretold "the blast of trial" following Cuthbert burial.<sup>71</sup>

There was a lot of change and conflict in Northumbria in the seventh- and eighth-centuries—conflict during Cuthbert's life, conflict at the time of his death, and possibly a number of conflicts following his death. Here, I have merely proposed that the reason Bede wrote a second prose Life was primarily because of the importance of the example of St Cuthbert's theology and politics found in his deathbed speech. However, there is still a good deal to explain: what happened at the monastery of Lindisfarne? For what specific issues did Bede think Cuthbert's story was crucial? If I am correct about the theo-politics of St Cuthbert, then his deathbed speech must become preeminent when comparing the Anonymous and Bede. It would seem, then, almost certain that the nature of the conflict as Cuthbert lay dying, and the subsequent changes, would hold the answer to the question of why Bede wrote a prose Life. The fact of the matter is that St Cuthbert's and Bede's theo-politics have not been taken seriously enough. Although it seems most likely that the conflict was theo-political, it is possible that other considerations could be the cause. However, even if the conflict is not theo-political, the reigning interpretations of St Cuthbert addressed in this paper have been shown to be problematic, and need revision. There exists a significant amount of passages in the Anonymous' and Bede's Lives to, at the very least, make scholars uncomfortable with their ideas about St Cuthbert's personality, his relationship to Bede, etc. I also realize that there exist many significant challenges to what I have said here, which have not been adequately addressed—e.g. the tremendous amount of wealth surrounding Cuthbert's tomb and early cult. Nonetheless, scholars would do well to reconsider Bede's relationship to Cuthbert, particularly the implications of the suggestion I have made, namely, that Bede did not manufacture St Cuthbert, but rather that Cuthbert may have been tremendously influential and formative in Bede's spiritual and theo-political life.

<sup>1</sup> Bede, "Life of St Cuthbert," *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*. ed. and trs. by Bertram Colgrave (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 163, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *Historica Ecclesiastica*. trs. by Leo Sherley-Price and revised by R.E. Latham (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>5</sup> Colgrave, *Two Lives*, 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> *H.E.* 325-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Two Lives*, 2. Emphasis added.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-5, 118-9, and 132-3. "One of the two brethren mentioned above named Tydi, who is a priest and still alive, declared to us before many witness." He was the witness of the miracles in II.IV-V, and IV.VI, XV. Other eyewitnesses are mentioned, e.g. "the mother and son who are still alive are witnesses of the truth of this [miracle]." 121.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 61. "But, so far as I am concerned, even if I am overwhelmed by the amount of sacred material at my disposal, yet I am satisfied that I have not failed in obedience..."

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 63. Emphasis added.

<sup>12</sup> Bede, "The Lives of The Holy Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow." Fordham University Online Medieval Sourcebook.

<sup>13</sup> Lapidge, Michael. "Bede's Metrical Vita S. Cuthberti," *St Cuthbert: His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*. ed. by G. Bonner, D. Rollason, C. Stancliffe. (Woodbridge, UK: The Bowdell Press, 1989). 84-85. I will abbreviate the book, *St Cuthbert: His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, as *SCCC*.

<sup>14</sup> *SCCC*, 95-102.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-101.

<sup>17</sup> *Two Lives*, 144-145, "Si non deliberato ac perfecto operi nova interserere..."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Michael Lapidge shares this composite-whole account. In an article about Bede's metrical Life, he too sees it as "the counterpart of the Anonymous prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*." *SCCC*, 77.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>22</sup> Berschin himself says in a footnote, "this article is a resume of parts of my book...where I tried to present the literary history of early Irish-Latin and Anglo-Latin biography." *Ibid.* 77.

<sup>23</sup> "It is almost a revolution in Latin biography. Why? Because a Christian Latin prose Life had never before been arranged into four books...He thus demonstrated that for him and his people St Cuthbert was comparable to the greatest saints of the west, to St Martin and St Benedict." *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>25</sup> "Bede's vocabulary is richer and more sophisticated..." and "Microscopic stylistic research could only partly answer our question as to why the Venerable Bede wrote a second prose Life." In addition, Berschin seems to suggest that Bede is self-conscious of his stylistic superiority. He cites Plummer saying, "[Bede] seems to take delight in altering the language [of Anonymous] for the mere sake of alteration." *Ibid.*, 98. I disagree with Plummer. Bede does not enhance his prose Life stylistically because he wants to show his readers who has bigger balls; he is not trying to be a show-off. Rather, Bede is thinking of the spiritual edification of his readers, and is trying to write a *winsome* account of the Life of St Cuthbert.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>27</sup> The idea of the Irish Reformation is considerably more pronounced among the popular understanding of Irish Christianity, especially in within Anglicanism. A friend of mine, who is an Anglican priest in Wisconsin, once said to me when I first told him I was writing an article on St Cuthbert, "Cuthbert is great. He is one of the most important saints in the Anglican Church because he was in the Irish tradition, and the Irish were originally not under the Pope." This is not one man's opinion; he was taught to say this, which means others are being taught to say the same thing. The popular understanding, then, is that the Irish were a sort of proto-Anglican.

<sup>28</sup> *SCCC*, 113.

<sup>29</sup> *St Martin and his Hagiographer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 86-95.

<sup>30</sup> *SCCC*, "Cuthbert, Pastor and Solitary." 24.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, "Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert." 103.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, "Elements in the Background to the Life of St Cuthbert and his Early Cult."

p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Campbell, James. *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 17-8.

<sup>35</sup> *Two Lives*, 173.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 187. "Now he was wont...to preach in those villages that were far away on steep and rugged mountains, which others dreaded to visit and whose poverty as well as ignorance prevented teachers from approaching them...he would often not return...even occasionally for a full month."

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 229.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>44</sup> *H.E.* The Synod of Whitby, 186-92.

<sup>45</sup> "It is strange that you call us stupid when we uphold customs that rest on the authority of so great an Apostle."  
*Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *The Celtic Churches: A History A.D. 200 to 1200.* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974). 193-222.  
<sup>47</sup> 193.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Campbell, James. "Bede I" and "Bede II" *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History.* (London: Hambleton Press, 1986), 1-48.

<sup>52</sup> *Two Lives*, 77. Emphasis added.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 76.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 77.

<sup>55</sup> Benedict, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. by Timothy Fry, O.S.B. (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 7.

"Hermits...have come through the test of living in a monastery for a long time, and have passed beyond the first fervor of monastic Life. Thanks to the help and guidance of many, they are now trained to fight against the devil. They have built up their strength and go from the battle line in the ranks of their brothers to the single combat of the desert. Self-reliant now, without the support of another, they are ready with God's help to grapple single-handed with the vices of body and mind."

<sup>56</sup> *Two Lives*, 69.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 271-3.

<sup>58</sup> *SCCC*, 102.

<sup>59</sup> *Two Lives*, 1. See above.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 283-5.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 155. Emphasis Added.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, Bede records Cuthbert's prayers controlling the wind (p. 165), "How the animals of the sea, in which he had passed the night in prayer, ministered to him when he came out." (p. 189), provisions being brought by an eagle, with whom he shares his meal (p. 197), and many others.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 207-9.

<sup>65</sup> Rom. 16:17 (The New Oxford Annotated Bible). "I urge you, brothers and sisters, to keep an eye on those who cause dissensions and offenses, in opposition to the teaching that you have learned; avoid them. For such people do not serve our Lord Christ."

<sup>66</sup> *Two Lives*, 211.

<sup>67</sup> Clement, *Letter to the Corinthians*, The Faith of the Early Fathers, vol. 1. ed. William A. Jurgens. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1970), 11. Emphasis added.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 "If anyone disobey the things which have been said by Him through us..." Emphasis added.

<sup>69</sup> Cyprian, *Letter of Cyprian and of His Colleagues in Council to the Number of Sixty-Six: To Fidus*, The Faith of the Early Fathers, vol. 1. ed. William A. Jurgens. (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1970), 234.

<sup>70</sup> Berschin. See above. 95-8.

<sup>71</sup> *Two Lives*, 287.