

The Letters of Master David of London: A New Edition and Study

Volume 2: Appendices

Catherine Elizabeth Healy

Thesis submitted in the School of History at the University of East Anglia in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 2022

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with the author and that use of any information derived there-from must be in accordance with current UK Copyright Law. In addition, any quotation of extract must include full attribution.

Contents

Appendix One: The Edition	3
Appendix Two: Incipits	278
Appendix Three: David's Itinerary	282
Appendix Four: Image of Francesco Liverani	284
Appendix Five: Representative Images from V	286

Appendix One: The Edition

Supplied here is a Latin edition of the entirety of David's letter collection. Also supplied are translations of 88 of these 90 letters. Six of these are in part or whole translations by other scholars (nos.17, 19, 37-8, 44-5), but have been included here regardless so that the collection can be appreciated in its entirety. It has been judged unnecessary to produce translations of nos.50-1 (the papal letters relating to the schism of 1159). All Latin text and all translations have been checked by at least two pairs of eyes, save for the translations of nos.6, 13-4, 16, 18, 24-5, included here due to their importance for the thesis but as yet not reduced to satisfactory form.

In what follows, I have used the below abbreviated references:

- A* = *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* ed. F. Barlow (London 1939)
AB = *Annali Bolognesi*, i, ed. L. Savioli (Bassano 1784)
AD = *APOSCRIPTA database- Lettres des papes* ed. B. Oury
[<http://telma-chartres.irht.cnrs.fr/en/aposcripta/notice/143371>, Accessed 07/01/2021]
B = London, British Library ms. Cotton Claudius B ii
<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_claudius_b_ii>
Brooke, 'Register' = Z.N. Brooke, 'The Register of Master David of London and the Part he Played in the Becket Crisis', *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Poole*, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford 1927), 227-45
Chaplais = P. Chaplais, *English Royal Documents: King John-Henry VI, 1199-1461* (Oxford 1971)
C = Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Cave E Musaeo 249
CTB = *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury 1162-1170*, ed. A. Duggan, 2 vols (Oxford 2000)
D = Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Douce 287
DCAB = *De claris archigymnasii Bononiensis professoribus, A saeculo XI usque ad saeculum XIV* i (Bologna 1772) eds. M. Sarti and M. Fattorini
Diceto = Ralph Diceto, 'Ymagines Historiarum', in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London* 2 vols ed. W. Stubbs (RS, London 1886)
Edward = F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (2nd edn., New Haven 1997)
EEA = *English Episcopal Acta*, ed. D. Smith and others (Oxford 1980-)
Flete = John Flete, *The History of Westminster Abbey* ed. J. Armitage Robinson (Cambridge 1909)
GFL = *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48), Bishop of Hereford (1148-63), and London (1163-87)* ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (Cambridge 1967)
Giles = *Gilberti ex abbate Glocestriae episcopi primum Herefordiensis deinde Londoniensis epistolae*, ed. J. A. Giles, 2 vols (Oxford 1845)
J-L = *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum datum MCXCVIII*, ed. P. Jaffé, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, P. Ewald, and W. Wattenbach, 2 vols (Leipzig 1885-88)
L = *Spicilegium Liberianum* ed. F. Liverani (Florence 1863)
LCA = *The Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux* trans. C. Poling Schriber (New York 1997)
LCH = *The Letters and Charters of Henry II King of England 1154-1189*, ed. N. Vincent, 7 vols (Oxford 2020-2)

LJS = *The Letters of John of Salisbury* 2 vols ed W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler,
and C.N.L. Brooke (London and Oxford 1955-79)
Lupus = *Epistolae et vita divi Thomae martyris et archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C.
Lupus (Brussels 1682)
Memoranda Roll 1 John = *The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term of the First Year of the
Reign of King John, 1199-1200*, ed. H.G. Richardson, Pipe Roll Society n.s. xxi (1943)
MTB = *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed.
J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, 7 vols (London 1875-85)
Mortimer = R. Mortimer, 'The Charters of Henry II: What are the Criteria for Authenticity?', *Anglo-
Norman Studies*, xii (1990 for 1989), 119-34
PL = *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris XYZ)
P = J. von Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta Pontificum Inedita* (Stuttgart 1886)
Poupardin = R. Poupardin, 'Dix-huit lettres inédites d'Arnoul de Lisieux', *Bibliothèque
de l'École des Chartes*, lxxiii (1902), 352-73
T = Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R.9.17
V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana ms. Vat. Lat. 6024
Section 4 (David)
V(b) = Vat. Lat. 6024 Section Two (Arnulf)
V(c) = Vat. Lat. 6024 Section 3 (Becket)

Editorial Abbreviations :

add. = added
om. = omitted
suppl. = supplied

Letter 1

V fo.140r with rubric= 'Stilus Beati B. Clareuallensis et verba' = L 622-4

Que cordi magis habemus, et^a magis loqui consueuimus. Illius cultus venerationis et gratie pleni quo me tenuistis exiguum^b, quo^c apud vos fui, vicem vobis rependat qui potest et qui fuit in cura^d, Deus. Paruitatis mee non est quod pari quam^e rependere vice. Ago quod nunc possum, si quandoque^f tempus accepero, quod nunc desiderans et^g affectibus recolo, factis libentius compensabo. Si vobis aliter an^h falsiloquis et erroris spiritibus vestra persuasa est opinio, processu temporis, auctore domino, magis ac magis deprehendetis esse mendaces, et eorum neminem fideliozem vobis effectum hominio quam ego factus sum ea gratia quam a vobis accepi et beneficio. Fingent me qualem esse vellent, si quid sum, vestrum munus sum. Si quid Dei munere futurus ero melius vestrum erit, cum eo ad gratiam et sine illius quamⁱ dudum de me concepistis suspicionis arbitrio vobis uti libuerit. Egissem verbum istud taciturnitate libentius, sed dolor nimius taciturnitatis impatiens prorupit in medium. Duriora queri compellit nec si linguam in contumaciam^j relaxare dicar, silere sinit. In quo, quero^k, mi domine, puer vester de vobis tam male meruit, ut eum nota proditoris insigniretis et nomine?^l Scrutandum prius erat, quam reprehendendum. Que cognita seuerius solent coherceri, mitius incognita volent^l tolerari. Si nunc^m homo natus in mundum qui me possit horum arguere, agitatum spiritu blasphemie et reum sacrilegii me minime diffiteor. Si vobis coram vel his quos vestros rebar esse fideles, dum apud vos eram, quid inconcinnum et prouide parum protuli, gloriolam vel incuriam redolere potuit, nouit Dominus quoniam nequitiam non spirauit. Si unquam ex quo a vobis discessi ore vel opere in vestri nominis sugillationem palam perrexi vel subdole, nec hic michi nec in futuro remittatur. Habereⁿ, mi domine, vobis queri^o alia plura de vobis, sed quia de his et illis vos ad vestram audientiam appellaui, aptiore tempore pandenda^p reseruo, si quandoque, auctore Domino, futurus sit efficacior sermo viuus quam scriptus, et acceptior lingua quam littera².

Interim si quam^q michi de vobis antiq(ue) gratie portiunculam sperare liceat, affectu toto et precibus meis si que^r sunt, vos exoratum cupio, ne malorum hominum rumusculis et iniquorum fraudibus absentis mei causam presertim in presentia vestra committatis agendam. Satis sit labiis dolos concinnantibus, quod in rubore faciei mee a domo vestra et laribus

^a etiam L

^b om. L

^c quando L

^d causa L

^e queam L

^f quando L

^g om. L

^h a L

ⁱ quo L

^j contumacia L

^k queso V, quero *supplied*

^l solent L

^m nunc V, vivus L

ⁿ habemus L

^o conqueri L

^p aperienda L

^q qua L

^r qua L

expulerunt^s me, quod postea in amaritudine multa anime mee³, de terra natiuitatis mee a facie vestra vagum et profugum compulerunt^t aufugere. Opera mea de me interrogabitis. Si quid ab eis aliud de me vobis susurrauerint^u, quantacumque dignitate preditos tota libertate coercedete. Mea, si qua fuerit, in vos redundabit deiectionis. Eo animo fui, cum nunc postremo abscondi me a facie vestra, ut pre omni anima viuente vobis et vestris bene esse cuperem^v. Sicubi fui, si quo fatis trahentibus locorum deuenero, zelauit vestrum et ero zelaturus honorem. Si quandoque^w igitur lingua vel littera capiti meo vulnus inflixistis, cum tempus acceperitis, sanandi remedium adhibete. Si enim potestatem habuistis percutiendi, habetis et sanandi. Si culpis vel culparum mearum penis exigentibus iudicium in me dictastis, absit ut fuerit ad preiudicium miserationis. Miseremini igitur quamuis non meriti^x, saltem sic affecti. Estuarem super his protensiore^y vobiscum conferre sermone^z, sed scripsi domino meo Thome cappell(ano) vestro, quatenus adiuncto sibi mag(istro) Rob(erto) de Br^{'aa}, preces meas vobis porrigeret, ut in vobis quiesceret ea^{bb} quam in me cane mortuo concepistis indignatio⁴.

Pluribus supersedeo. Verbum quod michi misistis per magistrum N^{cc}. London' de cura et sollicitudine rerum, quas in me gratie vestre contulit habundantia, letum sonuit in auribus meis, et gratum factum est anime mee. Fecundauit gratiam vestra offerentis affectio, qua tanta^{dd} tantulum pietatis officio preuenire curastis. Attamen quoad^{ee} me oportet omnino non deesse temperamentum discretionis, ne ab his qui in iure versantur iniuriarum effluere dicatur occasio, locauit iuueni illi N.^{ff} fundum cum accessionibus suis, quasi fruituro in quinquennium, hac tamen in limine constitutus^{gg} expressa conuentione, ut quandocumque^{cc} pensionibus non parendo^{hh} vel in re locata male versando, conuentioni non staret, etⁱⁱ an^{jj} toto contractu michi libere^{kk} liceret abire nec ei in aliquo tenerer astrictus^{ll}. A colonis fundi iure conuentionis nichil pot(est)^{mm} exigere, nisi solam annuam quam michi debent pensionem. In silua iure sibi concessa nichil haberet nisi^{ff} spinas solasⁿⁿ et arborum ramusculos, vi ventorum vel potestate diuulsos, et unde sibi sufficientem ignem ad tempus habeat, si quandoque ut moris est causa necessarii usus in domunculam diuertat, et sarta tecta habeat, si domorum vel sepium necessaria indigeat refectio. Si preter has causas quod vel modicum accepit vel colonos fundi concussit, supramodum doleo et male versatus fidem rupit conuentionis, ut ex cirographo nostro videre poteritis, quod penes dominum^{oo}

^s expulerint L

^t compulerint L

^u susurratum fuerit L

^v cuperemus L

^w quando L

^x miseri L

^y protensioem L

^z sermonem L

^{aa} Byr L

^{bb} ?ca V, ea L

^{cc} H L

^{dd} tanto L

^{ee} quod L

^{ff} *interlined* V, *om.* L

^{gg} constituta L

^{hh} non parendo pensionibus L

ⁱⁱ etiam L

^{jj} an V, a L

^{kk} *om.* L

^{ll} affectus L

^{mm} pot' V, potuit L

ⁿⁿ solas spinas L

^{oo} domino L

Ric(ardum) R(uffum) in discessu meo dimisi, cuius conceptioni quamplures^{pp} honesti viri nostre ciuitatis interfuerunt. Utrum autem pensionibus paruerit vel non eo quod penitus nescio. Unum scio, quod ex quo ab^{qq} Anglia discessi, nec ab eo nec ab alio gratia vel debito denarius vel medius ad manus meas peruenit.

Pudet erroris et false spei⁵. Neminem incuso, sed fata mea queror, que si semper^{rr} michi dura fuerint, solito facta sunt duriora. Elongarunt^{ss} a me amicum et proximum, et notos meos ab auxilio meo. Non est qui fecerit misericordiam mecum. Teneor me ipso apparere superior et in oculis hominum me ipso maior incedere. Quantus in oculis meis fuerim, nouit Dominus et hominum paucissimi. In agendo et omittendo ad plura teneor ad que quondam non tenebar. Sic factum est quod eris alieni onere graui depressus sum, et a quo vix potero surgere, fere namque toto tempore ex quo Bolon' veni, sub grauibus usuris vixi et adhuc hodie viuo, que me respirare non sinunt. Solas enim .vii. marcas mecum tuli ab Anglia, vel pauciores ad iter meum et ad omnes meas exinde expediendas impensas. Reliquas .v. marcas ad exhonerandam partem debiti mei quo tenebar in Anglia ante discessum meum persolui. Pro his .xii. marcis, quas mutuo accepi, dimisi prebendam meam totam^{tt} intus^{uu} et extra^{vv} domino N. Presumebam enim quam plurimum de fide ipsius. Laboraui clamans ad eum litteris et nuntiis, nec exaudiuit clamorem meum. Videat igitur vestre pietatis oculus, et honoris vestri celsitudo decernat, que super his agere velit. Causa enim tota et curatione^{ww} et cura vestra est quicquid^{xx} vobis placuerit non modo volo, sed auide volo.

1. *Bernard Epistolae*, no.213: 'In quo, queso, puer vester tam male meruit de vestra Paternitate, ut eum inurere et insignire placeret nota et nomine proditoris?'
2. *Bernard Epistolae*, no.1: 'Nam solet in talibus acceptior esse sermo viuus quam scriptus, et efficacior lingua quam littera.'
3. Job 7:11, 10:1, and Isiah 38:15. 4. Cf. 1 Samuel 24:15.
5. *Bernard Epistolae*, no.224: 'Pudet erroris et false spei'.

^{pp} quamplures V, quinque presentes L

^{qq} om. L

^{rr} sepius L

^{ss} elongauerunt L

^{tt} om. L

^{uu} interim L

^{vv} ex tunc L

^{ww} curatio L

^{xx} quidquid L

Letter 1

[Master David of London to (?)Gilbert Foliot]¹

[?c.1168]²

In the style and words of Bernard of Clairvaux:

Of that which our heart holds greatest, of that are we most accustomed to speak. In that same culture of respect and full favour by which you retained me, albeit as the trifle that I was to you, God will repay you in kind, that is to say He who can, and He who commanded. I myself am of such insignificance that I cannot repay as to an equal. I do merely what I now can, which is to say that if ever I find opportunity to do that which I now desire and recollect with feeling, I shall the more freely compensate you with deeds. If you are persuaded otherwise by falsehoods or the spirit of error, in the course of time, God willing, you will more and more discover yourself deceived, finding no-one rendered more faithful to you before mankind than I have been thanks to that favour and benefit that I received from you. Spread falsehoods about me as they may, whatever I am is at your disposal; whatever in future I shall be, thanks to God, it shall be all the better yours, not least because it will serve for grace to dispel the suspicion that you have long harboured against me. I had more willingly endured this charge in silence, but excessive pain, impatient of silence, thrust this out, obliging me more brusquely to seek means by which, lest I be said to wag my tongue in disobedience, I might keep my peace. I ask what has your child done, my lord, to deserve such wrong from you, that you had marked him with the sign and name of traitor?³ It were better that this be first investigated rather than rebuked. Those things that are known are more severely to be restrained, whereas with the unknown they may wish to deal more leniently. I defy any living man to accuse me without being moved by the spirit of blasphemy and the taint of sacrilege. If, when I was among you or those whom I reckoned faithful to you, I behaved in any way awkwardly or imprudently, although it might savour of little glory and less care, the Lord knows that it was never intended as wickedness. If ever, since I departed from you, I bruised your good name by acting carelessly or cunningly, this should be forgiven me neither now nor in future. I had thought, my lord, to seek various other things both for you and from you, but because I have appealed to your hearing over this and that, I await a more appropriate time for explanations, should, God willing, an occasion arise in future better grasped in speech than in writing, and fitter for the tongue than for the pen.⁴

Meanwhile, if it is permitted for me to hope for the merest droplet of your former favour, I wish you to be persuaded by my entire love and whatever prayers there are, that in your presence you pay no heed to the idle talk of evil men or the lies of the wicked, especially with respect to the cause of my absence.⁵ Let it be enough that, with lips devising maliciousness,

¹ There is no *salutatio* preserved but the letter can be attributed to David due to style and content, and it is likely it was written to Bishop Gilbert Foliot as it details David's issues at St Paul's in gaining the money he was due from his prebend there. As the letter is concerned with matters at St Paul's related to the chapter it is possible it was to the dean or someone else at St Paul's though Gilbert Foliot seems more likely because as bishop he would have had greater authority in sorting David's affairs, and it was he who required David's assistance around this time.

² David refers to the usury he is living under at Bologna, where he was from c.1166-7 until some time in mid-1169. Given that elsewhere he refers to a lack of contact from Foliot it is possible this was one of his letters that went unanswered.

³ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.213, trans. *LSB*, no.283.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no.1, trans. *ibid.*, no.1.

⁵ Presumably referring to those at St Paul's with who, he fell out.

they expelled me blushing from your home and household, and afterwards in the great bitterness of my soul compelled me to flee as a vagrant and fugitive, both from the land of my birth and from your face.⁶ By all means question me about my deeds. Should they whisper anything further against me, curb with whatever dignity and full freedom those so richly endowed. My dispossession, if such it is to be, will be your responsibility. I was in this mood, when now at last I hid myself from you, since I had wished for the good of you and yours, before all living souls. Wherever I was, and wherever the fates may have dragged me, I was and shall remain zealous for your honour. Therefore, if ever you heaped injury on my head, by tongue or in writing, when you find the time, apply a healing remedy. For if you possess the power to strike, you no less have the power to heal. If you pronounced judgment on my for my faults or whatever of my faults demanded remedy, let it not have been to the prejudice of mercy. Have mercy, therefore, if not from merit, then from such love. I was in doubt whether to approach you on such matters by a more extended discourse, but I wrote to my lord Thomas, your chaplain⁷ so that in association with Master Robert de Broi⁸ he might put my requests to you, that you might calm the indignation that you conceived towards me, as towards a dead dog⁹.

Passing over other matters, the word you sent me through Master N(icholas?) of London¹⁰ over the care and responsibility of those things granted to me by the abundance of your favour, sounded as joy in my ears and was made pleasing to my soul. Your love made fertile the grace of what was offered, that from piety you should so take care over so small a thing. Nevertheless, in so far as it behoves me not entirely to abandon the spirit of caution, lest it be said that occasion for injury might arise from matters of right, I leased out the property with its increments¹¹ to that young man N.¹², the lease to mature in five years, subject to express

⁶ Clearly linked to Letter 13 where he discusses the same, the land of his birth here must be England/London.

⁷ It is unclear who this is, and there is no sign of a Thomas the chaplain amongst Foliot's letters or amongst the canons of St Paul's. However Morey and Brooke argued that 'It is far from clear that there was any distinction between a clerk and a chaplain in Gilbert's household. On the whole, the title chaplain seems to have died out in later years.' Morey and Brooke, *Foliot*, 288 fn.3. There were no chaplains/clerk named Thomas at Hereford but at London there is Thomas Brito who was called clerk, see *GFL*, nos. 389, 395, 404, 415, 432, 468. Therefore this could be a reference to him or another Thomas who was both clerk and chaplain but rarely called the latter.

⁸ Also mentioned in no.13. Master Robert de Broi/ Bray, possibly the same one who was prior of the Cluniac house of Lenton from c.1163, his successor Philip occurs c.24 March 1176, *Heads*, 118-9. See also *GFL*, no.147 [c.1163], Gilbert Foliot to Stephen, abbot of Cluny, where Gilbert congratulates the abbot and his community on his promotion, and asks him to accept the resignation of Thomas, prior of Lenton (Notts) and replace him with Robert de Broi. 1173-4 Robert witnessed a notification of Gilbert to the bishop elect and chapter of Hereford where he was the first named witness, *GFL*, no.375. He also witnesses *GFL*, nos.394 and 395, and he appears alongside members of the bishop's household despite apparently not being a canon of St Paul's, suggesting his duties lay with the bishop. Nos.394-5 cannot be dated definitely within Foliot's episcopate but given this Robert de Broi does not appear with his title as prior it's likely the Robert mentioned here and who witnesses these *acta* was not the same Robert who became prior of Lenton, though was presumably a relative.

⁹ Cf. 1 Samuel 24:15.

¹⁰ Though this may simply be a cipher for nomen, i.e. anonymising the letter, it could well be Nicholas, archdeacon of London, son of Nicholas Crocemannus. First occ. before 4 May 1162 but possibly before August 1158. Last occ. 29 Sept 1189. See *Fasti*, i, 9.

¹¹ The term 'accessio' used here, and the succeeding vocabulary, much of it borrowed from Roman law, represents an attempt to express in civilian terms what was presumably a contract couched in the more standard language of English law. In other words, David is here Romanizing (or perhaps better 'Bolognizing') with deliberate affectation.

¹² If this is referring to Nicholas as above, presumably he is 'iuveni' in order to distinguish him from his father? Though Nicholas the archdeacon had a nephew, also called Nicholas, so perhaps he is the one referred to. See *St Paul*, no.134, where in 1169 Nicholas, archdeacon of London, makes a grant to his nephew, Master Nicholas,

agreement over the house, that whenever the rents might be neglected or improperly paid, the contract would be voided and I should both be free to walk away from it and be no longer bound to him in any way. By right of this contract, nothing can be demanded from those cultivating the property, save for an annual pension owed to me. In the wood, he is to have nothing by right save only for thorn bushes and tree branches dislodged by the wind or other force, of which he is to have sufficient as firewood, as is the custom, whenever he has need of such in dwelling in the little house, and he is to have the cost of repairs, should the houses or the hedges require it. If beyond such eventualities he should either receive too little or disturb those cultivating the property, I greatly regret that underpayment breaches the terms of the agreement, as can be seen from our cyrograph that I left with the lord Richard Ruffus¹³ on my departure, at whose making were present many worthy men of our city.¹⁴ However, whether or not he arranged the rents, I am entirely unaware. I know only one thing, that since I left England, not a single penny or halfpence has come into my hands, whether from him or from anyone else either as owed or by favour.

Such is the shame of error and false hope.¹⁵ I accuse no-one, although I do query the fates which, if always harsh to me are now rendered even harsher than usual. They make distant from me and all help for me my friend, my companion, and my acquaintances. There is no-one who will ensure me mercy. I rely upon myself to appear better and advance further in the eyes of men. Whatever in my own eyes I once was, God alone knows and only the very least of men. In deciding what to include or omit I am obliged to set down much that I was once not obliged to mention. Thus it happens that I am weighed down by the severe burden of a foreign clime from which I can barely escape, since for almost the whole time since I came to Bologna¹⁶ I have lived, and continue to live, under severe usury that allows me not a moment's breathing space. I carried only seven marks or less with me from England, to cover my journey and all my attendant and considerable expenses. I paid the remaining five marks, before my departure, to clear part of my debt by which I was bound in England. For these twelve marks, that I received as a loan, I handed over my entire prebend¹⁷, both inside and out, to the lord N. For I trusted entirely to his good faith. I have laboured in crying to him by letters and messengers, yet he has not heeded my cry. May the eye of your piety now see this, and the highness of your honour comprehend, that you may wish to take this in hand. Not only do I wish, but wish most eagerly that this whole case be disposed of by your care and oversight in whatever way may please you.

of his house in London, also in *Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. Kemp, no.203, a charter witnessed by David. See idem no.205 for the nephew appearing with the title *magister*.

¹³ Possibly Richard Ruffus I, archdeacon of Essex, probably appointed before Jan 1127 by his uncle Richard Belmeis I, bp of London, d. as archdeacon 9 April-29 Sept 1167, possibly providing a *terminus ad quem* for this letter though the writer is referring to past events, see *Fasti*, i, 12-13. This Richard's son, Richard Ruffus II, first occ. as canon [1162 X 74], possibly before 1162, and was made canon by his possible uncle Bishop Richard de Belmeis II. He last occ as canon c.1192, held the prebend of Twiford [1162 X 74-*ante* May 1201], idem, 53, 81. For the Ruffus' at St Paul's see Brooke, 'Composition', 125 fn.76.

A Richard Ruffus, who lived from about the 1140s until 1202/3 was the king's chamberlain and amassed a number of estates and incomes. His nephew Richard Ruffus Junior became a chamberlain also from as early as 1199, and various other nephews achieved positions. For Richard Ruffus the chamberlain see D. Rowse, 'The King's Chamberlain, Richard Ruffus, c.1140s-1202, and his Family', *Foundations* 3.4 (2010).

¹⁴ Presumably men of London.

¹⁵ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.224, trans. *LSB*, no.300.

¹⁶ Suggesting the letter is being written from Bologna.

¹⁷ Presuming this letter is referring to his prebend of Brownswood, which he left in the hands of Nicholas the archdeacon to farm for him in his absence, he must have received the prebend before he departed England for Bologna.

Letter 2

V fo.140r-v, with rubric: 'Imago hominis sermo est eiusdem stilus^a et verba' = L 626-8.

Letus factus sum quia faciem vestram solito letiorem michi vestra presentavit imago, et animo meo me quietum reddidit quod vestram quieuisse si qua fuit indignatio^b litterarum vestrarum laudabile compendium et sermo suavis indicavit. Geminant letitiam pietatis opera, que ut audio solus misericorditer in meis magnificatis et me, que^c redintegrate vestre dilectionis et gratie, michi plurimum pariunt indicium. Nam ex odore balsamum et ex fructu arborem dinoscere solemus^l. Cumulat ad meritum quod cum benevolentiam a^d me factura vestra tanquam^e vobis debitam possetis exigere, admirande cuiusdam humilitatis precibus ex gratia vestra litteris vestris eam velud^f indebitam maluistis impetrare, licet alias res magis voti^g fuerit quam precepti, suaderi volens non imperari. Habet igitur anima mea unde tota vobis erumpat in gratiam, habent et ossa unde laudem germinare^h non desinant. Et utique facta factorum querunt redhibitionemⁱ. Sed id unde michi modo mendico et a natiuitate pauperi? Benevolentiam igitur affluentiam^j cuius habundo, cuius penes me multa copia, quam^k solam beneficiorum remunerationem^l more benefici mere liberalis^m exposcitis, pleno de pectore vobis ad plenum impertio, ipsamⁿ animam meam et lumen oculorum meorum, si fieri posset et expediret, partiturus^o libentius. In diem hanc erga vos in me filialis nec torpuit nec torpet affectio. Patrem igitur, mi domine, si tamen deposuistis, induite. Est enim vobiscum et adhuc quod^p solam paternorum viscerum affectat audientiam. Luto latere versor et palea.

Mulcturat me temporis^q quam^r non est altera grauior iactura. Inutilium enim inutilis est disciplina, et omne superuacuum pleno de pectore mea^{s2}. Egestatis inhibitus iniuria, necessariis et utilibus desudare non sinor.

Eris alieni me moles opprimit et totam meam substantiam absorbens, egrediendi Boloniam, michi liberum non concedit arbitrium. Si bene recolo, ad exhonerandam solam sortem qua teneor, exceptis usuris duorum annorum et dimidii^t, vix michi .xxii. m(arce)^u ponderate sufficerent, nec preterit hodie mensis in quo de solis usuris ad .xxi. solid(os) Lucensium, non

^a eiusdem stilus V, eidem studius L

^b indignationem L

^c quod L

^d An V, a L, a *supplied*

^e tamquam L

^f veluti L

^g ?noti V, voti L

^h geminare L

ⁱ quaerunt redhibitionem L

^j affluentia L

^k quoniam L

^l remunerabilitatem L

^m liberaliter L

ⁿ propriam L

^o impartiturus L

^p qui L

^q tempus L

^r quia L

^s ma V, manat L, mea *supplied*

^t dimidium L

^u millia L

teneor. Sperabam uberius de redditibus meis, quoniam^v michi responderint, et earum^w contemplatione, ut moris est et fieri oportuit, sumptus in^x quamplurimis^y maiores feci, et longiora tempora Bolonie continuavi. Sed ne vel meos redditus vel meos incusare videar excessus, lesit me supramodum et inhumane nimis incuria domini N., ne cetera querar, et in huius cuiusdam extreme condicionis precipitavit periculum. Sed quia miserendi tempus est et non querendi, nostra solum interest ne solis vestris manibus pereat^z elaboratum. Porro igitur, mi domine, unum est necessarium, ut in anticipatione annui redditus prebende mee michi vestra sollicitudo prospiciat et diligentia. In hoc autem nichil cuiquam verendum est periculi, essem enim tantundem post mortem meam habiturus. Erit autem futura michi longe comodior^{aa} modica summa presens, quam multo maior in tempus dilata. Sortis enim qua teneor solutione tardante, usurarum quantitas^{bb} ingrauescit in dies.

Latorem itaque presentium seruientem meum et nuncium ad vos dirigo quatenus quod gratia vestra mediante michi de meo in annum proximum futurum parari poterit, id per eum michi mittatis et^{cc} precibus meis vos exoratum cupio quatenus domino N. precipiatis ut id modicum quod de meo se dicit habere, et ut sibi placet michi detinet, latori presentium ad me perferendum tradat. Pretendit enim de nouo si^{dd} ad excusandas excusationes suas ut magis arbitror, quia^{ee} sine vestro precepto, et nisi per medias manus vestras michi meum et quasi depositum^{ff} non audeat restituere.

Si forsitan et adhuc ab isto nuntio meo quali^{gg}, sicut fecit ab alio qualiquali quem ad vos et ad eum misi, ex superhabundanti cautionem^{hh} exposcat, vel de casibus fortuitis contra iuris regulam sibi repromitti querat, peto, mi domine, quatenus vestra discretio suis subtilitatibus michi perniciosus occurrat, ne per gramaticam suam cum dampno et opprobrio hunc ad me remittat inanem et vacuum, sicut fecit et alium. A casibus fortuitis tam scilicet Martini quemⁱⁱ Bulgari sententiam^{jj} quibusdam preenunciatis^{kk}, vel simpliciter omnibus qui poterunt accidere, si non ligatus valeret absolui, eum absoluo. Si quid tamen adhuc tempora^{ll} circa mea culpa commisit, ipse viderit, hanc enim ei liberam ignosco. Quicquid^{mmm} erga illum vel alium nomine meo gratia vestra et misericordia feceritis, quisquis fuerit rerum euentus ratum habebō. Si fortassis Sim(on) filius W. nondum totum soluit quod debuit, audio N.ⁿⁿ quod adhuc quasi .xx. solid(os) debeat, que tamen cura et sollicitudo, si domino N. placeret, ad me non deberet spectare, ipsi N. Sim(on)^{oo} delegavi, si fortassis inquam nondum totum soluit,

^v quam L

^w eorum L

^x in V, mihi L

^y quamplurimos L

^z pereat V, *underdotted and corrected over the line*

^{aa} commodior L

^{bb} V *inserts o, underdotted for omission*

^{cc} etiam L

^{dd} se L

^{ee} quod L

^{ff} depositum L

^{gg} *om.* L

^{hh} cautione L

ⁱⁱ quam L

^{jj} *om.* L

^{kk} proenumeratis L

^{ll} turpia L

^{mmm} quidquid L

ⁿⁿ H. L

^{oo} Simonem L

rogo quatenus eum auctoritate vestra ad solutionem arcetis^{pp}, nimis enim et supra modum indigeo, nec me recolo in tanta umquam anxietate vixisse. Vestri honoris interest ne in his quasi nouissimis temporibus meis nimie paupertatis optentu citra me ipsum, immo citra eam ad quam me vocastis dignitatem aliquid agam minus honeste. Liberabor utique, volente^{qq} Domino, si michi vita comes fuerit vel saltem in extremis. Sed si aliter quam per miserationis vestre manus me liberari contigerit, vester honor viderit.

Valete. Gratiam et honorem quem insigne vestre nobilitatis inditium, et domus vestra tota in illum nuntium meum contulit quem ad vos misi plusquam in me habeo collatum.

1. Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, to Bernard of Clairvaux: 'Balsamum ex odore suo, et arborem ex fructu cognosci, paucos credimus ignorare', *Bernard Epistolae*, no.169; trans. *LSB*, 185.
2. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 335: 'Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.'

^{pp} arctetis L

^{qq} volent L

Letter 2

[Master David to ?Gilbert Foliot]¹

[c. early 1169]²

The representation of a man: a discourse in the same style and words:

I rejoiced,³ because, to judge by your representation, you seemed to be happier than usual, calming my spirit, that you yourself, as the praiseworthy shortening of your letters and your sweet discourse suggested, had calmed whatever indignation there was. The works of piety double the joy which, as I hear, you alone mercifully magnify in me and mine, offering clear proof of the restoration of your love and favour. For we are accustomed to identify balsam from its odour, and the tree from its fruit.⁴ It adds to the merit that whilst you would be able to command my benevolence as your due, by your letters you preferred instead, with prayers of a certain admirable humility, to seek it as a favour rather than an obligation, wishing not to demand but to persuade, albeit that the thing was sometimes more my wish than your command. Therefore, my whole soul bursts forth in your grace, and my bones do not cease to unite in praise. Of course, the doers of deeds seek a return. But how in my case, since I am in a beggarly way, a pauper from birth? Therefore, the good-will in which I abound in superfluity, of which there is great fulness in me, which you entreat as the sole repayment of benefits by way of what is beneficent, pure and generous, I bestow upon you in fulness from my breast, ready, were it possible or prudent, freely to impart my very soul and the light of my eyes. In these days, my filial affection for you has neither stiffened nor grows stiff. So, my lord, if you have put aside the ‘father’⁵, assume it! For with you it remains the case that he who seeks a hearing can do so only via the fatherly entrails. I live amongst mud and chaff. It has robbed me of time, than which there can be no graver blow. For it is useless to instruct the useless, and a great waste of all with which my breast is filled.⁶ Held back by the onslaught of want, I am not permitted proper work through financial needs.

A weight of debt oppresses me, absorbs my whole substance, and leaves me no freedom to depart from Bologna.⁷ If I remember right, twenty-two marks (full weight) would scarce suffice to pay the principal, let alone the accumulated usury of two and a half years; a month never goes by without my being indebted for twenty-one shillings of Lucca in interest alone.⁸ I had hoped for more from my revenues, that they would be paid to me, and in their expectation, as is the custom and sometimes happens, I involved myself in various greater expenses, and stayed a longer time at Bologna. You may think I am blaming my income or my own excesses, but I was inhumanely injured beyond measure by the total negligence of

¹ Though there is not *salutatio* this letter can be attributed to David due to style and content. David refers to ‘your house’ when addressing his recipient and is clearly referring to matters that involve the chapter, including the income he has been given from the canons’ demense land, and debts owed him by the archdeacon of London. As with no.1 it seems likely it was written to Foliot and Brooke believed so, see ‘Earliest Times’, 35. Though, as with no.1 it could have been written by someone in the chapter instead.

² David claims he has lived under usury for two and a half years and he went to Bologna in c.1166-7, but had probably left by mid 1169 when Foliot called him away.

³ Similar to no.5 ‘letus factus sum, quia vestra licet sero mini nuntiata sunt’.

⁴ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.169; trans. *LSB*, 185.

⁵ Presumably from the wording of Foliot’s letter to David.

⁶ Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 335.

⁷ Referring to the financial difficulties also discussed in no.1.

⁸ Lucca’s currency was highly valued, strong, and widely used in medieval Europe.

Lord N(icholas, archdeacon of London?)⁹, not to mention other matters, that has thrust me into this acutely critical situation.¹⁰ But because this a time for compassion and not for complaining, it is our sole concern is that what your hands alone elaborated should not fail. In turn then, my lord, one thing is necessary: that your care and diligence be directed to arranging an advance for me from the annual rent of my prebend.¹¹ In this arrangement no danger is to be feared for anyone, for the same would be reserved for me even after my death. A small sum now would serve me for the future much better than a much larger sum delayed. By putting off the repayment of the principal sum by which I am bound, the amount of interest grows daily more severe.¹²

Therefore, I sent you the bearer of these present letters, my servant and messenger, so that, with your grace's intervention, it will be possible to arrange payment to me from my resources for the coming year, so that you send this back with him, with me hoping by my prayers to persuade you to command the lord N(icholas?), that he hand over to the bearer of the present letters, to bring to me, the modest sum which he says he has from me, but that he would prefer to hold back from me. For he once again claims, as my better judgement tells me, to add excuse to excuses, that he dares not restore to me what is mine and held as if on deposit, without your command and via your hands.

If by chance he should request a superfluous caution from this messenger of mine, just as he did from another that I sent to you and to him, or he seeks to guarantee himself from chance occurrences, contrary to the letter of the law, I ask, my lord, that your discretion counters his wiles so pernicious to me, lest by his word-play he sends this man back to me null and void, amidst damage and opprobrium, as he did with the other. I absolve him, if unbound by oath he is worth absolving, from all chance occurrences, both from those already set out in the sentence of Martin or Bulgarus¹³, or simply from all that may arise. If up until now he was guilty of any negligence towards me, he himself will know, and I grant him free pardon. Whatever you shall have done in respect to him on anyone else in my name by your favour and mercy, I shall confirm, no matter what the outcome. If it is the case that Sim(on) fitz W(illiam)¹⁴ has not yet paid that which he owed, for I hear from N(icholas?) that he still owes twenty shillings, for which the care and attention should not be mine, if it pleases the lord N(icholas), I entrust Simon to the said N(icholas), and if as I say, he has not yet paid the whole, I ask that you compel him by your authority to make payment, for I desire this fully and beyond measure, nor can I recall ever having lived amidst such anxiety. It is up to you to see that in these, my latest times, the lowest ebb of my fortunes, my too great poverty does not drive me, in any dishonourable way, beyond the bounds of what is becoming either to myself or to the dignity which you conferred upon me. I shall clear myself, God willing, if I

⁹ As with no.1, it is possible it is Nicholas being referred to.

¹⁰ 'Prevented by the onslaught of want...acutely critical situation' adapted from a translation by Brooke, in 'Earliest Times', 35-6.

¹¹ David's prebend of Brownswood, see Chapter Two.

¹² 'One thing is necessary...from day to day' adapted from a translation by Brooke, in 'Earliest Times', 36.

¹³ Bulgarus and Martinus were teachers of law at Bologna, two of the 'four doctors' of the law there (the other two were Hugo da Porta Ravennate and Jacobus de Voragine). Bulgarus died on or before 1 Jan 1167 and Martinus died c.1166. Bulgarus and Martinus were heads of opposing factions at Bologna, Bulgarus' version of glossing took a text at face value where Martinus preferred a freer interpretation of the sources. See P. Landau, 'The Development of Law', *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV: c.1024-c.1198 Pt.I* (Cambridge 2004), 124.

¹⁴ The MS seems to read 'Sim', but a 'Siward son of William' appears in *GFL*, no.405, seemingly as a tenant of the bishop.

survive so long, even at my last gasp.¹⁵ But, if I might be released by any means other than by the hands of your mercy, your honour will see. Farewell. I hold more dear the grace and honour that are the sign of your pre-eminent nobility and that your entire household conferred upon my messenger whom I sent to you.

¹⁵ 'It is up to you...even at my last gasp' adapted from a translation by Brooke, in 'Earliest Times', 36.

Letter 3

V fo.140v = L 604-5

Inter cetera que ^acircumueniunt egestatem incomoda^a, et^b hoc unum legitur, quod predam non hominem sequi putatur¹. Unde rari diuites pauperum reperiuntur amici, dum vel diues a paupere non se sed sua queri coniectat, vel dum pauper quia suspiciosus diuitem ad gratiam incurare^c formidat². Hac de causa factum est quod salutationis mee litteras, velut nunc tardius susceperitis. Salua vestra reuerentia loquor, sed nec adhuc hodie suscepissetis, nisi q(uonia)m insigne vestre non^d indicium me litteris vestris et gratia preueniendo, hanc de medio suspicionem tulerisset^e et formidinem. Gaudeo itaque et est quod ab anima mea pre ceteris diligatur, quod a memoria vestra me non ventilauit obliuio, sed me vestro resertiatis^f in pectore. Factus estis michi consolatio multa in diebus malis et loco peregrinationis mee, ubi cibo tribul(at)ionis) et potu sustentor angustie, dies in dispendium, noctes versans in cogitationes.

Cetera sileo, nam tractari timida, viua voce vellent^g expediri, non littera. Quicquid^h sit pergrauum rerum iacterⁱ discrimina^j, siquid sum, siquid volente Domino futurus ero melius, ubi sim, quocumque locorum fati^k trahentibus, deuenero, zelo vestrum et ero ze(lans) ho(norem) vestrum, quoniam affectu toto vos diligo, et si quandoque tempus accepero dilectionis affectum opere probabo, quas solas et quales nunc possum pro gratia gratias ago. Unum est de quo precibus meis vos exor(at)um cupio, quatenus domino G¹ ^marchidiacono consang(uineo) vestro manum solito porrigatis uberio^rem, multis enim opus habet, et scimus quiaⁿ singulariter a vobis totus pendeat.

Proculdubio scitote quoniam pre ceteris quos diebus istis de partibus nostris vidi Bolonie, totis viribus sectatur honestatem et magna future bonitatis pretendit^o indicia. De cetero si michi gratie vestre perseuerantiam sperare liceat, rogo si quid forsitan inopinatum in me absentem fumum et flamam^p eructans^q cuiusquam, machinetur inuidia, rogo inquam cum ad aures vestras peruenerit, michi vestre protectionis scutum obumbret. Nullam enim nisi iustam et equam et euidentis meriti causam, vobis agendam committo. Valete et det Dominus verba sua in ore tua^r ut placeant^s in conspectu principis nostri, et^t euertat^u cor eius in odium

^a egestatem circumueniunt incommoda *L*

^b etiam *L*

^c inuitare *L*

^d memorie *L*

^e tulisset *L*

^f reseruatis *L*

^g *add. et L*

^h quicquid *L*

ⁱ iactor *L*

^j discrimine *L*

^k satis *L*

^l *Om. L*

^m *add. Cantuariensi L*

ⁿ quanto *L*

^o portendit *L*

^p flammam *L*

^q eructantis *L*

^r 'vestro' corrected to 'tua' in the MS, tuo *L*

^s complacent *L*

^t *om. L*

^u convertant *L*

repugnantium tibi. Spero enim de Domino quod zelum Dei habeas et utinam secundum scientiam.

1. Cf. a sentiment attributed to Seneca 'Sicut mel muscae sequuntur cadavera lupi, frumenta formicae, sic et falsi amici praedam sequuntur, non hominem, et fortunam potius, quam personam'. Though it was attributed to Seneca, it does not come directly from his corpus but circulated elsewhere.
2. ?Unidentified

Letter 3

[Master David to Gilbert Foliot]¹

[After 1167 X 1170]²

Amongst the various inconveniences attendant upon poverty, we read of one in particular: that the poor man is believed to pursue the prize and not the patron.³ Whence the rich are rarely accounted friends of the poor, either because in the pauper the rich man perceives one who covets not himself but his possessions, or because the pauper, being suspect, is reluctant to request the favour of the rich. It is for this reason that you will have only now, and lately, have received these letters with my greeting. I speak saving your reverence, but not even today would you have received them, had it not been for the token and favour of your regard, delivered in your own letters⁴, that dispelled all suspicion and reluctance. I rejoice therefore, and am esteemed in my soul above others, that forgetfulness has not wafted me from your memory⁵, but that you treasure me in your breast. You have brought me much comfort in these evil days and in my place of pilgrimage, where I am nourished with the food of tribulation and the drink of anguish, my days spent in squander and my nights fretting in thought.

As to the rest, I am silent, for the timid would rather speak in person than by letter. I declare in reponse to more serious matters, whatever I am, so, God willing, shall I be better in future, and wherever I may be, dragged by the fates to whatever place, I shall have arrived there with zeal, zealous for your honour, since I serve you with complete devotion, ready, whenever opportunity arises, to prove that devotion by deeds by which, and by which alone, I may with favour repay the favours done to me. One thing there is that I would wish by my pleading to persuade you, that you extend better assistance to the lord G. your kinsman and archdeacon⁶, who has much to do that, as we know, depends singularly and entirely upon you.

¹ No *salutatio* is preserved but it can be attributed to David according to style and content. David does refer to ‘those from our parts who have come to Bologna’ suggesting the recipient may be Foliot who sent his nephews there in c.1167-8.

² This must have been written after Foliot’s nephews were sent to Bologna in c.1167-8, but was possibly written after David had left Bologna to seek Foliot’s absolution at the Curia.

³ Cf. a sentiment attributed to Seneca: ‘Sicut mel muscae sequuntur cadavera lupi, frumenta formicae, sic et falsi amici praedam sequuntur, non hominem, et fortunam potius, quam personam’. Though it is attributed to Seneca, it does not come directly from his corpus, but must have circulated as the sentiment appears in numerous works including Gerald of Wales’s (*De Principis Instructione: Instruction for a Ruler*, ed. R. Bartlett (Oxford 2019), 539): ‘Predam, non hominem, sequitur ista turba; potestam utique venerantur, non personam’. Cf. N. Maldina, ‘A Classicising Friar in Dante’s Florence: Servasanto da Faenza, Dante and the Ethics of Friendship’, *Ethics, Politics and Justice in Dante* ed. G. Gaimari and C. Keen (London 2019), 44 n.27.

⁴ Possibly referring to nos.1 and 2 which presumably went unanswered.

⁵ A common phrase of David’s, also in nos.9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20.

⁶ Liverani supplied ‘Cantuariensi’ here, suggesting Geoffrey Ridel, kings clerk and archdeacon of Canterbury from March 1163 until April 1173. However other evidence (see above fn.1) suggests the letter may have been sent to Gilbert Foliot, and Foliot nowhere refers to Geoffrey as a relative. In *GFL*, no.225 he writes to the Pope asking him to confirm Geoffrey’s election as bishop of Ely, yet does not call him a relative as he does in no.226 where he is writing on behalf of Richard of Ilchester (called *cognatus*), recently elected to Winchester. Foliot did have a relative who was ‘G the archdeacon’: Gilbert Foliot II, archdeacon of Middlesex after 11 June 1180, *Fasti*, i, 16. This is too late, though, given the likely date range for the letter, though the ‘archdeacon’ title could have been a later addition to the letter when it was copied into the collection. Other candidates for a ‘G the archdeacon’ in the 1170s are: a Geoffrey appears as archdeacon of York from c.1158 last occ. 1164 x 1177, *Fasti*, vi, 31-6. This Geoffrey has no clear link to Foliot.

One further possibility lies at Lincoln, where a Geoffrey became archdeacon not earlier than 1170 but was in office by Michaelmas 1171, though we know little about him, see *Decretals Lincoln*, ed. Holtzmann and Kemp, 11n. One further possibility lies at Lincoln, where a Geoffrey became archdeacon not earlier than 1170 but was

Know without doubt and before all else that having seen those from our parts who have come to Bologna, honour is pursued with all energy and the signs promise great future good. For the rest, if I be allowed to hope for the continuation of your favour towards me, I ask that should there be any envy plotted against me in my absence, or perhaps some unexpected eruption of one belching fume and flame, I ask, I say, that when this comes to your hearing, you shelter me under the shield of your protection. For I have done nothing in your interest save what is just and equitable and in a cause of evident merit. Farewell, and may the Lord place his words in your mouth that they prove pleasing before our prince and turn his heart from the spite of your enemies. For I trust in the Lord that you possess the zeal of God tempered with wisdom.

in office by Michaelmas 1171, though we know little about him. See *Decretals Lincoln*, ed. Holtzmann and Kemp, 11n.

Letter 4

V fo.140v = L 609-10

Suus D. sine utinam amicus, salutem et in agendis successum. Antiquum et vetus est^a fidenter loquor^b qui fidenter diligit, et qui hesitat hesitare facit^c. Sincera non est ut aiunt dilectio, ubi scrupulus dubietatis fecem generat suspicionis.¹ A diebus illis quibus te Romam misit leg(ati)o, sincere dilectionis quam feci promissio, nec ociosa nec sterilis inuenta est in me. Unde non satis animam meam percellit admiratio, quid sibi velit^d litteris tuis insertum: ‘et utinam amico’. An occasiones queris ut ditior effectus ab amico paupere recedere possis, an te quisquam fascinavit repromisse mutue dilectionis vota non soluere? Prius erat amici experimentum sumere, quam de amico dubitare.² Hec ideo loquor ne quid pectore clausum teneam, quod^e ore non promam. Sed ut omnis suspitio de medio fiat, al(acrite)r agamus.

Quia igitur in ambiguis absolutum non debet esse iudicium², et obscura benigniorem interpretationem desiderant, volo michi ‘utinam’ sign(ifi)cet perseu(er)antie votum in dilectione, quam quod signum sit hesitationis et diffidentie. Et utique vestre dilectionis suaue redolentem odorem sentio. Non erit igitur apud^f me tanta prerogatiua verborum, ut rerum^g experimentis preiudicet. Et certe si quandoque^h michi Dominus oportunitatem dederit, parem vobis vicem in aliquo rependere, et dilectionis opere probare me non solum amicum sed etiam amicissimum experieris. Interim pro insigni tue liberalitatis inditioⁱ quod ostendistis^j in me, quas solas modo possum gratias ago. Verbum quod michi significastis, de communicando quod domini mei concanonici nostri sibi precipuum usurpant, ut michi videre videor, longiore indiget apparatu. Unde forsitan tutius erit ad tempus rem non inceptam^k deserere, quam inceptam non consumare. Si tamen pretemptastis^l occasione rescripti rem in melius posse reformari, commodius per alios qui hac in eadem causa versantur rescriptum impetrare poteritis. Ego enim ut nosci homo sum nil altum sompnians, fauorem curie non appetens, olus meum quod quandoque^m michi minus sufficitⁿ, patienter prandens.

1. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, no.178 (*PL*, 182, col.340, not in *Bernard Epistolae*): ‘Fidenter loquor, quia fideliter amo. Nec enim sincerus est amor, ubi dubietatis scrupulus suspicionis facem retinet.’
2. Adam of Bremen (d.1081/5) (*PL*, 146, col.560): ‘Sed videant huiusmodi ne temere illum iudicent, hoc scientes, quod in rebus ambiguis absolutum non debet esse iudicium, et in quo alterum iudicas, te ipsum condempnas’

^a *add. ut L*

^b loquator *L*

^c faciat *L*

^d velit *om. L*

^e quod *om. L*

^f apud *L*

^g verum *L*

^h quandocumque *L*

ⁱ iudicio *L*

^j ostendisti *L*

^k interceptam *underdotted for correction V*

^l pertemtastis *L*

^m quamquam *L*

ⁿ sufficiat *L*

Letter 4

Master David [to ?Master Henry of Northampton]¹

[After 1168]²

His David, and not his 'would-be friend', sends greeting and success in the things being done. It is an old established truth that he who strives in confidence speaks confidently, and he who hesitates inspires hesitation. As they say, love is not sincere where the scruples of doubt stir up the dregs of suspicion.³ From the time when your legation carried you to Rome, my pledge of sincere love has neither tired nor withered within me. For which reason, astonishment failed entirely to smite my soul, that in your letters to me you chose to address me as 'would-be friend'. Do you seek the opportunity, the richer you become, to cast off a poor friend? Or has someone or something tempted you not to honour the pledge of mutual love? It was once considered better to try a friend than to mistrust him. I speak thus lest I fail to declare what I would otherwise hold close within my breast. But that all suspicion may be banished, we should act with speed.

Therefore, because in things that are doubtful there should be no absolute judgement⁴, and obscurities require a kinder interpretation, I wish that 'would-be' might signify, not hesitation or reluctance, but a determination to persist in friendship. And in turn I sense that lingering odour of your gentle love. It will not be my practice to prejudge such verbal prerogatives by testing deeds. Certainly, if at any time the Lord gives me opportunity to repay you in kind, you shall prove me through works of love not just your friend but your best beloved. Meanwhile, I can only give thanks for the proof you have shown me of your exceptional generosity. The information you communicated to me, that our fellow canons have usurped to themselves what belonged rightfully to my lord⁵, requires more careful pondering to be made plain to me⁶. Whence it would perhaps be safer to abandon something not yet begun than not to complete something already started. If, however, you have attempted before this to put things into a better shape by use of a rescript, you could seek such a rescript more easily via others engaged in the same case. As is known, I am a man who does not dream high dreams, nor hunger for the favour of the court, patiently munching my greens however paltry.

¹ The *salutatio* shows it was written by David. David refers to 'our fellow canons' suggesting the recipient is also a canon of London, and he mentions that the recipient was sent to Rome on a legation. Henry acted as envoy to the Curia for the king in 1164, and see no.29 where the Pope mentions a legation including Henry of Northampton which was sent to him by the king in 1168. Henry was a canon of London, first occ. before 1174, and last occ. 2 Aug 1191, he held the prebend of Cantlers and was probably Master of the Schools at St Paul's c.1160-c.1179, *Fasti*, i, 37.

² Evidently this was written after Henry's legation to Rome in 1168, if indeed he was the recipient, and it seems to allude to David's troubles with the canons of St Paul's, discussed in nos.1-3.

³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, no.178, *PL*, 182, col.340 (not in *Bernard Epistolae*).

⁴ Adam of Bremen (d.1081/5), *Liber 3*, *PL*, 146, col.560.

⁵ Suggesting all was not well at St Paul's between bishop and chapter.

⁶ For the phrase 'michi videre videor', see also no.7.

Letter 5

V fo.140v = L 610

Aduentantibus Boloniam dominis meis archid(iaconis)^a, nepotibus domini mei, letus factus sum, quia vestra leta licet sero michi nuntiata sunt, et animo meo me reddidit incolum(n)em^b, vestra innotescens alacritas. Audieram enim semel, et iterum ingrata, unde factum est quod domino meo Thome scripserim, non vobis. Quia tamen de auditis dubius extiteram^c, rogavi eum ut sibi vobis adiuncto collega et in lite consorte, causam meam in conspectu domini mei peroraret, que^d si nondum littere ad manus vestras peruenerint, rogo si placet eas perquiratis, reddent enim vos in causa^e mea^f instructiorem. Interim sicut fecistis et facitis, sic enim audio quod adhuc in oculis domini mei pro me bene^g loquimini, et michi scuto vestre protectionis obumbrare^h, ut quod in presentia mea prudenter incepistis, in absentia mea efficaciter complere valeatis.

^a archidiacono et *L*

^b incolumen *L*

^c extiterim *L*

^d quod *L*

^e causam *L*

^f meam *L*

^g bonum *L*

^h obumbrate *L*

Letter 5

[Master David of London to ?Robert de Broi]¹

[c.1167-8]²

I rejoice at the arrival in Bologna of my lords, the archdeacons, my lord's kinsmen³, because your joys, albeit at a late hour, were made known to me and, knowing your eagerness, my soul was healed. For what I had heard once, and again without pleasure, explains why I should have written to my lord Thomas⁴, and not to you. However, because I was rendered doubtful by what I heard, I asked him to put my case in my lord's hearing⁵, joined to you as a colleague and consort in argument, which, should the letters not yet have reached you, I ask you to seek them out since they will instruct you further in my case. Meanwhile, I hear that in the sight of my lord you spoke well on my behalf, as you have done and will do, sheltering me beneath the shield of your protection⁶, so that what you prudently began in my presence you may complete with good effect in my absence.

¹ Style and content suggest this was written by David. The letter seems to make reference to Foliot who, as we have seen above, David believed to be angry with him. The advocacy referred to here is perhaps that of Robert de Broi, noted as joint advocate in no.1 above, since the Thomas mentioned here is presumably Thomas the chaplain, Robert's fellow pleader.

² Suggesting that this letter was written not long after the arrival of the two archdeacons in Bologna, c.1167-1168: *GFL*, no.188n.

³ The nephews sent to Bologna by Foliot.

⁴ Presumably the same Thomas the chaplain who was mentioned in no.1.

⁵ Presumably a reference to Foliot.

⁶ Cf. no.3: 'michi vestre protectionis scutum obumbret'.

Letter 6

V fos.140v-141r = L 620-1

Ad utile vestrum et fidele consilium nisi quia minus^a licitum et liberum quo^b michi per litteras vestras persuasistis, illo nostro et aliis meis immo^c fortune amicis uti, in dies istos eo^d usus sum. Si tamen est eo uti, eius occasione ad ingratitudinem quesitis abuti, si est eo uti, qui numquam quieto animo, raro michi pacifico utitur verbo. Si est eo uti, cui me filium carnalem supra fidem fidele mancipium exhibui, qui solito durius, se^e flagellum michi. Si est eo uti, eo utendo expectare proscribi, non tam ab urbe sua et tota principantis dominatione, quam ab alio quodam quem etsi tempore modico, incolui orbe. Cum enim^f tam inferos quam superos inuicem pro eo concusserim, ut si forte quod quandoque^g non vane timebam, destitueretur a superis, saltem aput^h inferos locum inueniret adepti regiminis, utrosque meritoⁱ contra me concitat, et cum iam illas preces vestras inferiores sollicitauerit, per eundem^j et alios nouos quosdam agitadores, alias superiores in me mouere non erubescit.

Nuper cum albus ille, qui studiorum gratia profecturus, per nos transitum fecisset, multis persuasoriis et a me et ab aliis de non pergendo propositis, tandem ab ore domini sui accepi, quod quamuis studium simularet, agebat potius ut summi pontificis et curie auctoritate, contra quorundam collegarum de adepta quondam administratione insidias, sibi prepararet tutamen^k et maxime contra meas infestationes inueniret defensionem. Miseram quondam^l meorum Turonis pro deferendis michi quibusdam sententiis mag(istri) Rob(erti) quas gratia domini Wigorn(iensis) michi com(m)odauerat, et statim verbum ad publicam notitiam c(aus)auit^m, quod ad legatorum instructionem a me missus fuerit. Preterea cum cuidam ex indigenis, qui ad redimendum tempus, et in anime mee languentis solatium, in sinu suo me collegisset, et caritatis instituisset fouere visceribus, ille de quo nobis mentio, et in me detractionibus et in illum querimoniis linguam suam exacuit, adeo quod necesse habebat susceptor, se aduersarium exhibere, sed mal vi ab inuito et mesto recedere. Est et aliud, cum nec probris ad rixam, nec inhonestis factis ad querimoniam me quoquomodo prouocare potuerit, illum aliumⁿ suum potentem in talibus contra me suscitauit. Sed sicut ipsi domino per omnia detuli, sic et procuratorem virgiorum^o, ea tamen qua potui patientia sustineo et sustinui.

Pauca sunt hec et modica, quamuis summo tegenda silentio, sed haberem vobis multo maiora que cogor suppressere, non tam^p quia protense nimium epistole continerent^q excessum, quam^r

^a quominus L

^b quod L

^c imo L

^d eo *om.* L

^e fecit L

^f enim *om.* L

^g quamquam L

^h apud L

ⁱ immerito L

^j eundem L

^k tutelam L

^l quemdam L

^m clamauit L

ⁿ altum L

^o prouocatorem iurgiorum L

^p tantum L

^q contineret L

^r quantum L

quoniam arguta^s sunt hodie scriptorum scrutinia et plena periculis, sicut et ipse michi scripsistis. Unde nisi iam aliud formidassem periculum geminato maris transitu, saltem diurnum^t a vobis emissem alloquium. Compensasset siquidem michi de iniqua retributione, de inaudita interpretatione solatium, et directionem viarum mearum et^u operum^v in^w futurum^x. Inter has tamen scriptis communicandi angustias est unde miror quamplurimum, cum verbum illud ad recolendum vel^y “si quid preter spem euenit meum erat ignoscere”¹, michi scripto significaueritis, quod^z verbi causam scitu michi tam necessarium, omnino reticuistis.

Scitis enim quia solus estis in Anglia a quo de futuris rerum euentibus expecto premunionem, et de preteritis erratibus correptionem, fatuus ille qui medius inter nos discurrit, qui iuxta tenorem litterarum uestrarum^{aa} michi loqui debuit que^{bb} vidit et audiuit, nec in uno verbo super his me certiozem facere sciuit. Rogo itaque, nam summopere michi expedire videtis, quatenus scripto vestro summotenus^{cc} nichil enim^{dd} periculi^{ee} vel saltem alicuius amici vestri fidelis et discreti viue vocis alloquio, me cautiozem reddatis qualiter quomodo preter spem euenisse dixeritis^{ff}. Scio quoniam ex pie dileccionis superhabundantia malletis michi leta suggere^{gg}, quam aduersa nuntiare. Attamen si aduersa tum imminent ea presciri expedit, saltem ad inueniendum perferendi solatium, cum omnino desit auertendi^{hh} subsidium. Nec me quamuis pusillanimum relatione talium animo credatis consternereⁱⁱ. Illud namque vulgare dediscere non possum. Assata care^{jj} nimis emitur^{kk} pro qua collum datur, et ambo quandoque^{ll} legimus: Satius est fame perire quam idolotitis vesci², sicut et sine liberis defungi quam ex illicito concubitu stirpem querere³, et alibi: ‘Non est ignoscendum ei que^{mmm} paupertatis obtentu turpem vitam egit’⁴. Si licita licerent, est quod mittere non licet in corbanam, quale est quod precium iusti sanguinis est effusi⁵, cuius ultionem seueram nimium in me descendisse sentio, nisi quiaⁿⁿ confido de Domino, quod erit potius ad misericordiam quam ad iudicium, infelici siquidem rerum interceptus euentu suscepte prius cause necessitate, nec etiam^{oo} defuncto peperci, sed in confusionem faciei mee et pro multa spiritus angustia contra dominum et martyrem gloriosum, contra ecclesiam in^{pp} quasi^{qq} quasdam

^s angusta L
^t diurnum L
^u ad L
^v optatum L
^w om. L
^x fructum L
^y vel V, est L
^z quod V, cuius L
^{aa} nostrarum L
^{bb} que V, qui L
^{cc} dummodo L
^{dd} vobis L
^{ee} add. euenisse duxeritis L
^{ff} qualiter...dixeritis om. L
^{gg} suggerere L
^{hh} attendendi L
ⁱⁱ consternari L
^{jj} caro L
^{kk} venditur L
^{ll} quamquam L
^{mmm} que V, qui L
ⁿⁿ quod L
^{oo} et L
^{pp} om. L
^{qq} utique L

blasphemias paucas iui^{rr}. Sed utinam paucioribus emissem penitentiam, ne^{ss} stolide illius impietatis iustam mercedem reperissem^{tt} iniquitatem. Quicquid^{uu} fuerit ab ore meo nunquam excidetur nec pectore. Si pietatis et gratie operibus que in me iugiter magnificare non cessatis de pari nequam^{vv} respondere^{ww}, scio et certus sum quoniam habundanter ea vobis Dominus retribuet. Si negotia mea si qua^{xx} tamen sunt ad presens per vos ipsum et aliquem vestrorum absque N. expedire possetis, michi plurimum expediret. Elatus est enim in multam insolentiam aduersum me occasione huius obsequii, quod michi quamuis multum dampnose^{yy} prestitit. Nam ut cetera non querar, vas est sine operculo, continue deditus ebrietati et luxui^{zz6}. Unde^{aaa} quia^{bbb} modicum id quod ex parsimonia in futurum reseruau, etiam^{ccc} supra numerum suum, et ubi fuerit diuulgatum^{ddd}, tam donando quam commodando et in alias inutiles expensas pro parte maiore neccesse habui consumere.

1. Terence, *The Woman of Andros. The Self-tormentor. The Eunich*, ed. and trans. J. Barsby (Cambridge, MA 2001), 126: 'Siquid praeter spem evenit, mi ignoscere'.
2. Cf. 1 Corinthians.
3. Cf. Augustine, *De Bono Coniugali* c.16 (*PL*, xl, cols.385-6), whence Hincmar *De Divortio*, 5 (*PL*, cxxv, col.655D) and a host of later writers, including Gratian, *Decretum*, C.32 4 q. .c. 8 (ed. Friedberg, col.1129): 'sicut satius est mori fame quam idolothyti vesci, ita satius est defungi sine liberis quam ex illicito concubitu stirpem querere'
4. *Digest* 23.2.43.5
5. Matthew 26:6. 6. Numbers 19:15.

^{rr} irruui L

^{ss} nec L

^{tt} recepisse L

^{uu} Quicumque L

^{vv} nequaquam L

^{ww} respondeam L

^{xx} que L

^{yy} dampnose L

^{zz} luxurie L

^{aaa} utique L

^{bbb} om. L

^{ccc} et L

^{ddd} diulgauum V, divulgatum est L, diuulgatum *suppl.*

Letter 6

[Master David to an unnamed correspondent]¹

[?After Letter 34, ?late 1171 X early 1172]²

For your youthful and faithful advice (except for the fact that it is less permissible and open) by which you persuaded me through your letters to use our community and my other friends, at the lowest point of fortune, I used him in those days. But if it is to use him, in ingratitude you sought to abuse the opportunity of him, if it is to use him, who never has a quiet mind and rarely uses a peaceful word to me. If it is to use him, to whom I have shown myself a son in the flesh and a faithful servant beyond faith, he who more harshly than usual, has shown himself to be a scourge to me, if it is to use him, by using him to expect to be exiled, not just from his city and the whole domination that he has authority over,³ but also from a certain other world which I inhabited, albeit for a short time.⁴ I shook both those below and those above for him, so that if by chance he should be deserted by those above, which at one time I feared and not in vain, he should find a place amongst those of the rule below. He roused both against me, and since he disturbed those lower prayers through the same man and certain other new agitators, he is not ashamed to move those superior against me.⁵

Lately, when that pale man who is about to set off for the love of studies had passed by us, with many persuasive arguments against proceeding made from me and others, at length I heard from his lord that he had feigned his zeal, and that instead had advanced so that he might prepare a safeguard for himself with the authority of the Pope and his Curia, against the plot of certain colleagues concerning the authority that he had once obtained, and in particular so that he should find a defence against my attacks. Previously I sent a man of mine to Tours for the purpose of carrying certain judgements of Master Robert to me, which the grace of the Lord of Worcester lent me,⁶ and immediately he publicised the message that was sent to me by instruction of the legates. Thereafter, when a certain one of the natives who to recover time and to the solace of my languishing soul, had gathered me in his bosom and arranged to cherish me with the entrails of love. I recalled to us concerning him, that he had inflamed his tongue with accusations in my withdrawal and he necessarily holds him suspect, as he showed himself to be hostile, but I preferred to withdraw from the unwilling and those in the middle. There was another man and he was able to provoke me neither to a brawl with immodesty, and nor to a complaint with dishonourable deeds, and he elevated another one of

¹ This can be attributed to David according to style and content but the recipient is unclear.

² Cheney provided this dating, for it was written before peace had been made between Henry II and the Pope but it is after David has 'purchased penitence' for Gilbert Foliot, *Roger*, 10 fn.24. However the letter appears to make reference to David's falling out with Foliot, suggesting it may be linked to nos.34 and 88.

³ Presumably a reference to Foliot and London/ St Paul's.

⁴ Perhaps a reference to Roger of Worcester's household if linked to no.34.

⁵ Surely a reference to Foliot's attempts to turn Roger of Worcester against David.

⁶ Presumably this refers to Roger of Worcester, who was elected March 1163, consecrated 23 Aug 1164, and enthroned 2 Feb 1165, d. 9 or 10 Aug 1179, *Fasti*, ii, 99-100. The Master Robert referred to is possibly Robert of Melun, as Roger studied under him in Paris, see Cheney, *Roger*, 10. Though, David says he has sent his men to get 'sententiis' and Robert Pullen (c.1080-1144) wrote an 8 part treatise entitled the *Sententie*. Robert of Melun, on the other hand, 'never lived to complete the book on the *Sentences* on which he embarked after completing his commentary on the Pauline epistles', see C. Mews, 'Rethinking Scholastic Communities in Latin Europe: Competition and Theological Method in the Twelfth Century', *Medieval Worlds* 12 (2020), 21, though we might suggest that whatever work David was sending for was a law book. Roger was in Tours: May 19-21 1163; possibly Dec 1165; possibly 1168; possibly Jan-Aug and Oct-Dec 1169; possibly Jan-May and Aug-Dec 1170; possibly Aug-Dec 1171; possibly Jan-April 1172, Cheney, *Roger*, 375-9.

his power against me in such a way. But, just as I conveyed to the Lord through all, so I tolerated the provocateur of strife, and I am tolerating it with the patience that I am able.

These things are few and modest which I am covering with the height of silence, but I trusted better in you and I was forced to conceal much, not just so there is not too much excess contained in a letter, but also because the examinations of the scriptorium are piercing and full of danger- just as you wrote to me. I did not fear another danger in the double crossing of the sea, except that I should have obtained a lasting encouragement from you. Indeed, it balanced for me the comfort of uneven recompense and unheard of interpretation, and the direction of my paths and labours in the future. I am greatly surprised, that amongst these limits of communicating in writing, when that word is recalled: “if that which has accrued shall be beyond my hope”⁷ you signified it to me in writing, because with knowledge of this message you were entirely silent to me of the reason, although it was from necessity.

You know that because you are alone in England I expected preparation for future events and an attack on past errors. He is a fool who runs to and fro in the middle between us and who saw and heard and ought to speak to me concerning the tenor of our letters, and he did not know to speak to me more certainly concerning this. So I am asking, and you decided to greatly prepare for me by your writing nothing dangerous or an exhortation in person from one your friends, and you restored me, more cautious, and in this way you caused more than hope to have come forth. I know you preferred to impose happiness on me from the superabundance of pious love, than to declare the opposite. Nevertheless, that enemy had prepared to know in advance those things that are at hand, it was wholly lacking the relief of withdrawing, save in finding the solace of endurance. You do not believe me to overcome timidity of the soul from the report of such a kind. I am not able to forget the multitude. Having been roasted, it was acquired by care, and the neck was delivered for that. As often we read both things: just as it is better to die of hunger than eat the food set before idols,⁸ so is it better to die childless than to seek offspring from unlawful intercourse.⁹ And elsewhere: it is not going to be forgiven to you, who led a foul life from the assertion of poverty.¹⁰ If lawful things should have permitted it, it is not lawful to put them into a corbona,¹¹ since it is the price of justice, poured forth in blood.¹² I felt their sober vengeance descend on me, but I am confident in God: he will be greater in mercy than in justice. Seized by the unlucky event of the matters formerly entered into out of necessity, I refrained from dying, but in the confusion of my face and on account of great difficulty of spirit against the lord and glorious martyr,¹³ I went against the church in certain small blasphemies. But while I had purchased penitence for a few, stupidly I had not discovered the just price of that impiety in unfairness. You will never destroy whatever was from my mouth and not my breast. If I never responded like for like to those works of piety and grace which you did not cease to magnify continually in me, I know and I am certain since the Lord will abundantly repay that to you. If my affairs are those which at present you shall be able to unfold through another of yours besides N. it will clear up a lot for me. For he was raised in great insolence against me on this occasion of

⁷ Terence, *The Woman of Andros. The Self-tormentor. The Eunich*, ed. J. Barsby (Cambridge, MA 2001), 126.

⁸ Cf. 1 Corinthians.

⁹ Augustine, *De Bono Conjugali* c.16, (PL, xl, cols.385-6), whence Hincmar *De Divortio* 5, (PL, cxxv, col.655D), and a host of later writers, including Gratian, *Decretum*, C.32 4 q. c. 8 (ed. Freidberg, col.1129): ‘sicut satius est mori fame quam idolothytis vesci, ita satius est mori fame quam idolothytis vesci, ita satius est defungi sine liberis quam ex illicito concubitu stirpem querere.’

¹⁰ *Digest* 23.2.43.5.

¹¹ A treasure chamber.

¹² Matthew 26:6.

¹³ If this is a reference to Becket then this letter must have been written after 1170.

this obedience, which brought about great loss for me. I shall not complain of the rest: the vessel which is without a lid is delivered to continuous excess and intoxication.¹⁴ Because that which I retain is going to be modest from frugality, even beyond its class, and where it was common, I had to consume it by both sacrificing and accommodating other useless expenses, for the most part out of necessity.

¹⁴ Numbers 19:15. For a discussion on this point, see Gregory I, *The Book of the Morals of St Gregory the Pope or an Exposition on the Book of Blessed Job* III, transl. J. H. Parker, J. G. F. and J. Rivington (London 1884), pt.5 book XXIII, caput x ver.17.

Letter 7

V fo.141r = L 618-9

Filialem cum salute subiectionem. Quod gratie vestre litteras et affectuose benedictionis accepi, gratum super omnia factum est anime mee, et affectum quem ad obsequia vestra deuotum habui, michi reddidit deuotiorem. Sed ne vos vestraque tempora morer, visis beneplaciti vestri litteris, quamuis triplex nimis euidentis iter meum tardare posset excusationis neccessitas, prompto tamen spiritu, nisibus totis ilico paratus fui iuxta verbum vestrum ad me, negotium vestrum tam fideliter gerere quam sponte subire. Visum est autem prout michi videre videor de consilio domini mei ^bR. archid(iaconi)^a nepotis vestri, meum iter suspendi^b. Forsitan quia Mag(ister) Gil(bertus) Lond(oniense) nichilo magis remanere volebat, nec in porrigenda simplici petitione, iusta presertim et favorabili, tanto fuit opus apparatu. Preterea certa quedam et bona dominus archid(iaconus) Rag⁷, ut michi dicebat, a curia acceperat. Si qua alia causa fuit vel occasio, meum modo scire non est. Unum scio, quia non minus promptus inuentus est spiritus meus¹ ad communicandum omnia dispendia huius vestri et tanti laboris, quam quondam fuerit ad participandum sortem pie vestre et^c prime consolationis. Misericordie vestre manum quam per Rad(ulfum) seruientem meum inopi michi aperuistis recolo, et pro eo beneficio cum ceteris que multiplicastis in me quas solas possum gratias ago. Valete et confortamini in Domino. Vir fortis non est cuius animus in aduersitate non crescit².

1. Mark 14:38.
2. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.126 (to Pope Eugenius III): 'Non est vir fortis cui non crescit animus in ipsa rerum difficultate', recalling Seneca, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium*, Bk 3, 22, 7: 'Non est vir fortis et strenuus qui laborem fugit; verum ibi crescit illi animus ipsa rerum difficultate.'

^a archidiaconi R. L

^b suspendere L

^c om. L

Letter 7

[?Master David to Bishop Gilbert Foliot]¹

[c. June 1169]²

A filial submission with greeting. My soul gives thanks that I should have received letters of your favour and affectionate blessing, so that the devoted love I once had in serving you is now repaid to me with yet greater devotion. But, so that I do not waste your time, having seen the letters of your good-will, although it is triply clear that my journey might be delayed by necessity as excuse, with prompt spirit and with all effort I have instantly prepared both faithfully to carry out your business and voluntarily to take it up, according to your words to me. However, things appear exactly as I was seen to see from the counsel of my lord R. the archdeacon, your kinsman,³ that I should delay my journey.⁴ Perhaps, things stand like this because Master Gilbert⁵ wished to remain no longer in London, nor in the presentation of a simple petition, albeit just and favourable. Besides, the lord archdeacon Reginald⁶, as he told me, had received certain good news from the curia. If there was another reason or pretext, it is unknown to me. One thing I do know, that my spirit was found no less prompt⁷ in communicating the whole costs of this your great labour, the imparting of which was once your piety's share and first comfort. Recalling the hand of your mercy which you once opened to poor me through Ralph my servant, I give nothing but thanks for that kindness and for the others that you have done me. Farewell, and may you be comforted in the Lord. He whose spirit does not prosper in adversity is no strong man.⁸

¹ From the style this can be attributed to David. The letter is clearly to a superior as David sends a 'filial' submission. David refers to 'your nephew R the archdeacon' which is likely to be a reference to one of Gilbert Foliot's two nephews who he sent to Bologna in c.1167-8.

² For the letter was presumably written shortly after David received had received no.31, where Foliot asks for his help in prosecuting his appeal at the Curia.

³ This must be either Richard Foliot, archdeacon of Colchester c.1167 X 2 Dec 1178; or Master Ralph de Alta Ripa, archdeacon of Colchester from c.11 June 1180; or Robert Banastre, archdeacon of Essex, see *Fasti*, i, 12-14, 18-20. Most likely it refers to either Richard Foliot or Robert Banastre.

⁴ Very similar wording to no.8 below.

⁵ This Gilbert is not named as a relative like R. the archdeacon suggesting this may be different to the G mentioned in no.3. A master Gilbert occurs as canon of London 1163 X 1172, possibly the same master Gilbert who held the prebend of Portpool at London occurring between Robert (last occ. 1150/1) and Robert de Clifford who occ in the 1170s, *Fasti*, i, 71. He is probably the same canon of London who witnesses charters of Bishop Gilbert Foliot 1163 X 1172: *EEA*, xv, nos.117-18, 129. Gilbert Banastre, clerk and canon of London occurs 19 March 1163 X c.1216, but is not afforded the title *magister*: *EEA*, xv, nos.91, 100, 133, 138, 150, 158, 160, 166-7, 192, 214, 217, 237, 245.

⁶ V has 'Rag' but this may well be Reginald Fitz Jocelin, son of Bishop Jocelin de Bohun, probably the archdeacon of Wiltshire but called archdeacon of Salisbury more than once. Elected bishop of Bath in 1173 and consecrated 23 June 1174, *Fasti*, iv, 33-7. Reginald represented the King at the Curia in 1167-8, 1169-70 and again after Becket's murder from January- April 1171. For this and Reginald's career, see Duggan, 'Reginald Fitz Jocelin', *ODNB*.

⁷ Mark 14:38.

⁸ Cf. *Bernard Epistolae*, no.126, recalling the words of Seneca, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium*, Bk.3, 22, 7.

Letter 8

V fo.141r = L 618

Gratulor quod exhibitione multiplicis operis veritatem^a experior vestre dilectionis. Licet enim in discessu vestro per gratiam vestre^b promissionis me de vobis bene sperare feceritis, actu tamen et opere quibus in absentia mea promissionem vestram fideliter adequare^c cepistis, de fide vestra et dilectionis constantia me certiores facitis. Pio igitur, mi domine, et operi honesto insistite, h(ec) enim vestra intentio et studium adeo^d mercedem et in oculis hominum vobis gratiam parabunt^e. Me autem, si quid quandoque^f volente domino melius poterō, ad obsequium vestrum et ad omnem honorem paratum et deuotum inuenietis. De negotio quod michi dominus meus episcopus per gratiam suam iniunxit, h(oc) ei scribo, quia visis beneplaciti sui litteris, quamuis multi it(er) m(eum) tar(dare) pos(sent)^g ex(cusatio)ne, prompto tamen af(fectu) ni(sibus) to(tis) para(tus) fu(i) suum ne(gotium) tam fide(liter) ge(rere) quam sponte subire¹. Visum est autem^h de consilio domini R. archid(iaconi), consang(uinei) vestri, ne irem, forsitan, quia magister Gil(bertus) remanere volebat nec ne et cetera². Unde si quis, aliter quisquis fuerit, domino meo intimauitⁱ, fa(ctum) ei suggessit, sicut ex relatu mag(istri) H. poteritis addiscere. Valete.

1. *For this heavily abbreviated passage in V, the reader is expected to refer back to the equivalent passage in Letter 7: 'iter meum tardare posset excusationis neccessitas, prompto tamen spiritu, nisibus totis ilico paratus fui iuxta verbum vestrum ad me, negotium vestrum tam fideliter gerere quam sponte subire'*
2. *Here again referring back to Letter 7: 'Forsitan quia Mag(ister) Gil(bertus) Lond(oniensis) nichilo magis remanere volebat, nec in porrigenda simplici petitione, iusta presertim et favorabili, tanto fuit opus apparatu'.*

^a veritatem V, utilitatem L

^b V inserts dilectionis underdotted for omission

^c V inserts fecistis underdotted for omission

^d a Deo L

^e parabit L

^f quandocumque L

^g Multi tardare posset L

^h tamen L

ⁱ add. et L

Letter 8¹

[Master David to a kinsman of Gilbert Foliot]²

[After c.1168-9]³

I rejoice that, through the display of manifold works, I experience the truth of your regard. Since although at your departure you led me to expect good things by the favour of your promise, you render me the more certain of your trust and the constancy of your regard through the deeds and works that, in my absence, you have undertaken in faithful fulfilment of your promise. So press on, my lord, with such pious and honourable work, for such intention, effort and reward will bring you favour in the eyes of men. Whenever and however, God willing, I may the better show myself, devoted and ready in all honour in your service, you will find me ready. As for the business that my lord the bishop entrusted to me by his favour, I have written to him as follows⁴, that having seen his letters of goodwill, and although many might seek to delay my journey with an excuse, with prompt spirit and with all effort I was ready both faithfully to undertake his business and willingly to bear the burden. It seems, however, from the advice of the lord R. the archdeacon, your kinsman⁵, that lest anger, perhaps, because master Gilbert refused to remain, or lest etc etc.⁶ So that should anyone have suggested to my lord that anything was otherwise, that what was suggested to him, as you may learn from the account of master H(?enry)⁷. Farewell.

¹ This letter refers to the same events as those described in no.7, but its tone is less formal and it is clearly addressed to a different recipient.

² The recipient seems to be a relative of Gilbert Foliot, because 'R. the archdeacon' is here named 'your kinsman' where in no.7 he is called 'your nephew' (*nepotus*). It may well have been the other nephew, Richard Foliot, who was recalled from Bologna by his uncle the bishop (*GFL*, no.191), for David writes that 'at your departure' the recipient had made promises to him, possibly upon their return from Bologna to London.

³ If the letter was to Richard Foliot it must date after he was recalled in c.1168-9.

⁴ Referring directly to no.7.

⁵ See above fn.2.

⁶ From this point the letter, as copied, is abbreviated, with loss of syntactical sense.

⁷ Possibly Henry of Northampton.

Letter 9

V fo.141r = L 618

Si dies illos a memoria vestra non ventilauit obliuio quibus non meis meritis sed de gratie vestre superhabundantia me de vobis bene sperare iussistis, mirari non debetis si vos ad verbi vestri perseuerantiam inuitem, presertim cum a diebus illis in vobis, domino meo speciali, singularem fidutiam habere non desierim, cumque vestra protectione, consilio et auxilio non indigere non possum. Testis michi Deus est¹ quoniam ea qua semel vobis adhesi, nec in me tepuit, nec auctore Deo tepescet affectio quam^a utinam operis exhibitione plenius possem comprobasse^b, in quibus potui deuotus vobis et fidelis extiti. Cura^c de beneplacito vestro fuerit plene dilectionis et fidei certum de me capietis experimentum. Nam ad sequendum quod iusseritis, me semper pro viribus paratissimum inuenietis. Vobis ergo relinquitur quod sicut inuitastis ad velle, faciatis et posse. Si enim^d aliis quibusdam de beneficiis et accepta gratia ad fidele teneor obsequium, vobis soli teneor ad me ipsum.

1. Philippians 1:8 or Romans 1:9.

^a quam V, quod L

^b comprobarre L

^c cum L

^d H. et L

Letter 9

[Master David to ?Gilbert Foliot]¹

[?Late 1169/early 1170s]²

If forgetfulness has not wafted from your memory³ those days in which you bid me to expect good things from you, not on account of my merits but from the superabundance of your grace, you ought not to wonder if I request you to persevere in fulfilment of your words, especially because, since that time, I have not ceased to place singular trust in you, my special Lord, and since I cannot bear the loss of your protection, counsel and aid. As God is my witness⁴, since that time when I first clung to you, there neither cooled in me, nor, God allowing, will cool that love which I might prove more fully through such deeds as would show me devoted and faithful to you. Concern for your goodwill was my entire delight and trust, as you might prove by sure experiment. Since in following what you command, you will always find me most prompt, according to my faculties. It therefore remains for you to do what you both requested be done, and might still be achieved. For if I am obliged in faith to certain others in obedience for benefits and favour received, to you alone is pledged my very self.

¹ Based on the final sentence.

² The dating is unclear but presumably the letter was written at least after David's initial efforts for Foliot during the Becket dispute.

³ Similar to wording in nos. 3, 11, and 18.

⁴ Philippians 1:8 or Romans 1:9.

Letter 10

V fo.141r = L 617-8

Dilectionis et obsequii plenitudinem, si beneficiis que quandoque^a larga manu contulistis in me, et gratie quam coram vobis inueni pro voto possem respondere, proculdubio plurimum gratitudinis certum a me sumeretis^b experimentum. Nunc autem quoniam paruitatis mee non est quod pari queam rependere vice, quod solum possum in gratiarum actione gratus existo, an^c quibus non desistam dum vixero. Nouit Dominus quia si quandoque^d tempus accepero¹, que^e nunc votis prosequor et gratiarum accione recolo, factis libentius compensabo. Memoriam itaque mei, mi domine, sicut hucusque habuistis, habetote, et in numero fidelium vestrorum me aggregare dignemini, nam certe de vobis ut domino meo karissimo confido plurimum, cui modicum id quod nunc sum, siquid, auctore Deo et gratia vestra cooperante, futurus ero melius ad obsequium fidele reseruo.

1. Cf. 2 Corinthians 6:2, and Ps. 74:3.

^a quandocumque L

^b V *inserts exemplum underdotted for omission*

^c an V, a L

^d quandocumque L

^e quod L

Letter 10

[Master David to ?Gilbert Foliot¹]

[?Late 1169/ early 1170s]²

Were I able to respond as I would like to the benefits that you showered on me with open hand, and to the favour I found with you, without doubt you would obtain sure proof of the greatest gratitude, and fullness of delight and obedience. Now, however, since it is not for my smallness to seek to reply in kind as to an equal, I stand willing and grateful to do what I can in deeds of grace from which, so long as I live, I shall not cease. Remembering the effect of favours, because I shall have seized the opportunity that I now pursue, the Lord knew that I shall repay more liberally in actions³. Hold on to that memory of me, my lord, that you have so far held, and deign to add me to the number of your faithful, since undoubtedly I trust greatly in you as my most beloved lord, to whom although I now am a mere modicum, with God's help and your assistance, I may in future prove better and continue to display obedience in trust.

¹ The recipient is David's 'most beloved Lord' and he wishes to be added 'to the number of your faithful' suggesting a religious figure of some importance.

² As in no.9 the dating is unclear but presumably the letter was written after David's efforts for Foliot during the Becket dispute.

³ 'tempus accepero' also appears in a number of letters, cf. 2 Corinthians 6:2 or Ps. 74:3.Ps. 74:3.

Letter 11

V fo.141r-v = L 615

Sicut ore domini R. de Graie^a, quando per nos transitum fecit vobis significavi, nec^b est nec unquam^c michi cordi fuit ut dampni qualiscumque vobis efficiar occasio. Ad quamplurimam siquidem gratiarum actionem, dilect(ionem) et obsequium vobis teneor, quibus si pro voto non possum respondere, absit ut occasione dampni velim ea compensare. Veritatem vobis loquor et non mendatium, quia malo tota summa destitui, quoniam^d meo pretextu ius vestrum in ipsa periclitari. Verbum tamen illud gratie quod in discessu meo mecum ultimum habuistis, in progressu domini mei London(iensis), si tamen illud a memoria vestra non ventilavit obl(iuio), non possum non recolere. Dixistis siquidem michi quod in hac absentia mea quantumcumque longa, quecumque^e inter vos et dominum meum London(iensis)^f res esset exitum habitura, nullam nec etiam unius^g oboli de summa illa sustinerem^h imminutionem. Sed necⁱ hucusque de gratia vestra sustinui que quanta fuerit, quanta^j futura sit, in nullo vobis unquam preiudicabit. Nouit dominus quia si quandoque tempus accepero fideli et deuoto obsequio vobis eam compensabo. Quod michi facitis, non in extraneum sed in vestrum confertis. Vestra voluntas fiet in omnibus^l non enim tanquam debitorem vos exigo, sed dominum meum rogo.

1. Matthew 6:10.

^a Brave L

^b nec V, non L

^c unquam L

^d quam L

^e quacumque L

^f Londonensem L

^g minus L

^h sustineremus L

ⁱ hec L

^j quantaque L

Letter 11

[Master David to an unnamed correspondent]¹

[?April X June 1170]²

Just as I signified to you by the words of Lord R(ichard) de Graie³, when he crossed our path, it is not and never was in my heart that I should be the cause of injury to you in any way. Indeed, I am bound in love and obedience to you for your signal display of favours, to which if I am unable to respond as I might wish, let it never be the case that I should want to repay with injury. I speak the truth to you, not lies, being entirely without malice, rather than that your right should on my account in any way be imperilled. I cannot forget that final expression of favour that you addressed to me on my last departure, in the train of my lord of London, assuming that forgetfulness has not wafted it from your memory. Indeed, you said to me that in my latest absence, however long, and however things stood between you and my lord of London, I would suffer not even a halfpenny's loss from the sum that was due to me. Even so, nothing that I have undergone by your favour, whatever it was or might be, will in any way be counted against you. The Lord knows that whenever I shall have opportunity, I shall repay you with faithful and devoted obedience. What you do to me, you do not to a stranger but to one of your own. May your will be done in all things,⁴ for I ask this from you not as a debtor, but as a request to you as my lord.

¹ This letter can be attributed to David according to style, the recipient is unclear and cannot be Foliot as he is referred to within. It could be Arnulf of Lisieux, and may link to nos.17-20.

² In this letter David refers to his 'departure in advance of my Lord of London', he is perhaps referring to his journey to England after Foliot's first absolution on 5 April 1170, where both arrived in time for the Young King's coronation.

³ Liverani has this as 'R. de Brave' but the letter clearly reads 'Graie'. A Richard de Graie appears in *LCH*, no.897, notification of the King's confirmation of possessions of Eynsham abbey, including, Rouen [December 1159 X May 1162] where he had gifted various tithes. Graie is likely Graye-sur-Mer in Normandy.

A Richeri Graiwella appears in PR 13 Henry II, 189, Richard de Graenvill' (Graenvilla, Graienvilla, Greinvill) appears in PR 23 Henry II, 22; PR 32 Henry II, 121 and 201; PR 33 Henry II, 137, 139; PR 34 Henry II, 108 and Robert de Grenvill' on 151, PR 24 Henry II, 35; PR 32 Henry II, 26, but there is not abbreviation mark at the end of Graie in V suggesting the name is just that.

⁴ Matthew 6:10.

Letter 12

V fo.141v = L 603-4

Egritudine graui correptus et que^a desperata^b fuit^c quoad curam ab homine, audiui quoniam et^d aggrauata fuerit manus Domini super vos¹ et geminatus est dolor meus. Miror tamen quod inter has vestras licet summas angustias, omnino me neglexeritis in meis. Scitis enim quoniam, statim post Dominum, unicam et singularem pre omni anima que viuit in carne, in vobis habuerim fidutiam. Scio quoniam anguste sunt diuitie mee et tota sub(stanti)a breuis ad ea relata que michi necc(essar)io imminent agenda, unde tanto michi magis necessarium, ut meum tractetur ad comodum uberius in scol(is)^e et solito lautius in hospitiiis me oportuit et adhuc hodie^f oportet habere. Iam annus est et plusquam dimidius ex quo sub usuris voracibus vixi. Calculum vobiscum nec pono nec posui. Quicquid autem fuerit, volo ut non^g esse potest^h quatenus per omnia vobis seruetur indemnitatis. Satis enim ad beneficiorum redhibitionemⁱ vobis teneor, que a diebus antiquis contulistis in me.

Subdolos ille non ruffus sed subruffus, qui suis precibus et quorundam familiarium meorum in discessu meo me vicit et iureiur(ando) super textum corporaliter prestito me decep(it), ut meum comes iter prosequeretur, et mea mecum comitaretur vestigia, non michi minister nec laboris socius factus est, sed itineris mei explorator et insidiator vite mee est michi datus, et vix credidi cum iam semel et iterum michi fuisset detectus. Sed nec fuit nec erit, annuente Domino, aliquid periculi. Modico illo tempore quo^j mecum moram fecit, ut c(etera) taceam, in sub(stanti)a mea me multum lesit, et utique, si usque in diem hodiernum mecum mansisset, hodie Bolonie soluendo non essem. Sed h(ec) his diebus silere tam tutius quam honestius. Mandauit michi dominus meus episcopus per Magistrum Gil(bertum) quod si mea esset voluntas, curam et sollicitudinem^k prebende mee gereret, et michi subueniret. Silere non possum quoniam longe melius de gratia vestra speraui, quam hucusque mecum egeritis.

1. Ezechiel 37:1.

^a quasi L

^b desperatus L

^c fui L

^d etiam L

^e scola L

^f om. L

^g nec L

^h possit L

ⁱ redhibitionem L

^j quo V, ergo L

^k sollicitudinem L

Letter 12

[Master David to ?Nicholas, archdeacon of London]¹

[c.1168-9]²

Seriously ill to the point of despairing of any cure, I heard how the hand of the Lord had been raised against you³, and my pain was doubled. Even so, I marvel that amidst such admittedly high anxieties, you should entirely have neglected me and mine. For you know that, after the Lord, I trust in you uniquely and specially before any other living soul. I know that my means are slender and my resources thin to deal with the business that of necessity now looms for me, whence it is all the more necessary that I be helped to better living in the schools and more elegant lodgings than those to which I was and remain accustomed. It is now a year, or rather a year and a half, that I have been living under voracious usury. I neither attribute the reckoning to you nor shall I so attribute it. But whatever it was, I wish that it might not be, since the indemnity will fall to you. I would be obliged to you merely to have back the benefits that, in time past, you conferred upon me.

That cunning man was not so much red but fox-like⁴, who overcame me, on my departure, with his prayers and those of certain of my familiars, deceiving me with an oath sworn bodily⁵ upon the Gospels⁶, so that he accompany me as a companion on my journey and dog my footsteps, not as a help-mate or fellow labourer but as a spy upon my movements and as one waiting in ambush against my life, something which I found great difficulty in believing even when I found him out not once but once again. But, God willing, this was not a cause for danger, and shall it be. I leave other matters unspoken, but in the brief time that he stayed with me he did great injury to my purse, and assuredly, had he remained with me until now, I would still not be rid of him here in Bologna. But of such things in these days it is both safer and more honourable to remain quiet. My lord the bishop⁷ has commanded me via Master Gilbert⁸ that should I wish, he will assume responsibility and care for my prebend, lending

¹ From the style this can be attributed to David. He is writing to someone whom he believes should be providing him with financial help. Since he refers in the third person to 'his lord bishop' the addressee cannot be Gilbert Foliot, even though as bishop of London Foliot must have had some sway over prebends at St Paul's, and in two other letters (nos.1 and 2) David complains of money not forthcoming from Lord N. to whom he released his prebend, who may well be Nicholas. Cf. *GFL* no.190 where Foliot denies he is angry with David, and suggests that he come to England..

² For David says he has lived for a year and a half under usury and he probably went to the schools in 1166/7.

³ Ezechiel 37:1.

⁴ This can also mean, more generally, 'red-haired', indicating bad temper or untrustworthiness. It could possibly be a play on words based on a personal name. There were a few royal servants surnamed Ruffus, as well as the Richard Rufus' at London, see R. V. Turner, *The English Judiciary in the Age of Glanvill and Bracton c.1176-1239* (Cambridge 1985), 26 and *Fasti*, i, 1, 12-13, 81. A Richard Rufus was (probably) referred to in no.1- David had sent him with a chirograph of an agreement, and that letter was written before this one, so if David was alluding to Richard Rufus here he could have subsequently discovered treachery on Rufus' part.

⁵ This seems to be referring to a practice noted in the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*: 'There are many kinds of excuses that will keep the absent sheriff from being punished, provided that on the appointed day, regardless of the reason or excuse, he sends by lawful men the money he has already collected for the king; these men will hand the letter of excuse to the president and explain the justification for their lord's absence, and they will even confirm it by an oath sworn on their own bodies (*etiam sacramento corporaliter prestito*)', Richard FitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer*, trans. E. Amt and S. D. Church (Oxford 2007), 80.

⁶ 'Textus' commonly meant a gospel book, 'a holy text with the status of a relic', see C. De Hamel, *The Book in the Cathedral: The Last Relic of Thomas Becket* (London 2020), 32.

⁷ Presumably Foliot.

⁸ Likely Master Gilbert of London, mentioned also in nos.7 and 8.

me his support. Yet I cannot remain quiet given how long I hoped for better things from you than you have so far delivered.

Letter 13

V fos.141v-142r marginal rubric= 'Stilus beati B(ernardi) abbatis et verba'= L 624-6

Eam que est a Deo salutem. Secretum consilium secretum querit auditum¹. Benefecit michi Dominus, benefaciat et vobis, quod me sicut ceteri vestro non excussistis a pectore. Anxiatus est enim in me spiritus meus et consolari noluit, donec in vestre gratie consolatione paulisper requieuit. Que enim michi consolatio in diebus malis et in loco peregrinationis mee ubi pane tribulationis et potu sustentabar angustie, dies in dispendium, noctes versans in cogit(ation) cum eum quem aduersus inuidie prouocantis iniurias sperare debueram patronum et defensorem, validum pre ceteris hostem futurum verebar et impugnatorem? ^aRaro ab hoste protegar quod a protectore impugnatur. Nouit Dominus omnium quibus domino meo visceribus semper affuerim, in omni eo quod in oculis suis bonum videbatur et equum, et in quanta amaritudine anime mee semel et iterum ab eo discessi, cum presenserim^b quod preualentibus insidiis, faciem suam auertisset a me. Si autem vel modicum dominum meum mea turbauit vel prima vel h(ec) secunda discessio, ipsi viderint qui me prius a domo domini mei turpiter^c elimitarunt^d et postmodum terre in qua homo natus sum fecerunt extorere^e. At non utinam michi precludant et orbem. Nichil ad me quoad culpam, super his, quorum auctor non extiti. Nichil michi conscio nec culpa pallebo ad cuiusquam hominum obiectum ex his que me coram, contra^f dominum meum^g loquentem audierit.

Absit h(ec) a mea pusillanimitate temeritas, hominum nemini ex quo genibus exceptus sum, lactatus uberibus, me venale commertium prostitui. Nondum sic ab orbe nec a nostro fronte prout pudor unum^h imposuit super caput meum dominus, hunc dominum meum primum agnoscam et ultimum². Hunc venerabor et diligam. Hic me prout volet utetur, contempnet pereuntem cum volet, et cum volet reuocabit errantem. Ditauitⁱ cum volet pauperem efficiet. De stercore suscitauit egenum³, cum volet redire precipiet in idipsum. Veritatem loquor et non mendatum, quoniam ipsum dominum meum non sua secutus sum, hominem, non predam. Et utinam hodie haberem ipsum et ipse sua, haberem hominem, et ipse^j quam ab homine videor rapuisse predam. Audacter loquor, licet omnium debitor ei^k factus fuerim, de proprio tamen in eius obsequium plus erogare destinaueram quam ab eo gratis acceperam.

Sic interim me loqui permittite, nam etsi proprium seruus nil habet, ei tamen benigna iuris indulget interpretatio, ut ex suis nummis a domino se redimat⁴. Cur res cesserit in contrarium, culparum mearum penam agnosco, non culpam. Recolo et vix a memoria mea ventilabit obliuio quid michi vobiscum ex conducto conuenerit in capella^l de Siminestr^m, cum nondum lucis orto sidere, nouissimus a vobis discessi. Irascor et adhuc fatisⁿ illis quibus factum est quominus placitis paruerim, non quod neglexerim sed quod libere moram facere

^a om. Raro...impugnatur L

^b presertim L

^c temporaliter L

^d eliminarunt L

^e extorrem L

^f circa L

^g mecum L

^h unus L

ⁱ add. et L

^j ipsam L

^k ei debitor L

^l cappella L

^m ?Sunmestr' V, Simmesty L

ⁿ V inserts meis underdotted for omission

nequieverim. Hanc occasionem non adinuenio, quia ut noscitis grauius pertuli et perfero. Astitistis enim michi sollicitus in die tribulationis mee quando ‘dominum meum exquisiui manibus meis nocte contra eum et non sum receptus’^{o,5}, quando tam leta cum puero suo morum initia, exitu dissimili perrexit consummare.

At quid turpius quam bellum gerere cum quibus familiariter vixeris? Ne ergo scandalum fieret in populo et de confusione nostra cornua crescerent aduersario⁶, expediebat cedere persecucionem quam resistere⁷ non recalcitrare, quam bis pungi per^p se satis erubescens non amplius confundi. Vagus itaque factus sum et profugus a facie terre, non ut contenderem ut sibi mentita est iniquitas^{q8}, sed ut contentionem dirimerem. Dedi morti manus, ne viuerem in perturbatione quietis amator. Fugere persecutionem persequentis culpa est, non fugientis⁹. Sed omitto. Gratis sileo rem silentio dignam. Non discutio culpas, non retracto calumpnias, non recordor iniurias¹⁰. Michi partem verecundiorum assumo, ut domini mei partem honorabilem faciam. Esto igitur quod totum mee culpe fuerit, nedum de commissi perpetracione contenditur, reformatio retardetur. Penam spondeo si egredietur ab ore meo verbum eorum propter que domino meo me displicuisse, licet sero comperi, facil(e) et volente Domino horum omnium parata est correctio. Si quid agitante incuria^f vel efferente zelo non dicend(um) erupit, vel secus dictum quam debuerit, sit rogo perinde^s quasi dictum non fuerit. De cetero igitur pro amore Dei et si gratiam in oculis vestris inueni, intelligite et attendite super reconciliando me domino meo, quatenus parcat^t indignationem quam in me canem mortuum et culicem unum concepit¹¹.

Dominum meum magistrum Rob(ertum) de Broi huius rei participem, solum vobiscum adiungite, ut quod bene incepit, bono termino limitet. Confido enim et adhuc quamplurimum de bonitate ipsius. Spero utique quoniam inspirabit D(eu)s^u domino meo vestris adquiescere consiliis. Licet enim sero de me sibi mentientes aduertat, erit ei familiare tamen et promptum intelligere, quod quisquis fuerit qui ab hoc^v aliud ei suadere nititur, non quid^w honoris sui celsitudinem deceat intelligit, aut certe tamen^x que sua sunt querit, vel profecto non diligit. Non erit autem quod pro me suum domini mei fatigetis intuitum in impetranda michi pera^y vel baculo vel calciamentis^z in pedibus meis. Non ut me dilatet in plura, non ut promoueat ad celsiora, satis enim est in his et supra satis ex gratia sua, non ut manus suas ab eo quod in me contulit abstineat beneficio, suum enim est, et si quid aliud licet id nichil sit, usque locorum meum est, sed ad hoc hoc, ad solum hoc tota vestra dirigatur or(ati)o, tota euigilet intentio, ne me dominus meus sibimet ingratosum habeat, quem aliis ad gratiam quandoque commendabat, nec accepte gratie me reum statuatur, donec veris et certis inditiis me reum deprehendat. Exhibebo ei donec vixero fidele mancipium, ipse se non utinam flagellum michi. Confidenter dico, si vires michi subtrahit, sibi ipsi eas minuit. Sua interest feruentibus studiis sollicitate fouere, quod totum suis manibus constat elaboratum¹².

^o deceptus L

^p pro L

^q mentita iniquitas est L

^r iniuria L

^s proinde L

^t pareat L

^u dominus L

^v adhuc L

^w quod L

^x tantum L

^y pauca L

^z calceamentis L

Ad contumeliam creantis^{aa} respicit creationis iniuria. Longe exiit pietatis opus quod operatus est dominus meus in me, et ad quoscumque peruenit, magnum prestitit suauitatis odorem¹³. Fraudulenter igitur, non veraciter, ei consulunt^{bb}, qui tam gloriosam tam late diffusam de opere suo bono famam suam obnubilare contendunt^{cc}, dum pauperem immeritum exterminare de terra viuentium malitiose querunt. Sed certe viro bono turpe^{dd} est erroris deuio posse seduci, et errore nudato non posse reuocari, lumine veritatis oborto, falsitatis fumus emanauit^{ee14}. Ad cor igitur dominum meum redire iubete, et ut sibimet indignetur quod spiritus mendax in ore pseudoprophetarum supplantauit eum¹⁵, et illius callide^{ff} vulpecule que vineam suam florentem demolitur¹⁶, de cetero doctus sit^{gg} cauere versutias, facilitas credulitatis, h(ec) est ut aiunt¹⁷, cuius fere si foret immunis inter eos qui vestris in partibus cathedras ascenderunt, solus et singularis communi resideret iudicio¹⁸. Absenti preiudicat^{hh} qui detrahentiⁱⁱ facilem aurem accomodat. Quod ab ore peregrinari precipitur, expedit ut ab aure procul relegetur¹⁹. Sensus euangelio consecratos execrari^{jj} talibus illicitum est. Agerem et adhuc vobiscum plura libentius, sed spiritus Domini vos plenius docebit quid et quomodo et quando pro me fideli vestro loquamini. Quid animi super his dominus meus gesserit, et si quid secundius recens aura^{kk} fortasse spirauerit²⁰, vestrarum instrui cupio recursu litterarum, non per latorem presentium sed per quemcumque alium et fidum quamprimum poteritis. Multum enim et quasi totus^{ll} de vobis pendeo. Si fortassis ad aures domini mei peruenerit qualiter in via aberrauerim quando iui N^{mm}. proculdubio sciat non id propositi mei fuisse, nec voluntatis, sedⁿⁿ grauis cuiusdam et quasi extra me necessitatis, puta, ne in librorum meorum quos mecum tuli, et corporis mei promptum inciderem periculum. Solis^{oo} enim duobus seruientibus meis comitatus, fugi a facie domini mei, et errabundus quasi per dies .v. ignotas michi peragraui nationes. Expediebat itaque michi presertim diebus illis saluari potius in inuio, quam quod solus periclitarer in via. Ubicumque fui domino meo fidelis extiti, quod adhuc forsitan me viuo vel mortuo, inimicorum suorum et^{pp} meorum inuidorum relatu plenius addisceset.

Vale, dilecte mi et^{qq} domine. Si forsitan^{rr} his dominus meus aurem benignam accomodauerit, tunc litteras in his inclusas ex parte mea ei porrigetis. Sin vero vos non audierit, supprimitis eas. Utrum autem horum fuerit, precibus meis vos exoratum cupio et omni qua possum intentione deosco ut in omnibus vestris secretis mei memoriam apud dominum habeatis. In illis eram^{ss} non patiemini repulsam. Mementote in h(oc) meo negotio quod scriptum est:

aa creatoris L
bb consuluit L
cc contendit L
dd *om.* L
ee emanuit L
ff *om.* L
gg sciat L
hh preiudiciat L
ii detrahendi L
jj exercitari L.
kk aure L
ll *om.* L
mm H. L
nn *om.* L
oo solus L
pp vel L
qq *om.* L
rr forte L
ss in illo eram L

‘Unusquisque a proximo suo se custodiat, et in omni fratre suo non habeat fidutiam’²¹.
‘Inimici hominis, domestici eius’²².

1. Augustine, *Epistolae*, cvii, echoed in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.107: ‘Secretum consilium, secretum quaerit et auditum.’
2. Cf. Revelations 22:13
3. 1 Samuels 2:13.
4. ?Unidentified. Possibly *Digest* Tit. VIII: ‘Si quis partem servi habens, alterum propriis servi nimis redimat, an servus videatur nummis suis redemptus?’
5. Ps. 76:3
6. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.189: ‘Cedens tamen (licet vix, ita ut flerem) consolio amicorum qui, videntes quomodo se quasi ad spectaculum omnes pararent, timebant ne de nostra absentia et scandalum populo, et cornua crescerent adversario.’
7. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.1: ‘Annon expedit cedere persecutori quam resistere, fugere ferientem quam referire?’
8. Cf. Ps. 26:12.
9. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.1: ‘Fugere persecutionem, persequentis culpa est non fugientis’.
10. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.1: ‘Omitto quod factum est, non requiro cur vel quomodo factum est; culpas non discuto, non retracto causas, non recordor mihi magis est cordi loquor.’
11. Cf. 1 Samuel 24:14-15.
12. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.237: ‘vestris ferventibus studiis fidelibusque obsequiis sollicite confoveri, quod vestris manibus constat elaboratum’.
13. Ephesians 5:2.
14. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.223: ‘Sed ecce evanuit falsitas, luce veritatis oborta’.
15. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.223: ‘Deceptus fuisti et spiritus mendax in ore pseudoprophetarum supplantavit te’.
16. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.248: ‘Si verba gratia, Sagiensi haec vulpecula fraudulenta, concinnans dolos vobis, sicut callide cogitat illudere, poterit et ad vineam Domini Sabaoth, quam brevi tempore parte non modica demolita est, vestra auctoritate redire, quanta putatis malignitate de cetero saevituram?’
17. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Consideratione*, Liber II. Cap. XIV: ‘Facilitatis credulitatis haec est, cujus callidissimae vulpeculae magnorum neminem comperi satis cavisse versutias’.
18. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Consideratione*, Liber II. Cap. XIV: ‘Est item vitium, cujus si te immunem sentis, inter omnes quos novi ex his qui cathedras ascenderunt, sedebit me iudice solitarius, quia veraciter singulariterque levasti te supra te, juxta prophetam.’
19. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Consideratione*, Liber II, Cap.XIII: ‘Verbum scurrile, quod faceti urbanive nomine colorant, non sufficit peregrinari ab ore: procul et ab aure relegandum’.
20. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.176: ‘Itaque de beneplacito vestro, de statu curiae, ac vestrae sospitate personae, et si quid blandius aura secundior a divina clementia recens forte spiraverit Ecclesiae, adversus schismaticorum procacem’.
21. Jeremiah 9:4
22. Matt. 10:36

Letter 13

[Master David to ?a member of Gilbert Foliot's household, possibly to Godfrey or Henry Banastre, successively treasurers of St Paul's]¹

[?After Letter 34, probably after c.1170]²

In the style and words of the blessed Abbot Bernard.

A greeting fit to proceed from God. Secret counsel demands a secret hearing.³ As the Lord conferred benefit so may he confer it upon you, because, unlike others, you did not expel me from your breast. My spirit was troubled within me, and it was unwilling to lighten, so it rested for a short while in the consolation of your grace. For comfort sustained me in bad days and in the place of my pilgrimage, with the bread of tribulation and with the drink of anguish, my days spent in squander and my nights fretting in thought,⁴ when he who I had ought to trust as a protector and defender against the injury of provoked hatred, I feared is going to be an enemy and attacker, strong before the rest. Rarely am I protected from an enemy, which is attacked by a protector. The Lord knew of all: I always assisted my lord in all with those innermost parts, which was seen as good and equal in his eyes, and in the great sorrow of my soul I departed from him once and then again, when I had sensed that from prevailing treachery he would have averted his face from me. If either the first or this second withdrawal confounded my lord a little, they who saw it for themselves had previously shamefully put me out of doors from the house of my lord, and afterwards made me an exile from the land in which I was born.⁵ If only they could not block the world from me! I did not arise as the originator of this, and the fault was not mine. I feel no guilt: I will not blanch in opposing any man who was heard speaking around my lord of this before me. God forbid the rashness from my timidity, I was withdrawn from the knees of men for nobody, and duped by the rich I prostituted myself in venal commerce. The lord imposed one thing on my head: shame, not yet from the world and not from our brow, and I shall recognise my lord as my first and last,⁶ and I will adore and love him, and accordingly he will use me as he will wish and he will consider me ruined when he will wish and when he will wish, he will recall me in my wanderings. He enriched a pauper when he wished to make it happen. He lifted the needy from the dunghill,⁷ and when he will wish them to return he will order it. I am speaking the truth and not lies, since I followed my lord himself and not his men: the man, and not the spoils. If only today I had trusted him and not his men, I had trusted the man

¹ This can be attributed to David due to style and content. David is asking the recipient for help in his dispute with Gilbert Foliot, and writes that it will be helpful for Foliot to hear from his *familiaris*. As the letter mentions the church of Southminster, it may well have been to either Godfrey treasurer of St Paul's from 1162, last occ. after c.1170 though his successor in his prebend did not appear until 1174, or Henry Banastre, relative of Gilbert Foliot, clerk and canon 1163-74 and treasurer of St Paul's after c.1174, see Morey and Brooke, *Foliot*, 288.

² The letter clearly refers to a dispute between David and Gilbert Foliot, as referred to by Foliot in no.34. It is likely any agreement regarding the church of Southminster would have been after the death of Godfrey the treasurer, for he had made some kind of agreement with the canons of St Osyth over the church of Southminster, see *ibid*.

³ Augustine, *Epistolae*, no.107, and echoed in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, no.107, trans. *LSB*, no.106. Leclercq believes the use of this phrase evoked the confidential character of the message which the letter as the public document authenticated, Leclercq, 'Lettres', 58.

⁴ Similar wording to no.3 here: 'Factus estis mihi consolatio multa in diebus malis et loco peregrinationis mee, ubi civo tribulationis et potu sustentor angutie, dies in dispendium, noctes versans in cogitationes'.

⁵ If we link this to nos.17 and 18 which discuss David's birth place of London, then this is surely a reference to David's banishment from London.

⁶ Cf. Revelations 22:13.

⁷ 1 Samuels 2:13.

and I seemed to have seized the spoils from men. I am speaking boldly, and although I was a debtor of all I was made for him, and I was determined to pay out more in his allegiance than I had received from him in thanks.

So meanwhile, permit me to speak. For although a slave has nothing of their own, still a friendly interpretation of the law is granted to him as he redeems himself by his coins from the lord.⁸ Why did the matter pass to the contrary: I recognise the penalty of my faults but not the fault. I can scarcely recall, and forgetfulness wafted from my memory that which was agreed for me with you in the chapel of Southminster⁹ when I departed from you most recently, with the stars of light not yet risen. Until now I am raging at those calamities by which it seemed that I appeared less pleasing, and I am not disregarding it, but I had not been able to freely make a delay. I did not devise this occasion, because as you knew I suffered and I am suffering gravely. For you stood for me, anxious on the day of my tribulation when “I sought out my lord with my hands and I was not received against him”,¹⁰ although he had a happy beginning of customs with his boy, he proceeded to finish with a dissimilar exit.

But what is more ugly than to wage war with those you lived with as a household. No scandal should have been made amongst the people and our claws should not grow from hostile confusion.¹¹ They had prepared to fall to persecution rather than to resist,¹² and not to kick back than to be punctured twice, and not to be further confounded, fully blushing before themselves. So I was made a vagrant and an exile from the face of the land, and I did not press on as iniquity lied to itself,¹³ but I disturbed the strife. I delivered hands to the dead, as I had not lived as a lover in inactive confusion. To fly persecution implies no fault in him who flees but in him who persecutes.¹⁴ But I shall overlook it. I am silent on the worthy matter, with the silence of grace. I am not removing blame, I am not refusing charges, I am not recalling injuries.¹⁵ I am accepting a more modest portion for myself, as I will make an honourable portion of my lord. Therefore, it will be entirely my fault, and still less should a transformation be hastened or hindered by the performance of the undertaking. I promise revenge if their message should depart from my mouth, on account of that which I displeased my lord, although I learnt of it late, and with the Lord wishing a correction of it all was easily prepared. If, unsaid, it broke forth with pressing negligence or with spreading jealousy, or otherwise it said that which it ought, I ask that it shall be afterwards as if it had not been said.

⁸ ?Unidentified. Possibly *Digest* Tit. VIII.

⁹ This seems to be Southminster, Essex, called ‘Simin’ in *GFL*, no.450. Bishop Richard de Belmeis I had given land in Southminster and the church of Southminster to the canons of St Osyth’s, to be held of the bishop of London, *EEA*, xv, nos.27 and 28 where he informs the dean and chapter of St Paul’s of this grant, but under Richard Belmeis II the churches were taken away from St Osyth and became part of the endowment of the office of treasurer of St Paul’s, see *EEA*, xv, no.28n. In a charter of July 1160 X 4 May 1162 the church of Southminster was perpetually assigned to the treasurer (*thesaurus*) of St Paul’s, *EEA*, xv, no.69 and this was confirmed by the king (*LCH*, no.1629), by the dean and chapter of St Pauls (*St Paul*, no.193), and by the Pope (*idem*, no.231). Gilbert Foliot confirmed an agreement between Godfrey, treasurer of St Paul’s and the convent of St Osyth over the church of Southminster 1163 X 1174 (*GFL*, no.450), though when the treasurership was vacant it would revert to the bishop, see Crosby *Bishop and Chapter*, 331. The office of treasurer of St Paul’s was held by Godfrey from before 4 May 1162 until after c.1170, and his successor Henry Banastre first occ. in this position 1174. If David was assigned an income from the church which had been assigned to the treasurer, either during a vacancy in the position or whilst there was a treasurer, this may well have been the source of some of his troubles with the chapter.

¹⁰ Ps. 76:3.

¹¹ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.189, trans. *LSB*, no.239.

¹² *Ibid.*, no.1, trans. *ibid.*, no.1.

¹³ Cf. Ps. 26:12.

¹⁴ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.1, trans. *LSB*, no.1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, trans. *ibid.*

Therefore, for love of God and if I found grace in your eyes, understand and pay attention to reconciling me with my lord, until he should satisfy the displeasure which he harboured in me, a dead dog and one flea.¹⁶

Join with only my lord, Master Robert de Broi,¹⁷ participant in this matter, as that which he began well, he shall settle with a good ending. For I am greatly trusting in his goodness. At any rate, I am hoping it will inspire a response to come from my lord with your counsels. For although it is late, he should direct those who are lying about me to himself, as it will be handy for him to understand the household, and whosoever pressed him to recommend another, did not understand what is fitting for the lofty dignity of his honour, or at least they sought their own man, or surely one he does not love. However, you should not weary the regard of my lord for me by obtaining a little, or a staff for me, or shoes for my feet. He should not greatly amplify me, and not advance me to loftier heights, for it is in this and fully beyond from his grace that he should not refrain his hands from that benefice which he gave me for it is his, and if in another, although it shall be nothing until it is mine, but in this, this and only this should your whole speech be directed and your whole intention watchful, so that my lord does not consider me ungrateful to him, me who at one time he commended to others in grace, and he should not establish me as a defendant of having received a favour until he should discover me as answerable with certain proofs. I will deliver to him as long as I live as a faithful agent, if only he did not whip himself for me. I am speaking confidently: if he removes my strength, he diminishes his own for himself. Amongst his men there is one to cherish anxiously with burning zeal, who is fixed in all by his hands.¹⁸

The injustice of creating an appointment gazes at abuse. The work of piety in which my lord is toiling took me far off, and whoever it came to it supplied a great odour of sweetness.¹⁹ Therefore, they counselled him deceitfully and not truthfully, he who hastened to obscure his fame, which was glorious and widespread from his good work, whilst they wickedly sought to banish an undeserving pauper from the land of the living. But certainly it was repulsive for that good man to have been seduced by the deviousness of wandering, and not to have been able to be recalled from exposed wandering, and the fume of falsity flowed out from the rising light of truth.²⁰ Command my lord to return to the heart, as he himself despises that the mendacious spirit in the mouth of a false prophet tripped him up,²¹ and of that crafty fox which destroyed his blossoming vine,²² he was taught to beware that cunning of the rest, and the ease of belief is this, as they say,²³ if he had been entirely free of it, amongst those from who have ascended to the chair in your part he would reside solitary and alone according to common judgement.²⁴

¹⁶ Cf. 1 Samuel 24:14-15.

¹⁷ Also mentioned in no.1. His successor as prior of Lenton appeared c. 24 March 1176, so he may have died by then, *Heads*, 118.

¹⁸ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.237, trans. *LSB*, no.315.

¹⁹ Ephesians 5:2.

²⁰ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.223, *LSB*, no.312.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, no.248, trans. *ibid.*, no.324.

²³ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Consideratione*, in *PL*, 182, Liber II Caput XIV, trans. in *Saint Bernard on Consideration* G. Lewis (Oxford 1908) chap.XIV.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, trans. *ibid* – from a section where Bernard is advising the Pope not to believe too easily, for this has led to great men becoming often angry, and judging against the innocent and delivering premature judgements.

He prejudged from absence those to whom he applied an easy ear of disparaging. He who is ordered by the mouth to travel, prepares that he should be sent far away from the ear.²⁵ It is unlawful that holy sentiments from The Gospel be removed by such type of men. I would have advanced more freely still with you but the spirit of the Lord will more fully show you that and in what way and when you should speak for me, your *fidelus*. I am longing to be instructed by the return of your letters, that which my lord carried in his soul about this, and if perhaps he emitted from the ear that second event,²⁶ though not through the bearer of these presents but through any other faithful man you will be able [to send]. For there are many just as I am, entirely dependent on you. If perhaps it will have come to the ears of my lord in what way I wandered from the road and when I went to N.,²⁷ he should know without doubt that it was not of my design, nor of my will, but of a certain heavy matter, which was of necessity beyond me. Consider that I did not carry my books with me, and I came upon easy danger of my body. Accompanied by only two of my servants I fled from the face of my lord and I wandered for five days through unknown nations as if a vagrant. He had prepared for me to be better saved, especially on the impassable road in those days, than to try the road alone. Wherever I was I stood forth, faithful to my lord, and until now he more fully will learn whether I am living or dead from the report of his enemies and of my haters. Farewell, my beloved lord. If perhaps my lord should apply a friendly ear in this, you will extend letters close to him on my behalf. But if he will not have heard you in the truth, you should suppress them. Whichever one of the two it will have been, I am wishing that you will be persuaded by my prayers and I am requesting this with all the intent that I am able, so that amongst all your secrets you shall hold my memory before the Lord. You will not suffer a rejection in this. Be mindful in this, my business, that as is written: let every man take heed of his neighbour, and let him not trust any brother of his,²⁸ the unfriendly men of his household²⁹.

²⁵ Ibid., Liber II Caput XIII, trans. *ibid*.

²⁶ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.176.

²⁷ Perhaps an anonymised reference to Roger of Worcester as in no.34.

²⁸ Jeremiah 9:4.

²⁹ Matthew 10:36.

Letter 14

V fo.142r = L 607-8

Unico suo et domino suorum minimus^a se ipsum^b licet hodie munus modicum. Retribuat vobis Dominus omnipotens opera pietatis, dilectionis et gratie, que quandoque pre omnibus hominibus magnificastis in me, paruitatis mee non est quod p(ari) q(ueam) re(pendere) vice^c. Quod possum ago, in sola gratiarum actione gratus existo. Nouit Dominus quia si quandoque tempus accepero, non solum mea si qua fuerint vobis gratanter exponam, sed et^d corpus meum si neccesse fuerit in obsequium vestrum, periculis subitiam^e. Scitis, mi domine, quoniam pre omni anima que viuit in carne singularem in vobis habeo fidutiam et a diebus illis semper habui quibus prius vos a scol(is)^f me vestre dilectionis odore traxistis et gratie. Licet enim habundanter^g me vestra comitata fuerint^h, vos ipsum tamen secutus fui non vestra, utinam tamen omine felitiore. Exⁱ tunc enim semper^j finis unius consumati^k laboris, alterius geminati michi cepit esse initium, pro fidelitatis premiis, infidelitatis penas luo.

Et ne veteres querar^l calumpnias, nouis scriptis, nouis nuntiis, male domini mei persuasa est opinio quod, cum ultimo in curia fuerim^m, studiose procurauerimⁿ quominus negotia pro quibus venimus mancparentur effectui. Ecce, mi domine, que merces laborum quos usque ad diuisionem anime et spiritus me pro eo perferre vidistis². Ecce que fidei retributio, qua dum supra fidem homini fidelis fui, fere a Deo et ab ecclesia infidelitate aberrauit. Sunt et alia multa circa h(anc) constantia(m)^o in quibus pariter^p 'sibi mentita est iniquitas'^{q1}, que quoniam publicus^r pudor in iudicio vetat proponere de mendaci^s suspicione in nostri principis maius odium me parat inducere.

Quoniam igitur preceteris conscientiam^t meam^u nostis, nam et vos verus dolor agitauit, vestrum est, mi domine, manum proteccionis michi porrigere, nec tam pro me quam zelo veritatis manifestandi^v. Causa enim ista tamdiu est et vestra quam mea. Rogo vos dominum meum karissimum pro honore vestro et ea qua iungimur fidutia et dilectione quatenus ista quamuis pauca habeatis abscondita. Gratis enim et sine causa multas insidias michi parat^w

^a *add.* David L

^b *om.* se ipsum L

^c p. q. re. V, *extended to* pro gratia reddere L, *but in reality referring back to the wording of letter 10*

^d et V, nec L

^e subtraham L

^f scola L

^g habundantia L

^h fuerit L

ⁱ *om.* L

^j sepe L

^k consummati L

^l queram L

^m fuerimis L

ⁿ procurauimus L

^o constantiam L.

^p pariter *interlined* V

^q iniquitas L

^r publice L

^s mendacii L

^t conscientiam V, quos sciam L

^u mea L

^v manifestande L

^w parit L

inuidia. Litterarum vestrarum festinum recursum, si de beneplacito vestro fuerit, per latorem presentium expecto.

Miror enim quamplurimum quod cum sepius nuntios vestros in Normanniam direxeritis, quod nec unius saltem salutationis alloquio me visitastis, quasi verborum que in ultimo discessu vestro mecum habuistis, omnino immemor factus fueritis. Quicquid de me fuerit, vobis semper ad votum uniuersa succedant. Bene in perpetuum valeatis.

1. Ps. 26:12. 2. Hebrews 4:12.

Letter 14

Master David to ?Gilbert Foliot¹

[?After December 1170]²

To his only Lord, the least of theirs, himself to himself, although today modest in service. The omnipotent Lord shall repay to you the deeds of piety, love, and grace, which at one time you magnified in me before all men. Now, however, since it is not for my smallness to seek to reply in kind as to an equal, I do merely as I am now able, and I stand willing and grateful to do what I can in deeds of grace. Because I shall have seized the opportunity that I now pursue, the Lord knew that³ if it were necessary in your allegiance, I would joyfully expose not only myself but my body to sudden dangers, if any such arise. You know, my Lord, that I trust in you specially before any other living soul, and I held it always from those days⁴ in which previously you pulled me from school with the odour of your love and grace. For although your men abundantly followed me, I followed you and not your men, if only it was to a luckier omen! From then and always the conclusion of one completed labour began to be the beginning of another pair for me, and I underwent the penalty of infidelity for the pressing of fidelity.

So that I do not lament ancient accusations⁵ with new writings and new messengers, the opinion of my Lord⁶ was persuaded by wickedness that when we were last in the curia⁷ we eagerly attended to the matters for which we came, and they were surrendered to an accomplishment. Behold, my Lord, the rewards of the labours which you decided to convey for me until the division of my soul and spirit.⁸ Behold, the recompense of faith, while I was faithful beyond faith to a man, until I almost went astray from God and from the Church in infidelity.⁹ There are many others standing firm around this which is equally feigned and unjust, and since public modesty forbids it to set forth in justice, from mendacious suspicion it prepared me to introduce the greater ill-will of our chief.

¹ This can be attributed to David due to content and style. The recipient is David's 'one and only Lord', a sentiment applied to Foliot elsewhere. He refers to the recipient dragging him from school and his subsequent settling of affairs at the Curia: this must be a reference to Gilbert writing to David in Bologna and asking for his help in gaining absolution. It seems that David is asking for help in a dispute, though this could be with the canons of St Paul's rather than with Foliot. This letter is clearly to someone of status, for they are referred to as 'lord', and someone who was also on the king's side during the Becket dispute. The reference to Normandy is not quite clear, but Arnulf was stationed there, and in no.18 to Arnulf David talks of 'that hospitable grace full of reverence and obedience which you held from me when I was near you and even more so that which in my departure from Normandy you invited from me' which seems to link with the passage here. There is a hint that the recipient also studied at Bologna ('since you knew my school before the rest') and Arnulf studied there. C. P. Scriber, 'Arnulf (1105 X 9-1184)' in *ODNB*, but the reference to the recipient withdrawing him from school surely points to Foliot.

² There seems to be a reference to the Becket dispute, where David 'almost wandered in faithlessness from God and the Church' by being faithful to their Lord. David also refers to having been to the Curia before, suggesting this is after his visits there for Foliot.

³ The same wording as no.10, and 'quandoque tempus accepero' also appears in nos.1, 3, 11, 22, and 27.

⁴ Very similar to no.12 here: 'Scitis enim quoniam statim post Dominum, unicam et singularem pre omni anima que vivit in carne, in vobis habuerim fiduciam'.

⁵ Ps. 26:12.

⁶ Unclear if he is referring to another and therefore this letter was not to Foliot, or if he is speaking to Foliot but referring to him in the third person.

⁷ Possibly when David was at the Curia when the news of Becket's murder broke.

⁸ Hebrews 4:12.

⁹ Possibly referring to the Becket dispute: David was so intent on being faithful to 'man' i.e. Foliot, that he almost wandered from the Church and from God.

Therefore, since you knew my school before the rest,¹⁰ true pain drove you, and it your responsibility, my Lord, to reach out your hand for my protection, not only for me but also for zeal of discovering the truth. For this cause was for a long time yours as much as mine, so I am asking you as my most beloved Lord, for your honour and for that by which we are uniting with faith and with love until you should hold this small and concealed. For envy had freely prepared many traps for me without cause. I await the hasty return of your letters through the bearer of these presents, if it shall be of your will.

I am greatly astonished, because many times when you directed your messengers through Normandy you did not visit me except for the exhortation of one greeting,¹¹ as if you were made wholly forgetful of the words which you held with me in your last departure. Whatsoever was from me, shall wholly always follow that vow. Fare you well as always.

¹⁰ Suggesting someone he knew in his student days or when he was teaching at Clermont?

¹¹ The reference here seems to be to letters- none of the recipients' messengers had been sent to him except for one letter.

Letter 15

V fo.142r = L 619

Filialem cum salute subiunctionem. A pectore meo non excidit nec unquam a mem(oria) m(ea) v(entilauit) o(bliuio)^a id plurimum honoris et gratie quod michi fecistis quando super eo vos adii negotio pro quo et nunc vobis deuotus supplico. Ut cetera sileam, id enim solum quod recolo condigna gratiarum actione compensare non sufficio, potuistis omnem mee petitionis instantiam quam consueti iuris eludebat occasio in opinionis mee dispendium, in laborem michi geminatum, ad tempus productius et in longum protrahere^b, sed equitati tota diligentia maluistis insistere quam^c infecto negotio me par(iter)^d honeste^e a vobis dimittere.

Superest igitur, mi domine, ut ad id fouendum vestra sollicitudo non desit, quod vestre manus diligentia totum elaborauit. Veritatem loquor et non mendatium, quoniam ex hac ipsa liberalitate vestra maiore desideravi desiderio re ipsa vester effici, quam emolumentum quod ex ea prouentur(um) speravi, licet etiam inter initia longe maius aliquid^f de ipsa sperauerim quam in ea postmodum inuenerim. Res enim est que plus michi rixe quam dapis attulit¹ plus parat litigii quam emolumentum.

Sed ne vos et vestra tempora morer, qua possum precum instantia vos exoratum cupio, quatenus latorem presentium in eo quod in me gratia vestra contulit beneficio vices meas agentem, vestro foueatis consilio et tueamini protectione. Verbum illud de ecclesia vel capella de Dudincon^g super quo iam eum conuenistis, in aduentum vestrum London' ad generalem illam quam iam fecit dominus Cant(uariensis) vocationem, differatis. Tunc enim annuente domino London(iensi) vobis occurram, et ad vestrum consilium et voluntatem exinde in verbo illo cedam vel contendam. Scitis^h enim et longe meⁱ melius, quod sicut periculosum sua negligentia suo iuri cederet^j sic et^k temerarium in alieni iuris inuidiam litem improbam instituire.

1. Cf. Horace *Epistulae* I:17 ll.50-1: 'Sed tacitus pasci si posset coruus, haberet plus dapis et rixae multo minus inuidiaeque'. ['If the crow would only eat more quietly, it would have more food and a lot less spite and envy'].

^a *once again heavily abbreviated, referring back to a phrase in letter 3 above*

^b trahere L

^c quam V, quasi L

^d pari L

^e honestate L

^f aliquod L

^g Dodinton L

^h secus L

ⁱ *om.* L

^j cedere L

^k *om.* sic et L

Letter 15

[?Master David to Bishop Geoffrey Ridel of Ely¹]

[?1175²]

A filial submission with greeting³. It remains close to my heart, and nor has forgetfulness ever wafted from my memory, that when I undertook that business of yours, you did me great honour and favour, for which I now beseech you, your devoted servant. To set other things aside, although I cannot possibly repay you by any suitable act of favour for that one thing which I recall, you might have dragged out the occasion for my request, as opportunity arose to dodge the customary right, to the loss of my good opinion, to the doubling of my labour, and to some more protracted time. But instead you preferred to serve equity with all diligence, rather than cast off both myself, though honourable, and the business, though unfinished.

It therefore remains, my Lord, not to withdraw your support from that which requires it and that your hand alone entirely framed. I speak the truth, not lies, desiring more that your matter be accomplished, after such generosity, than that I might hope for payment of the reward thence owing, albeit that I hoped from the beginning for something greater from this than I afterwards obtained. Such a thing it is as to bring me more brawl than banquet⁴, and to lead more to dispute than to reward.

But rather than drag this out or tire you, I wish to persuade you by whatever prayer I can muster, that you favour with your counsel and take under your protection the bearer of the present letters, acting as my proxy in respect to that benefice that you granted me from your grace. Any mention of that church or chapel of Doddington⁵, that you agreed with him, you may put off until your coming to London, summoned there by the lord of Canterbury's general summons⁶. I shall then come to you, with the lord of London's approval⁷, and following your counsel or will, either give up or dispute what was mentioned. For you know, and for a long time better than me, that just as it is perilous for anyone to abandon their right through their own negligence, so is it reckless to embark on a wicked and wanton plea in pursuit of the rights of others.

¹ This letter can be attributed to David due to content and style. The recipient is possibly Geoffrey, as he was archdeacon of Canterbury before he was Bishop of Ely, and the church of Doddington, discussed in this letter, lay in the archdeacon's gift.

² Presuming the meeting referred to is the Council of Westminster of 1175. This is not certain but the next possible option would be the Council of London in June 1181 regarding the privileges of the Abbot of St Augustine's, Gervase, *Opera*, 296. This would, however, put this as possibly the latest letter in the collection, so Westminster is more likely.

³ The same salutation as no.7.

⁴ Cf. Horace, *Epistulae* IL17 ll.50-1. Possibly referring to David's Lincoln benefice that Becket admonished him for.

⁵ Near Faversham in Kent, see Chapter Two, 103-5.

⁶ This must be the Council of Westminster in May 1175. All bishops of the southern province were named as attending except Geoffrey of Lincoln (who was not yet consecrated), and Norwich as the bishopric was vacant. Only the bishop of St David's was present from Wales. Gervase of Canterbury says the bishop of Worcester was absent through ill health but he may have been confused, *Opera* i, 251. Gerald of Wales writes (*Instruction of Princes*, 177) that the legate Hugutio Peter Leonis, cardinal of St Angelo, was sent to England and under him a council of the whole English clergy was summoned at London to discuss the question of the primacy between Canterbury and York (no date given), though David here is clear that the meeting he refers to was called by the archbishop of Canterbury, so it is therefore most likely to be the council of Westminster,.

⁷ Presumably Gilbert Foliot, which suggests David was still in his service in 1175, if the earlier reference was indeed to Westminster.

Letter 16

V fo.142r-v = L 613-5

Suorum minimus salutem et se i(psum) licet mu(nus) mo(dicum)^a. Si vobis, mi domine, super verbo illo scribere distuli, quod michi gratie vestre dignatio per dominum Rob(ertum) archid(iaconum) significauit, ea causa fuit, quia vos dominum meum expeditis quibusdam que me plus opinato morantur negotiis, ipse presens adire destinaueram, efficacius viua voce quam scripta^b, beneuolentie vestre pro posse meo debitas gratiarum acturus acciones^c.

Accepi siquidem ab archid(iacono) predicto qualiter ad admonitionem vestram et instantiam tandem dominus Herbertus adqueuerit^d ad annuam dim(idie) marce solutionem michi faciendam, quam tamen non nomine ecclesie de Dudinton' sed nomine transactionis michi soluere voluit. Et certe licet hoc verbum, scilicet 'nomine transactionis, non nomine ecclesie' a modernorum plurimis in alienis causis audierim frequentatum, in propria tamen aliquem imparit^e ambiguum^f. Auctor michi et^g conscientie secretum quoniam nequaquam pecuniam domini H(erberti)^h litem improbam aduersus eum instituendo, michiⁱ venatus^j sum vel venor^k, sed iure debitum ecclesie cui me gratia vestra prefecit, pio proposito quoadlicet, persequor^l. Nostis autem, mi domine, et longe me^m melius, quia si periculosum in spiritualibus suo iuri cedere est, et periculosius a debita sibi iuris persecutioneⁿ in eisdem vel eis annexis presertim ad premium desistere. Quamuis enim interdum iustus possessor spiritualis iuris vel eis annexi, aliquo dato, licitam sibi quietem redimat, in eam tamen causam simpliciter acceptum magnorum virorum iudicio, licet forsitan^o non semper simoniam^p pariat, semper tamen ad dampnationem edificat. H(oc) autem, mi domine, summotenus tetigi, nequaquam in aliquo vestre preiudicando voluntati, sed verbi ambiguum et conscientie mee scrupulum vestre committendo dispositioni.

Scio enim quia^q si sollicitudo vestra etiam in ea parte predicto domino H(erberto) prouidere^r decreuerit, ne scilicet transactionis^s occasione licet ecclesie nomine quam possidet inter me et ipsum forsitan ineunde, cuiquam^t successorum meorum ad eandem solutionem^u teneatur, sed potius si michi quid humanitus vel aliter contigerit, ius suum et omne quod nunc habet sibi

^a mu mo V, *supplied from letter 27* (V fo.144r)

^b scripto L

^c acciones acturus L

^d Heribertus adqueuit L

^e *reading uncertain* V, aliquam parit L

^f ambiguitatem L

^g est L

^h pecuniam domini H(erberti) V, petimus dominum Heribertium L

ⁱ quem L

^j veneratus L

^k veneror L

^l prosequor L

^m *om.* L

ⁿ prosecutione L

^o forsitan L

^p simoniam *repeated, underdotted for correction* V

^q quod L

^r Heriberto prouidere L

^s V *inserts nomine underdotted for omission*

^t unquam L

^u solutionem eandem L

superstiti saluum sit, si inquam vestra sollicitudo etiam in ea parte illi prouidere decreuerit. Scio quidem quia prudentia vestra tutius remedium adhibere nouit, velut^v quem non latet quoniam beneficium quod pacti occasione licet rei nomine certe parte^w prius competit, ipsi soli contrahens^x, alii non proficit. Et certe ni fallor longe sibi commodius prospiciet plus vel minus ipsius rei nomine soluendo, quam sese solummodo personaliter obligando.

Sed ne prolixo vos morer orationis dispendio, satis nostis, mi domine, qualiter ab initio, qualiter postea mecum actum fuerit. Qua patientia et utinam dispendiose magis quam ignominiose omnia sustinuerim, ob eam qua vobis domino meo teneor semperque, tenebor reuerentiam, memor illius prime liberalitatis et gratie quam in oculis vestris inueni. Et quidem co(mmun)e forum omnium michi soli de Anglia defuisse non posset. Sed frequens est quod qui sibi obnoxium ad extraordinarium iudicium^y gratis trahit, quantum in se est ordinarium iudicem in suspicionem inducit. Male coloratum, ut ipsum malum eq(ue) fugiendum. Sed nec aliquorum precibus, quod solum saltem potuissem, vos umquam^z, mi domine, presumpsi molestare, ne non vobis soli gratiam quam de vobis spero viderer adscribere. Taceo quod si solam si qua^{aa} mea tamen^{bb} est auctoritas prestitissem, ut quidam quiuis^{cc} alius me maior vel me maiori adherens, meo et procuratorio nomine causam istam qualemqualem^{dd} agitasset, forsitan hodie sepedictus H(erbertus)^{ee} possessioni de qua agitur nequaquam incumberet.

Salua, mi domine, reuerentia vestra et auctoritate, omnia loquor. Nam absit a me quod qualitercumque factum ipsius in parte oppugnem quem in ipso toto propitium sepe commendaui auctorem. Si igitur honori vestro expedire creditis eum auctoritate iudiciali tueri qui qualitercumque missus est in possessionem partis, longe magis et vestra interesse debet ipsam sollicite^{ff} fouere institutionem quam in ipso toto propriis manibus prius elaborastis. Viderit igitur vestre discretionis iudicium, cui me totum subieci et subicio, quid mecum agere decreuerit. Nam ut iacturam perceptorum fructuum non recolam, ut ignaue et remissioris negligentie vitium michi sepius a multis obiectum sileam, licet domini et aduocati mei a quo, ut scitis, in aliis quibusdam negotiis meis quasi totus pendeo, grauis et assidua querela me lacerare non desinat, nichil tamen horum michi tanti est, ut semel vestrum consilium obaudire velim vel preceptum. Velle itaque vestrum, mi domine, michi vestro ubi et quando volueritis vobis in omnibus parituro significate. De vobis enim confido quod ecclesie mee immo magis vestre potius quam michi, quod honori meo immo magis vestro potius quam meo comodo^{gg}, prospicietis. Absit enim arbitrari^{hh} quod umquamⁱⁱ ipsius arbitrium mecum inique decernat, cuius omne iudicium Romanus pontifex ad gratiam commendat.

1. ?Unidentified.

^v veluti L

^w parte V, prius L

^x contrahenti L

^y Iudicium *corrected* V

^z unquam L

^{aa} si quae L

^{bb} tamen mea L

^{cc} quamvis L

^{dd} qualemcumque L

^{ee} Heribertus L

^{ff} sollicite L

^{gg} comodo L

^{hh} arbitri L

ⁱⁱ unquam L

Letter 16

[Master David to ?Geoffrey Ridel or Roger of Worcester]¹

[After 1175]²

The least of theirs, a greeting and he himself, although in modest service.³

If I delayed to write to you, my Lord, concerning that message which the honour of your grace signified to me through Lord Robert the archdeacon,⁴ the reason was this: because you are despatching my lord to settle certain matters which delay me in my affairs more than is believed, and I had determined presently to come myself as voice is more effectual than writing, and I am going to advance the due actions of thanks to your benevolence for which I am able. Indeed, I heard from the aforesaid archdeacon as if it was at your suggestion and approach that the Lord Herbert⁵ had assented to make an annual payment of half a mark to me, which is not in the name of the church of Doddington but in the name of the transaction that he wished to release to me. Certainly, although I frequently heard this phrase, namely “in the name of the transaction, not in the name of the church” in many other causes of institutions, still it somewhat nourished doubt. The founder of conscience is my guide, since for by no means have I sought, or am I seeking, the money of Lord Herbert by launching a vexatious suit against him, but I am pursuing what is due to that church, to which your grace appointed me,⁶ with devout resolution. However, my lord, you knew and for a long time better than me, if it is dangerous in spirits to fall away from one’s own law, it is more dangerous still to yield to one’s self by persecution of the law in the same or by attaching this to what is pressing. For however much sometimes a righteous owner of spiritual justice or those joined to them should redeem a permitted rest for themselves from anything delivered, with the lawsuit simply received on them from the judgement of great men, although perhaps it shall not always produce simony, it shall always build to condemnation. However this, my lord, I mentioned at the top, in no way prejudging your will but by uniting the ambiguity of words and the scruples of my conscience to your disposition.

I know that if your solicitude will have decided to provide for the aforesaid Lord Herbert in this matter, not from the occasion of the transaction undertaken between me and himself, but in the name of the church which he possesses, he shall maintain the same payment for any one of my successors⁷, but it is better if it will have happened for me reasonably or in another way. His right, and all that which he now holds shall be safe by his surviving, I am saying, if your solicitude will have decided to prepare for him in this regard. I know this because your prudence knew to apply a safer remedy, as it does not conceal that favour which was

¹ This letter can be attributed to David according to content and style. Evidently this letter was written to someone involved in the disagreement between Herbert and David over Doddington though he refers to his recipient as his ‘lords and advocates’ in what seems to be a reference to his issues at St Paul’s, in which case this could perhaps be to Roger of Worcester, and the plurals here may point to multiple recipients. See below fn.7 for the suggestion it may have been written to Geoffrey Ridel.

² Presuming that the Herbert referred to is Herbert le Poer, and that he contested David’s rights to Doddington after his appointment to the archdeaconry of Canterbury sometime in 1175.

³ The same salutation as nos.14 and 27.

⁴ Probably Robert Banastre, see no.7 fn.3.

⁵ See Chapter Two, 104-5, for the suggestion that this should be identified as Herbert le Poer.

⁶ Suggesting that the letter is written to someone with the authority to make grants from the archdeaconry of Canterbury, hence the suggestion that it was written to Geoffrey Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury 1163-April 1173, *Fasti*, ii, 12-15.

⁷ A strange suggestion coming from David unless he held a certain position to which the church had been gifted (e.g. his benefice, or an archdeaconry or canonry).

previously agreed on the occasion of the agreement although in the name of a certain matter, and transacting with him alone it shall not be good for another. Certainly, so I am not long deceived it will provide more fully for him by paying more or less in the name of this matter, than by personally binding himself.

But, so that I do not lengthily delay you with the cost of oration, you fully knew my lord that which was advanced from the beginning and afterwards with me. If only I could have sustained with patience all of the loss and disgrace, on account of that by which I was always held to you and to my lord, and I will be held in reverence, mindful of that first generosity and grace which I found in your eyes. Indeed, it had not been possible for me alone to have been wanting in the common forum of all. But, it is common that he who draws the guilty to himself for the uncommon judgement of grace, how much he introduces ordinary justice to himself in suspicion. Having been coloured in wickedness, as misfortune itself is going to flee. But I did not presume to ever trouble you, my lord, with the prayers of anyone, save that which I had been able to do alone, and I had not been seen to ascribe to you alone the grace which I am hoping for from you. I am silent, because if the authority was mine I would have prevailed, as a certain other man who is greater than me or is attached to one greater than me had pursued this cause as my agent in name. Perhaps today the oft-said Herbert shall be advanced to possession of that which he had not attacked.

I am saying all this, my Lord, saving your reverence and authority. Should anything of whatever kind be removed from me, should I attack any deed of his in this regard, I always trusted the gracious authority in all. Therefore, if you should trust him to be expedient for your honour and to maintain with judicial authority he who was sent in possession of an office, it ought to concern you fully and for a long time to anxiously cherish his instruction, which previously you bestowed on him entirely with special hands. Therefore, the judgement of your discretion will have seen that I submitted and am submitting my all to him, which he decided to advance with me. For I shall not recall the loss of perceived delights, and I shall be silent on the charges of idleness and mild negligence often presented to me by many,⁸ although you know as my lords and advocates in all that I am wholly suspended in all my certain affairs as a grave and unceasing grievance does not cease to wound me, and nothing of it is of such great importance to me, as I had often wished to obey your counsel or precept. So wish for your [man], my lord, that where and when you will have wished for me you should signify it in all that you are going to bring about. I am trusting in you, that of my church you will provide more fully for yours and better than for me, which indeed is better for your honour than for my convenience. God forbid it is to be considered that his judgement should ever decide to my disadvantage, and the Roman pontiff should commit his judgement of all to grace.

⁸ Presumably referring to his enemies at St Paul's.

Letter 17

V fo.142v = L 584-5; Poupardin 372-3 no.17; A 124 no.73

Arn(ulfus) Dei gratia Lex(ouiensis) episcopus karissimo^a suo magistro D(avid) London(iensi)^b salutem. Utinam utiliorem vobis titulum^c diuina gratia prescripsisset, Londoniensem^d vos^e in litterarum presentium inscriptione predixi, quamuis ad vos ciuitas illa nec expugnatione pertineat, sicut Affrica Scipioni, nec dominatione, sicut sua Cesari Roma concessit. Titulum hunc^f vobis de sola minus utili natiuitate nouimus attributum^g, sed utinam quandoque natiuitati et cognomini leto prouentu^h, si non hominiⁱ gratia saltem^j diuine bonitatis occurrat. De cetero, quia amicorum est, cum ab inuicem absentes sunt, diligentiolem sui inuicem habere memoriam et maius alternis utilitatibus studium adhibere, cum domino rege de vobis, adhibito archid(iacono) Pictauen(si)^k, locutus sum, multisque^l tam meis quam illius petitionibus adqueiuit, ut indilate vobis bonum seculare^m quod habetis ab ipso, in beneficia ecclesiastica commutaret, cum eo etiam incremento quod ei diuine predestinatio bonitatis afferret. Iturus in Angliam creditur, sed nichil adhuc ei de se neque nobis de ipso certum potuit apparere, licet ad eundum proniolemⁿ multa eum^o argumenta confirmet. Prouidete itaque quod vobis utilius videritis expedire, et si vobis in partibus istis transitum^p eius expectare placuerit, certum vobis sit me vobis omnia tanquam^q amico karissimo^r, non solum cum hylaritate sed cum omni etiam^s desiderio prouisurum. Quod si reditum domini vestri usque ad gloriam restitutionis eius comitare decreueritis, sciatis quia^t vobis apud^u me veritas amicitie ad omnes deuota perseuerabit euentus.

^a carissimo L

^b Londonensi L

^c titulum V A, ecclesiam L

^d Londonensem L

^e vobis L

^f titulum hunc V A, ecclesiam hanc L

^g attributam L

^h leto prouentu V A, loco prouentum L

ⁱ homini V, hominum L A

^j tamen L

^k Pictauensi L

^l multasque L

^m sacculare L

ⁿ promptiolem L

^o cum L

^p transitus L

^q tanquam L

^r carissimo L

^s etiam V A, *om.* L

^t quod L

^u apud L

Letter 17

Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux to Master David of London¹

[July 1171]²

Arnulf by the grace of God bishop of Lisieux to his dearest master David of London, sends greeting. Would that divine grace had prescribed for you the more advantageous title of London that I have predicted in the inscription of the present letter, even if that city did not fall to you in battle, as Africa did to Scipio, or from domination as Rome did to Caesar. We know that this title has been attributed to you solely by birth. May it sometime fall to a man of the same name and birth by a happy coincidence, if not by the grace of divine goodness. For the rest, because it is good for friends, when they are apart from one another, to remember each other more diligently, and to apply more eagerness to other advantages, I have spoken to the lord King about you, when the archdeacon of Poitiers [Richard of Ilchester] was brought in. He has agreed to my petitions as well as to his. He will exchange for you without delay the secular property which you hold from him, into an ecclesiastical benefice, which the predestination of divine goodness confers on him also with that addition. He [the King] is believed to be going into England, but up to now this was not certain to him or to us. Many proofs, however, confirm that he is inclined to go. So take care to prepare yourself. If it is pleasing for you to await his crossing in this region, certainly I will provide you, as if to a dearest friend, not only with happiness but also with every desire. But if you must leave to accompany the return of your lord to the glory of his restoration,³ you will understand that the devoted truth of friendship for you will continue at my house in all eventuality.

¹ Translation adapted here from *LCA*, no.3.07.

² In *PR 16 Henry II* (ending Michaelmas 1170) a payment was made to David from the archdeaconry of Oxford in the diocese of Lincoln, but by the next year this was changed to two payments as mentioned in no.26, so the change must have occurred some time in 1171 before Michaelmas. Richard of Ilchester was one of the king's envoys to the Curia after Becket's death and was in Frascati Jan-April 1171 (Eyton, *Itinerary*, 158). Arnulf of Lisieux was possibly witnessing charters in June-July 1171 when the king was at Rouen and Quevilly (see *idem*, though Vincent dates these 1170 X 1173: *LCH* nos. 291, 1424). Foliot met with papal commissioners at Chaumont on 1 Aug, and evidently this letter was sent before then, and the King's almost immediate departure for England thereafter: Eyton, *Itinerary*, 160.

³ This must be Foliot's second absolution at Gisors on 1 August 1171.

Letter 18

V fos.142v-143r = L 605-6

Karissimo suo et domino Arn(ulfo) Dei gratia Lex(ouiensi) episcopo suorum quidam salutem et sui memoriam. Si etiam^a et^b nomen^c meum supprimo, ne miremini, mi domine, duxi enim tutius et si sero notam mei nominis supprimere quam eius intellectu odiosum titulum importare. Quedam enim adeo re ipsa infecit^d, ut quamuis non exprimantur ad verbum, tamen etiam inuitum comitari solent intellectum. Et ut expugnationis^e, dominationis^f pariter et natiuitatis titulos sileam, memini quamplures me maiores in nomine, quorum quidam a loci doctrina, quidam a sola disciplina, quidam ab inhabitatione licet non perpetua, illius quondam urbis nostre titulo se gauisi sunt insigniri. Sed forte fuit hoc non nubilis^g temporibus, sed cum ei sui dies arriserent^h et tempora, cum armis et ornatu decora pre ceteris participibus suis in oculis sui principis inuenta est gratiosa.

A memoria vestra urbes preclaras non ventilauit obliuio quas felix titulus prius nobilitauit ad gloriam, et postea infelicitasⁱ fati precipitauit in miseriam, sicut et alias plures pre mentis oculis habetis, quas etsi^j suorum principum prior indignatio subuerterit, gratia posteriorum^k in statum antiquum interdum digniorem erexit. In omnibus tamen etiam aduersis mutatae felicitatis auspitiis, utique^l suos licet euersarum urbium ciues antiqui tituli sibi video reseruasse reliquias, non tam^m quasiⁿ statim sufficeret^o ad conciliandum^p gratiam quam^q ut pene quamuis^r debite^s recordatione inclinaret ad clementiam. In penalibus enim causis ubicumque potest ciuilis iuris humanitas occasionem nanciscitur^t, ut cum lapsis in penam mitius agatur. Hanc et ego secutus imaginem interdum meo nomini suum illum^u titulum annotaui, ut proprie qualitati nominis ex locali titulo quedam inesset conditio penalis. Poteram et h(oc) michi titulum mutasse feliciter et fortune nouercantis etiam in nomine deluisse prudenter ineptias. Per annos enim aliquot dictus fui Claremontensis^v, a loco celebri in Galliarum partibus, ubi priusquam Parisius^w habitans^x fui magister emeritus. Sed que me morosiozem habuit alumpnum Italia, parum michi prouida, illi meo titulo prime

^a et L

^b *om.* L

^c cognomen L

^d innotescunt L

^e *add.* et L

^f damnationis L

^g nubilum L

^h arriserint L

ⁱ infelicitas L

^j etsi V, si L

^k posterior L

^l ?ubique V

^m tantum L

ⁿ qui L

^o sufficerent L

^p conciliandam L

^q quantum L

^r quisquis L

^s debita L

^t nanciscitur L

^u *om.* L

^v Claromontensis L

^w Parisiis L

^x habitus L

cathedre magistralis titulum pretulit mee natiuitatis, nescio an iuxta illud Ulpiani t(itulum) ad municip(alem)^y. Assumptio originis que non est veritatem nature non perimit.¹ Errore enim veritas originis non amittitur, neque mendatio dicentis se esse unde non sit deponitur. Sicut nec recusando quis propriam ex qua oriundus sit, neque mentiendo de ea quam non habet, veritatem mutare potest. Sed absque hu(ius) titulorum et instantis malitie sollicitudine, illos dies meos et tempora transegi feliciter. Quamuis enim nostrarum urbium partus et natiuitas in homines deteriores^z consueuerit degenerare, purgato tamen philosophice vitio si quod contraxi ex loco, et^{aa} purgatum credidi si quid vitiosum resedit in titulo. Sed ne vos et tempora vestra, mi domine, protense magis quam opus sit morer orationis dispendio, si me inmeritum^{bb} a natiuitate titulus ad hominum dampnat^{cc} offensam, potens est magnificentia vestra diuine bonitati quamplurimum cooperari, ut in alio nouitas me commendet ad gratiam. Frequens enim est ut titulus qui ex loco licet natiuo contrahitur, loco mutato varietur. Et certe de vobis innata bonitate confido quamplurimum, quoniam opera pietatis et gratie que tam animi vestri quam generis nobilitas in me magnifice inchoauit, et michi utili et vobis glorioso termino limitare studebit.

Quicquid fuerit, hospitalem illam gratiam totius venerationis et obsequii plenam qua me habuistis dum aput^{dd} vos fui, immo magis et illam ad quam in discessu meo a Normannia^{ee} dulci litterarum vestrarum eloquio et omnem humanitatis redolente affectionem me inuitastis, illam inquam gratiam condigna vice rependat vobis Dominus, et votis domini nostri principis benignus^{ff} inspiret, ut promissi sui gratiam ad quod eum sine exemplo inclinastis, in actus et operis ostendat effectum, ut inter alios insignes laudis vestre titulos et hunc^{gg} orbis valeat annumerare^{hh}. Que michi ad actus meos et consilia disponendum scitu necessaria videritis, rogo si placet utcumque michi significetis. Nouit enim dominus et h(oc) verbo michiⁱⁱ que vobis mitto munuscula, non tam ex se quam ex quanto mittuntur affectu acceptate, iuxta illud poeticum : ‘Acceptissima semper^{jj} munera sunt^{kk} auctor que^{ll} preciosa facit². Cetera de relatu latoris presentium plenius accipietis. Valete, et^{mm} conseruetⁿⁿ vos Dominus in tempora cum tranquillitate longeva.

1. Ulpian, *Libri Opiniorum*, Liber ii: ‘Adsumptio originis, quae non est, veritatem naturae non perimit, errore enim veritas originis non amittitur, nec mendacio dicentis, se esse, unde non sit, deponitur, neque recusando quis patriam, ex qua oriundus est, neque mentiendo de ea quam non habet, veritatem mutare potest’.
2. Ovid, *Heroides* 17 (‘Helene Paridi’) l.71

^y tit. ad. municip. L

^z devotiores L

^{aa} etiam L

^{bb} immeritum L

^{cc} damnant L

^{dd} apud L

^{ee} Normandia L

^{ff} benignius L

^{gg} hoc L

^{hh} enumerare *underdotted and interlined for correction* V

ⁱⁱ Nouit enim dominus et in h(oc) verbo michi *underlined* V

^{jj} saepe L

^{kk} facit L

^{ll} *add.* non L

^{mm} *om.* L

ⁿⁿ consevet L

Letter 18

Master David to Arnulf of Lisieux¹

[After July 1171]²

To his most beloved lord, Arnulf, by the grace of God, bishop of Lisieux, a certain one of his, a greeting and the memory of himself. If I conceal my name you should not be surprised, my lord, for although late I thought it more prudent to conceal the sign of my name than bring about a hateful inscription from the knowledge of it. So far, certain things are becoming known from the matter itself, as although they are not articulated in words, they are accustomed to follow a reluctant understanding. As I am silent on the titles equally of birth as of condemnation and assault, I recalled a great many men better than me in name. They were glad to be marked themselves: a certain one of them by the learning of the place, another by teaching alone,³ another by his dwelling, though it is not continuous, and a certain one of them with the title of our town. But, by luck, this was not in the clouds of time, but when the days had smiled at him and in the time when he was found pleasing and decorated with glory before all his other comrades in the eyes of his prince.⁴

If forgetfulness did not waft from your memory⁵ that illustrious city which formerly that lucky title made famous in glory, and afterwards misfortune of fate cast down in misery, as you hold many others before the eyes of your mind, and those which the former displeasure of their prince had overturned, the ensuing grace sometimes elevated them to a more worthy ancient standing. However, with the omens of changing luck turned in all, assuredly I see that the citizens of the ruined town have preserved the remnants of that ancient title for themselves, not just as they had sufficed in bringing about grace but as much as in recalling due punishment, and they had bent towards mercy.

Wherever it is possible in penal causes, mankind receives the occasion of civil law, so that it is advanced more mildly by slipping in punishment. I sometimes followed this image as I noted this title for my name, as this condition of punishment had belonged to the quality of name from that local title. I had been able, luckily, to have changed my title, and prudently to have deceived the folly of step-motherly fortune, even in name. For several years I was called 'Claremontensis' ('of Clarus Mons') after the famous place in Gaul where, before I lived in Paris, I was a master *emeritus*.⁶ As for Italy, which found me a more capricious student but provided little for me, it preferred calling me by my birth name rather than the place where I held my first magisterial chair. I do not know whether the title of the town is close to that of Ulpian:⁷

¹ Clearly this was David's reply to no.17 above.

² No.17 discusses the possibility of David accompanying Foliot to his absolution at Gisors, which took place on 1 Aug. Gisors was in the Norman Vexin, so David's reference here to his 'departure from Normandy' evidently could not have meant a departure to Gisors. This does not preclude the possibility that David accompanied Foliot there, but it seems likely that he then went on elsewhere, presumably to England.

³ Possibly Master Henry of London, thought to be the same Master Henry who was *magister scholarum* at St Paul's, first appears before 16 January 1127, and last occ. without title March 1157 X May 1162: *Fasti*, i, 25-7.

⁴ i.e. Thomas Becket, known as Thomas of London..

⁵ Similar phrasing found in nos.3, 9, 15.

⁶ My thanks to Drs Julie Barrau and Stephen O'Connor for their help in deciphering these two sentences.

⁷ Ulpian d.228 was a prominent Roman jurist born in Tyre, considered one of the great legal authorities of his time, his writings supplied roughly a third of Justinian's Digest

“The statement of one’s birthplace which is not correct, does not alter the fact of a person’s origin;⁸ for a man’s actual birthplace is not lost by mistake, nor by his falsely giving a different place from the true one. Nor can anyone, by rejecting the country where he was born, nor by misrepresentation on this point, change the truth.”⁹

But, aside from those days of mine, luckily I settled the occasions of these titles from anxiety and wickedness. Although the offspring of our city were accustomed to fall short of worthier men, those who I philosophically drew together from that place with clear fault, I believed cleansed if he remained faulty in title. But so that I do not delay you and your time, my lord, the work shall be with the cost of oration: if that title from birth shall condemn me, blameless, to the displeasure of man, it is possible for your magnificence to unite a great many things to divine goodness, so that novelty entrusts me to grace in all, for it is common that the title which is assembled from that birth place should be changed by a change of place. Indeed, I am confident in a great many things from your innate goodness, since the works of piety and grace which the nobleness both of your soul and splendid race began in me will be eager to determine my utility to you with a glorious boundary.

Whatever it was, that hospitable grace full of all reverence and obedience which you held from me when I was near you and even more so that which in my departure from Normandy you invited from me as the whole love of humanity emitted with the sweet eloquence of your letters, I say that the Lord will repay that grace to you with deserved repayment and he shall inspire more kindness from the vows of our lord princes, as the grace of his promise which you diverted towards him without parallel he should display it in the accomplishment of acts and works, so that he is able to count amongst all those distinguished by the marks and titles of your praise of this world. You saw, with understood necessity, that in arranging counsel for my acts, I am asking if it should be pleasing, that somehow it should be made known to me. I am sending a small gift to you, it is sent not so much from itself but from so great affection: always received most pleasingly, it is close to poetry. Those gifts are always the most pleasing that giver has made precious.¹⁰ The rest you will receive more fully from the report of the bearer of these presents. Farewell. And the Lord maintain you in time with ancient tranquillity.

⁸ Ulpian, *Libri Opinonum*, Liber ii.

⁹ Translation from Ulpianus, Book II, in S. P. Scott, *The Civil Law XI* (Cincinnati 1932).

¹⁰ Ovid, *Heroides*, 17 (‘Helene Paridi’) 1.71.

Letter 19

V fo.143r = L 581-2; Poupardin 373 no.18; A 125 no.74

Arn(ulfus) Dei gratia Lex(ouiensis) episcopus magistro D(avid) karissimo^a suo salutem cum plurimo perpetue dileccionis affectu. Noui dominum regem prudentie tue multis astrictum^b meritis, multis promissionibus obligatum^c. Sed quantum michi de moribus eius innotuit, necesse^d est promissiones eius indefessa sedulitate prosequi, et se oculis eius in oportunitatibus^e frequenter offerre, ne forte presentium instantia utilitates absentium anticipet vel auertat. Sane, sicut credimus, in manus eius ad presens multa ventura sunt que sine mora distribui oportebit in multos, tibi que^f proculdubio utile erit^g inter ceteros vel preceteris apparere. Siquidem presentia tua poterit veterem meritorum tuorum renouare memoriam, et ad complendas circa te promissiones suas, eum^h tum benignitas, tum verecundia, tum materia copiosa conduxeritⁱ. Quod autem ad me pertinet, interim prouentui^j tuo, si fulserit occasio, promptus et deuotus insistam. Scias autem me minorem de gratia ipsius optinere fidutiam, et a multo tempore multis inditiis expertus sum, quia quotiens^k graui aliqua necessitate compellitur, studiosius audit me, et consilio meo in suis utilitatibus^l plenius adquiescit, sed in meis et meorum necessitatibus non exaudit. Dispone igitur ad momentum que disponenda videris apud^m vos, et ad regem cum omni celeritate festina, meoque cum veneris utaris officio, tuusque nos et totam domum nostram plurimum letificabit aduentus. Salutatur vos vester Nich(olaus) et laudat ut cito veniatis.

^a carissimo L

^b affectum L

^c obbligatum L

^d necesse L

^e oportunitatibus L

^f tibi que V A, itaque L

^g proculdubio utile erit V, utile erit proculdubio L, proculdubie utile erit A

^h cum L

ⁱ con(ducat) *interlined above* perducat V, perducat L

^j propectui L

^k quoties L

^l utilitabus L

^m apud L

Letter 19¹

Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux to Master David

[After July 1171-5 Aug 1171, but more likely *post* May 1172]²

Arnulf, by the grace of God bishop of Lisieux, sends greetings to his dearest Master David, with greatest affection of perpetual love. I know the lord king to be committed to Your Prudence by many merits and obligated by many promises. But I also know from his habits that it is necessary to follow up his promises with untiring sedulity, and to offer yourself to his eyes frequently at every opportunity. There is a danger that the presence of those in attendance may anticipate or turn aside the advantages of the absent. As we believe, many things [particularly vacant ecclesiastical offices] are going to be coming into his hand soon. These must be distributed among many without delay, and I do not doubt that it will be useful for you to appear with the rest or even before the rest. Thus, your presence can renew the old memory of your merits. Your kindness, honesty, and eloquent natural abilities will lead him to fulfil his promises to you. However, I, prompt and devoted, will meanwhile pursue whatever reaches me for your success, if the occasion arises.

You know, however, that I possess less trust in his favour. For a long time I have observed that whenever he is compelled by serious necessity, he hears me eagerly, and agrees fully with my advice to his own advantages. But he does not listen favourably to me and my needs. Put in order, therefore, for a moment what you see needs to be put in order in your house. When you come to the king with all haste, you will enjoy my service, and your success will greatly please me and our whole household. Your Nicholas [archdeacon of London]³ greets you and recommends that you come swiftly.

¹ Translated in *LCA* no.3.08.

² Arnulf seems here to be reminding David to chase the king up on his promise to swap David's income from Lincoln to a payment elsewhere, so this letter must come after nos.17-18, but it seems that some time has passed for the king left Normandy on 6 Aug, and no.17 suggests David had left Normandy before this. Therefore it's more likely to be from May 1172 onwards, when the King returned to Normandy.

³ For Nicholas, see no.1.

Letter 20

V fo.143r = L 608

Karissimo suo et domino quidam suus se ipsum et tempora cum tranquillitate longeva. Si gratiam illam antiquam quam in oculis vestris inueni a me(moria) v(estra) nondum ventil(auit) obl(iuio)^a, confido de vobis quamplurimum quod ea qua me vobis vincuistis dilectio, nec ociosa nec sterilis inuenietur in vobis. Quoniam igitur honestius per alios preces porrigimus quam nos ipsi supplicamus, opus habeo ut illi vestre petitioni quam quandoque pro me singulariter et sine exemplo domino principi porrexistis, et nunc presertim insistatis, facile autem diebus his iuuante Domino ad instantiam vestram sortietur euentum^b, utpote vobis^c honesta et domini principis honori cedens et comodo^d. Supplicassem vobis viua voce libentius, sed causam quedam^e quam iamdictus princeps quasi propriam michi de nouo per litteras suas mandauit agendam, iter meum prepedit et priori temporis iacture moram inutilem continuare cogit^f.

^a formula heavily abbreviated here, by found elsewhere in letters 3, 9, 11 and 18

^b euentus L

^c om. L

^d comodo L

^e quamdam L

^f V facit cogit, with facit underlined for omission

Letter 20

[Master David to Arnulf of Lisieux]¹

[?After Letter 19]²

To his most beloved Lord, one of his, offering himself and tranquillity for long to come. If forgetfulness has not yet wafted from your memory that favour that I once found in your eyes, I trust in you to no small extent, that the love you inspired from me shall not in you be found stale or wanting. Since therefore we address our more honourable requests via others rather than pleading for ourselves, I need that petition of yours that you addressed to the lord prince remarkably and without precedent³, and upon which you now especially insist, to achieve an outcome worthy to you and suiting the honour and utility of the prince, easy enough in these times, God willing and at your behest. I would rather have petitioned you by speech in person, but a certain case that the aforesaid prince has once again commended to me as mine to discharge shackles me to my journey and, following earlier waste of time, obliges me to remain in pointless delay.

¹ Though this letter does not preserve a *salutatio* it seems to link to events described in Arnulf's letters to David, above as nos.17 and 19.

² Presuming this is a response to no.19, though this is not certain.

³ Presumably a reference to Arnulf's no.17 above, where he informs David he has spoken to the king on his behalf regarding exchanging a secular benefice for an ecclesiastical one.

Letter 21

V fo.143r = L 606-7

Venerabili domino suo H(ugoni) Dei gratia London(iensis) ecclesie decano et toti eiusdem ecclesie capitulo suorum minimus magister D(avid). Uno spiritu gradi^a et comoda^b pauca preferre priuans^c vocationi vestre deuotus obedissem, sed iniunctam a vobis obedientiam quam prompti^d spiritus^e subiectio deuota fecundat, infirma mei corporis valitudo^f retardat. Culparum mearum penis exigentibus tetigit me Dominus et aggrauata est manus eius super me, adeo quod^g sicut ea que me moratur infirmitas me vobis ad tempus inutilem efficit, sic et vitam meam ipsi michi tedio fecit. Excusationem istam nouam non adinuenio, sed eam in corpore meo iamdiu grauem pertuli et adhuc hodie longe solito grauiorem perfero, et adeo quod^h ut nouit Dominus, licet me plura rei familiaris ut humane neecessitatisⁱ est angant negotia, ex quo tamen discessi London(iensi)^j, nec pro eorum uno expediendo, semel in equum ascendere potui.

In minutione quadam qua michi sanguinem a brachio meo dextro^k London(iensi)^l feci detrahere, vena michi periculose incisa est et^m neruus quidam lesus, cuius lesionis occasione, ut cetera multa medicamenta sileam, necesse habui postea ut michi dicebant plures alias minutiones ex opposito facere, pariter etiamⁿ laxatiuas quasdam et violentas medicinas accipere. Sicque tandem nimis debilitatus in quendam^o quasi^p ultimum spiritus mei defectum et quem magis queror^q in continuum capitis mei dolorem incidi qualem ab initio non pertuli nec alium miserum pertulisse memini, nec sic tamen adhuc hodie a lesione predicta plene possum liberari.

Potero super his multum nimis et magnum producere testimonium, si tamen vestram decuerit celsitudinem modicam michi fidem habere, quem^r licet hodie inutilem et minimam, vestra tamen dignatio qualemqualem vestri corporis agnoscit particulam. Ea igitur omni qua possum precum instantia vos dominos meos exoratos cupio, quatenus communi vestro et alterno fraterne caritatis officio, in eis ad que me vocastis^s negotia, meam suppleatis absentiam. Quicquid^t enim super communibus commune vestrum decernet^u arbitrium, mea si

^a gaudere L

^b incommoda L

^c preferre priuans V, perferre paratus L

^d promptus L

^e *add.* et L

^f valetudo L

^g quod V, quidem ut L

^h quidem L

ⁱ necessitatis L

^j London L

^k dextero L

^l London L

^m *om.* L

ⁿ et L

^o quemdam L

^p quasi V, gravem L

^q conqueror L

^r quam L

^s vocatis L

^t Quidquid L

^u decernat L

qua est ratihabitione roboro^v, et onera vestra alias equo pondere pariter comportabo. Si vero sospitatis auctor me michi magis sospitem reddiderit, tota festinatione vobis corpore presens adero, presentis impotentie defectum ad vestrum compensaturus arbitrium. Bene valere vos opto et in agendis ad vota faciles inuenire successus.

^v roborabo L

Letter 21

Master David to Hugh (de Mareni), dean, and the whole chapter of London

[c.1166-1171]¹

To his venerable lord H(ugh de Mareni) by God's grace dean (of London) and to the whole chapter of that church, Master David, the least of theirs (sends greeting).

As one devoted I would have obeyed your summons and in one accord gone on, preferring a little discomfort, but the infirm sickness of my body delayed that enjoined obedience to you that the devout subjection of a ready spirit would nurture. Thus the Lord has touched me and his hand is raised against me, so much so that just as that infirmity which lingers renders me useless for a time, so it renders life tiresome to me. This is no new excuse that I invent, but I have carried that burden in my body for a long time and still carry it today with long habit though worse, and so indeed, as the Lord knew, although many household affairs² trouble me, as is the human condition, since I departed from London I have been unable to discharge a single one of them and have only once been able to mount a horse.

In the blood-letting that I had performed in London on my right arm, my vein was dangerously cut and a certain tendon was damaged, on account of which, not to speak of many remedies, I was told afterwards that I required many more blood-lettings on the other side, and that I should take certain purgatives and powerful medicines. Then, at length entirely debilitated, at what was almost the end of my spirits, I was found out by worse affliction, from a continuous headache that from the start was unbearable nor can I recall any worse affliction, nor even today can I entirely recover from the original wound.

I shall be able to produce much and great evidence concerning this, if it please your highness to maintain a modicum of faith in me, who although today useless and insignificant, your honour knows to be a part of yourself, however small. Therefore, I wish you all, my lords, to be persuaded, with all the insistence I can advance through prayer, by the good office of your collective and individual brotherly love, stand in during my absence in those affairs to which you summon me. And whatever your decision over the common portions of the community, I shall confirm whatever requires approval, and at another time shall bear your burdens likewise with equal weight. Truly, if the Creator of healing will restore better health to me, I shall hasten to you in person, placing the state of my present helplessness before you for reward or punishment at your decree. I wish you to fare well and find easy success in all your undertakings.

¹ According to the dates of Hugh as dean (1159-June 1179/80), see *Fasti*, i, 5; but David writes that he is away on the work of the bishop's household and so the letter was possibly written during his time in Italy at the schools and during the Becket dispute and its aftermath. The letter highlights internal conflicts at St Paul's where there were tensions between resident and non-resident canons.

² Presumably referring to Bishop Foliot's household.

Letter 22

V fo.143r = L 608

Domino suo et amico karissimo O(doni) Dei gratia priori Cant(uariensi) dictus mag(ister) D(avid) salutem et plurime dileccionis affectum. Descendebat ad mare, ut aiunt dominus noster electus Cant(uariensis), quando London(ensem)^a aduentauit, sicque factum est^b quominus salutationem vestram et intersigna quibus ei me de gratia vestra commendare studuistis ad gratiam ad eum perferrem. De cetero, si qua forsitan de proximo neccessaria^c vobis egrediendi quocumque pateret occasio, omni captata occasione vobis libens occurrerem^d. Paucis siquidem vos vellem que non expedit scripto commendare, nec ob ea michi ad presens promptum est iterato itinere^e Cantuariam redire, ne stolido pariam occasionem errori. Cum h(ec) itaque vobis se optulerit oportunitas^f, per aliquem de vestris eam michi significabitis secretius. Id ipsum enim quod vobis scribo etsi secretum non habeat, secretum tamen haberi desidero. De hospitalitatis gratia et vultus serenitate quam^g michi pretendistis, vicem vobis Dominus rependat, rependam^h et ego, si quandoqueⁱ tempus accepero.

^a London L

^b factum est V, tempus deest L

^c neccessaria L

^d occurram L

^e iterato itinere V, dato tempore L

^f oportunitas L

^g quas L

^h om. L

ⁱ quandocumque L

Letter 22

Master David to Odo, prior of Canterbury

[9 June 1173 X 23 June 1174]¹

To his lord and dearest friend Odo by God's grace prior of Canterbury², the Master named David sends greeting and the spirit of great love. When I got to London, they announced that our lord the elect of Canterbury³ had gone down towards the sea, but even so it turned out that your greeting and the indications of your favour that you strove, through me, to deliver to him, I was able to carry to him as grace. For the rest, should there be any forthcoming necessity that arises, I would set all else aside to come to you. Accordingly I would wish you to consider trivial those things that are best not committed to writing, nor am I in any hurry on their account once again to make the journey to Canterbury, lest I provoke occasion for foolish error. When opportunity arises for such things, let me know about it in confidence by your messenger. For this very thing that I write to you, although it hides no secret, I wish to remain hidden. For the hospitality and serenity of countenance that you have shown me, may the Lord repay you in kind, as I shall myself repay if ever I find the time.

¹ Presuming the 'elect' of Canterbury referred to within the letter is Richard of Dover, see below fn.4. Richard's having 'gone down towards the sea' must be referring to Richard's journey to the papal curia to prosecute his own appeal, see C. Duggan, 'Richard [Richard of Dover] (d.1184)', *ODNB*. Richard's last firm appearance in England after his election was 9 June 1173, he was in Piacenza by 25 Dec 1173, he had returned to France by 23 June 1174 when he consecrated the new bishop of Bath at Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, and he reached London on 3 Sept 1174, *EEA*, ii, 279.

² The licence for Odo's elevation as prior of Canterbury was apparently sought from the king soon after September 1167, and Odo was elevated after 16 May 1168 and probably before October or November 1169, but he was not recognised by Becket. He was a candidate for the archbishopric July 1173, but remained prior until he was elected abbot of Battle 10 July 1175 and installed there 29 September, *Fasti*, ii, 10.

³ Given that Becket refused to accept Odo as prior, and the reference here is to the 'elect' of Canterbury rather than the archbishop, David is presumably referring to Richard of Dover, previously monk of Christ Church Canterbury, elected by monks and bishops 3 June 1173, he received papal confirmation 2 April 1174, and received the pallium 9 April 1174, suggesting this letter was written between his election and confirmation, see *Fasti*, ii, 4-5, and Chapter Three.

Letter 23

V fo.143r-v = L 610-11, whence *MTB*, vii, no.752

Timide scribitur ubi scriptura^a periculose publicari timetur. In quanta anime mee amaritudine¹, in quanta faciei confusione totam Quadragesimam et dies Paschales Tusculani transegerim, nec vos scriptum iuuaret audire, et michi longum esset et difficile scripto comprehendere. Eatenus tamen post varios labores, post longos tractatus ventum est quod in die Iouis ante Pascha, publice coram domino papa, cum iam paratus esset ad missarum sollempnia, coram uniuersis cardinalibus et coram populis diuersarum nationum, iuravi in animam vestram vos pariturum mandato domini pape super causis illis pro quibus reuocatus fuistis in sententiam anathematis. Iuravi et in animam propriam me super hoc a vobis accepisse mandatum. Iuravit id ipsum deuotus et fidelis vester magister Hug(o). Hoc autem feci, non tam spe imminentis future vestri^b absolutionis quam metu instantis periculi et formidine innouandi in vos verbum malediccionis, vel statuendi aliquid grauioris condempnationis, ad solam eius quam famam dicunt simplicem relationem. Siquidem ni fallor viribus totis laborat domini pape et fere tocius curie intentio, exceptis paucis quorum gratie vos^c ut potui conciliaui, ut etiam^d cum ipso domino rege nostro de pena mitiore transigat, ut vos et Trinitatem vestram, sic enim dominus papa loquitur, pena duriore affitiat^e, ut pena vestra terror sit ad exemplum et metus efficiatur uniuersorum quasi^f contra ecclesiam principibus suis de cetero assistentium^g.

Satis enim erit eis regem quocumque modo sustinere, ut in vos valeant liberius deseuire. Arguunt^h vos precipue quod consilio et callida machinatione in morteⁱ domini Cant(uariensis) ieritis. Arguunt^j quod domini pape prohibitionem de non coronando filio regis spreueritis. Sed his in contrarium facto ipso quamuis in priuato fidem feci. Negata est enim michi super his audientia in p(ubli)co^k. Super verbo vestre restitutionis supplicationibus vel promissis, blanditiis vel minis nichil certum a domino papa tenere potui, nisi quod quondam^l legatum suum, quem nescio, ad partes illas missurus est, qui accepto a vobis iuramento, vos tamen^m absoluet, et domini pape mandatum vobis iniunget vel a vobis audita ad eum referet, prius tamen a domino rege iuramento prestito in persona propria quod pro eo coram domino papa prestitum est in aliena, sicut satis audiistis. Vinculum enim quo vos tres vinciminiⁿ, firmissimam catenam autumant, qua regem qua^o volent trahant. Solliciti igitur super negotio vestro estote^p, ne dominus ...^q vobis ipsis vos relinquat. Non enim tam Romani quam Galli

^a scripta L & *MTB*

^b vestre L & *MTB*

^c vos *interlined* V

^d et L

^e efficiat *MTB*

^f qui L

^g assistent L

^h arguerent L

ⁱ mortem L & *MTB*

^j Arguerent L

^k privato L

^l quemdam L

^m tantum L

ⁿ jungimini L

^o quo L & *MTB*

^p estoe *MTB*

^q *three letters ?ir' excised in V. L and MTB supply rex but the abbreviation mark at the end of the name, and the sense of the phrase, suggest otherwise*

vos iudicant. De reditu meo ad vos nil certum scio, animam enim meam pro vobis posui et pono. Si quis etiam^r si angelus^s de celo vos ad cessionem sollicitauerit, ne credatis ei. In parte enim de personis nichil poterit esse periculi.

1. Job 7:11, 10:1, and Isiah 38:15.

^r et L & *MTB*

^s Angelus V & *MTB*, angelis L

Letter 23

[?Master David of London to Bishop Gilbert of London]¹

[28 March X 24 April 1171, probably 28 March (Easter) 1171]²

Those things should be written fearfully whose writing is feared perilous to publish. In great bitterness of soul³ and in great confusion of face I passed the whole of Lent and Easter at Tusculum, nor did it help to hear your writing, and long and difficult was it for me for that writing to be understood. Thus far, however, after various labours and long negotiations it happened that on the Thursday before Easter, I swore in public before the lord Pope, when he was already prepared to celebrate mass, before all the cardinals and people of diverse nations, upon your soul that you were prepared to stand to the lord Pope's command in those cases for which you were recalled in the sentence of anathema⁴. So did I swear, and on my soul, that I had received your own command over this. Your faithful and devoted master Hugh⁵ swore to the same effect. I did this not so much from hope of your imminent future absolution, but more from fear of threatening danger and dread that the words of commination would be renewed against you, or some graver condemnation be pronounced, solely on the basis of those who said they were speaking the bald truth. Indeed, unless I deceive myself, the intention of the lord Pope and almost all of the curia is to labour with all strength, save for a few whose favour, where I could I have attached to you, that in company with our lord the King, the Pope put an end to milder punishment, so that he afflict you and your 'Trinity', for thus the lord Pope called it, with harsher penalty, so that your punishment strike terror into others, as an example, arousing fear in all who might otherwise assist their princes as if in opposition to the church.

It will be enough for them to support the King by whatever means, those who mean to serve you more freely. Principally they contend that you speeded the death of the lord of Canterbury through counsel and cunning contrivance. They contend that you spurned the prohibition of the lord Pope against crowning the King's son⁶. But in so far as I could, in private, I contradicted them, citing fact that was believed. However, I was denied any hearing in public. I could secure nothing definite from the lord Pope over the matter of your restitution, either by supplications or promises, blandishments or threats, save that a certain legate of his, unknown to me, is to be sent to those parts and, having received your oath, will at least absolve you, enjoining the Pope's mandate to you or, once you have heard it, referring it to the Pope, first however taking an oath from the lord King in person that was previously sworn by another on his behalf before the lord Pope, as you have no doubt heard. The restraint by which you three are bound, they reckon the chain by which they may drag

¹ *L* and *MTB* copied the heading from the previous letter, as this one has no salutation in the manuscript, and therefore printed it as addressed from David to Odo, prior of Canterbury, though it is evident from the contents of the letter that it was in fact addressed to Foliot, for it refers to David's work for him at the Curia after Becket's murder. *MTB* realised this but retained the address to Odo.

² This was written after Becket's murder but before Foliot's absolution on 6 Aug 1171. The Thursday before Easter, mentioned in the letter, was 25 March, also the day of the feast of the Annunciation, the letter was written on or after Easter (28 March) and on 24 April the Pope wrote to those he had chosen to absolve Foliot, yet in this letter David does not yet know who the Pope is going to send. The King's envoys sent their own report (*MTB* vii, no.750) on Easter day so it's likely David sent his at or around the same time..

³ Job 7:11, 10:1, and Isaiah 38:15.

⁴ Referring to Gilbert's second excommunication.

⁵ Master Hugh of London I? Occurs c.1181 x Feb 1187 as canon of St Paul's but probably to also be identified with M. Hugh who first appears as canon March 1157 x May 1162 and Hugh a London, who occurs together with the archdeacons of London diocese 1152 x 1159, *Fasti* i, 45-7.

⁶ Referring to the Young King's coronation on 14 June 1170.

the King where they wish. Take guard for your business therefore, lest the lord <?King>⁷ abandon you to your own devices. For not just the Romans but the French condemn you. I know nothing for sure of my return to you, although I have pledged my soul for you, and continue so to pledge. Should anyone, even an angel from heaven, seek a surrender from you, have no faith in them. From some persons there is no danger to fear.

⁷ Identity conjectural, and just as possibly the Pope.

Letter 24

V fo.143v = L 551-3, whence *MTB*, vii, no.757

Nemo potest seruire Deo et mammon¹. Nemo potest hominibus placere et Cristi seruus esse². Unus est dominus, una veritas. Ab h(ac) deuiare est apostatare. Cristus veritatem docuit, veritas vitam promisit. Veritas unam viam habet, falsitas infinitas. Veritas angulum non querit, nulla agit ex insidiis. Iusticia et veritas cognate sunt virtutes, seperari^a non possunt. Iustitia iusti super eum erit, et impietas impii vastabit eum³. Iustus in iustitia sublatus est, et in insidiis capientur iniqui⁴. Equa^b pensat utriusque merita iudex iusticie. Quo magis sustinet, quo diutius exspectat^c, eo pena iustior et vindicta grauior. Differri potest non auferri pena malorum. H(oc) non verentur iniqui, sed mala mal(is) addunt, iniquitatem super iniquitatem apponunt⁵, obdurati corde, obfirmati malitia, iustitiam Dei de terra delere nituntur. In naufragio positi, penitentie tabulam negligunt, vitiorum gurgite submerguntur. Numine Babilonis debriati iuditiorum Dei obliuiscuntur. Et quod adhuc nequius simulantes religionem, sub pannis^d Ihesu^e occultati, Goliam mente ferunt. Verba Ihesum sonant, opera diabolom nuntiant. Corde fraudes tegunt, verbis dolos concinnant. Ex ore volat columba, cor serpens amplexatur, venenum imis visceribus infusum^f, tempus nocendi expectat^g, virtutem existimant artificiose nocere. Talibus commissa ecclesia Dei, si conculcatur, si conteritur, quis dubitet, pastor oues dilaniat, lac et lanam querit, lupina feritate grauiter^h inuadit, strangulat et occidit. Tales nostri pastores pastorem suum interfecerunt et in grege Domini deseuiunt.

Percusso pastore non est qui gregem ducat ad pascua, qui lupos arceat a stabulis, indifferenter rapiuntur oues. Nulli custodes, defensor nullus, fiunt oues domestica preda pastorum. Est autem pre omnibus unus predo, pastorⁱ, presul enim^j in cuius corde vulpes foueas, volucres^k celi nidum posuerunt⁶, qui in celum posuit os suum, dolis aggressus est innocentem, odio inexorabili amicum virtutis persecutus^l, lumen adeo singulariter electum conatus est extinguere. Sed dextera excelsi illud^m super candelabrum posuit, ut luceat his qui in tenebris sunt et in persecutionibus laborant. Aggressus est draco ex insidiis, superbus humilem, crudelis mitem, impius pium, iniustus iustum, turpi et tacenda immunditia pollutus castum et sincerum. Non destitit sagittas ex occulto mittere, inuidie fomitem fouere, ignem odii accendere, donec furor Neronis inuictum militem Cristi hac luce priuauit. Modus ipsum scelus superat, Sodomam iustificat, Antioicum, Herodem, Neronem excusat. Numquidⁿ °immunis est a scelere quia manum non apposuit. Iudei linguis, Iudas traditione, Pilatus et Herodes consensu, Scribe et Pharisei inuidia, milites officio Cristum occiderunt. Qui eorum deteriores, profecto qui inuidia et odio stimulati iudici tradiderunt? Seruus secutus dominum,

^a separari L

^b aecque L, *MTB*

^c expectat L

^d pascuis *MTB*

^e christi L, *MTB*

^f *add.* est L

^g expectant L

^h guttur L, *MTB*

ⁱ *blank space in V*

^j N. L., ... *MTB*

^k volueres L

^l prosecutus L

^m *om.* L, *MTB*

ⁿ num L, *MTB*

^o *add.* igitur L, *MTB*

miles imperatorem, filius patrem, affectus iniuriis, afflictus opprobriis et contumeliis, a suis non ouibus sed lupis accusatus, inuidia et odio agente insignis et preelectus Thomas archiepiscopus pro iusticia martyr occubuit, non minas iudicum timuit, exui dignitate, spoliari diuitiis, pro Cristo dulce habuit. Pro grege sibi commisso caput posuit, multos relinquens filios, heredem nullum. Seruus in modico fidelis supra^p bona Domini sui constituitur, nunc gaudet in celis, exultat cum angelis qui pro Cristo mala sustinuit. Attestantur virtutes, probant miracula qual(iter)^q in vita fuerit quoniam^r dignus sacerdos quam dignam victimam se Cristo pro suis ouibus optulit^s. Felix commertium miranda dextera excelsi, qui ipsum prius contempnebant, nunc fila cilicii eius venerantur. Mira presumptio, audax temeritas ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis.

Auctor sceleris, domini sui traditor inuenit commenta, mendicat suffragia, non quibus crimen per penitentiam deleat, sed quibus occultet, et quod uniuersus mundus agnouit, muliercule cantant in triuiis, quibusdam litteris non impetratis, sed potius regio^t timore extortis, obnubilare vel adnullare contendit. Numquid oculos omnia videntis excecere poterit. Num oculos summi pastoris, oculos matris ecclesie lippire faciet? In crimine tam manifesto periculosum et dampnosum differre sententiam, fere per septennium pro libertate ecclesie sanctum Dei exulantem cum quo stare debuit, irreuerenter impugnauit. Ipsius et totius ecclesie causam agentem tum manifeste sepius autem occulte eius felicibus actibus detractans^u, genusque impropere opprobriis lacessiuit. Supersunt scripta a multis^v intellecta, satisque notata, que animum eius euidenter denuntiant. Insurrexit^w filius in patrem, Absalon in Dauid, Iudas in saluatorem et pro se pugnantem impugnauit, cum quo usque ad sanguinem certare debuit, lingua concinnante, dolos insidias tetendit. Quot appellationes dilatorias, frustratorias, falsas, fecerit, ut sanctorum patrum statuta diffugeret, ut tempus malignandi redimeret, quis non^x nouit ?

Nunc tractus Romam vadit, mallet Babiloniam adire. Quanta malignatus est in sanctum Dei, Cham patrem nudum deridens, malediccionem meruit. Iste non patrem nudum sed Ihesu Cristo^y indutum in vita spreuit, post mortem derisit. Miracula qualia a seculis^z non sunt audita, qualiaque cotidie per sanctum martyrem Thomam fuerit^{aa}, multis presentibus^{bb}, operante Beelzebub facta pronuntiauit. Quid amplius Scribe et Pharisei Cristo fecerunt, opera Spiritus Sancti dicebant diaboli, in Spiritum Sanctum peccantes. Zelum habebant Dei sed non secundum scientiam. Iste non minus peccans, zelum habet diaboli secundum inuidiam. Dolet ecclesia suo priuata capite, luget bona sua confiscari, sancta conculcari, lapides dispergi, fere ad paganismum redigi, nisi gladius Petri subueniat, nisi pater filiis, mater filie succurrat, tota ecclesie progenies consternabitur^{cc}. Quare, summe pater, extende manum, arripe gladium, allide aduersarios, et confunde inimicos ecclesie. Eleua manum cum

^p super L, *MTB*

^q qualis L, *MTB*

^r quam L, *MTB*

^s obtulerit L, *MTB*

^t regis *MTB*

^u detretans L, detrectans *MTB*

^v amplius L

^w insurrexit L, *MTB*

^x nor *MTB*

^y Iesum Christum L, *MTB*

^z seculo L

^{aa} fiunt L, *MTB*

^{bb} *add.* et L

^{cc} conristabitur L, *MTB*

Moyse, nec deponas cum Iosue donec hostes aut penitentes ad ecclesiam redeant, aut impenitentes intereant. Non est opus verbis sed verberare. Prauus filius verbis non corripitur. Castigat pater filium quem diligit. Derisore percusso, filii corrigentur. H(oc) tibi, venerande pater, scribit quedam ecclesia parua, sine nomine, sine auctoritate et cum singultu totius ecclesie dolorem et gemitum paucis innotescit. Spiritus sapientie mentem tuam illuminet. Spiritus consilii informet. Spiritus fortitudinis corroboret. Amen.

1. Matthew 6:24.
2. Galatians 1:10.
3. Ezekiel 18:20.
4. Cf. Proverbs 11:8.
5. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard Epistolae*, no.166: 'apponunt iniquitatem super iniquitatem'.
6. Matthew 8:20.

Letter 24

[An Unknown Correspondent to Pope Alexander III]¹

[After 29 Dec 1170 - probably not long after]²

No man can serve both God and mammon³. No man is able to please men and to be the servant of Christ.⁴ There is one God, one truth. To deviate from this is to apostatize, Christ taught truth, and truth promised life. The truth has one path, falsehood has infinite. The truth does not seek an angle, and nothing advances from traps. Justice and truth are related virtues and they are not able to be separated. The justice of the just shall be upon them and the impiety of the impious will ravage them.⁵ The just are raised in justice and the unjust will be seized in impiety.⁶ The just was lifted in justice and the unjust will be seized in traps. Fairness balances favours and the judge of justice. Who more fully sustains and who hopes for longer than he who is more just in punishment and graver in vengeance. It is possible to be distracted and not to be borne away by the punishment of the wicked. The unjust do not respect this but the wicked are increased in wickedness, they place injustice on injustice⁷ with a heart of obduracy and with the malice of the obstinate, and they endeavour to erase the justice of God from the earth. Stationed in a shipwreck they despise the slate of penitence and are submerged in the whirlpool of faults. Intoxicated by the authority of the judgements of Babylon they are forgetful of God. And until now, imitating a more worthless religion they are of a mind with Goliath, under the cloths where Jesus is concealed. The words are calling Jesus, the deeds are announcing the devil. Frauds are concealed by the heart, and they produce pains from words. The dove flies from the mouth, the serpent embraces the heart, poison is administered to the lowest entrails and hopes for the time of causing harm, and they consider virtue to do harm artificially. With such a kind of God united to the church, if he is crushed, if he is bruised, who shall doubt that the shepherd shall mutilate the sheep, and the milk shall seek the wool, and the wolf shall gravely assault, throttle, and kill, with fierceness. Our shepherds of such kind killed their shepherd⁸ and rage at the flock of the Lord.

With the shepherd killed it is not he who leads the flock to pasture or he who blocks the wolves from the stables, and the sheep are carried off indifferently. There are no guards, no defender, and the sheep become the domestic plunder of shepherds. There is one thief and shepherd before all, the prelate ??⁹ in whose heart the foxes have holes, and the bird of the air have nests¹⁰ and he who fixed his mouth on heaven approached the innocent with cunning and followed a friend with the unyielding animosity of strength, and he tried singularly to extinguish the chosen light. But the right hand of the exalted fixed him above the candlestick so that he might light up those who were in the darkness and labour in persecution. The

¹ Liverani added the heading 'Anonymi cuiusdam Angliae episcopi de caede Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, ad Alexandrum papam' but there is no firm proof it was written by a bishop. Given its place in David's register, if it was written by a bishop the most likely culprits would be Roger of Worcester or Bartholomew of Exeter, as they were considered to be friendly to Becket and David had relations with them.

² For the letter discusses Becket's murder but speaks of Thomas the martyr.

³ Matthew 6:24.

⁴ Galatians 1:10.

⁵ Ezekiel 18:20.

⁶ Cf. Proverbs 11:8.

⁷ *Bernard Epistolae*, no.166, trans. *LSB*, no.181.

⁸ i.e. Becket.

⁹ A blank space is left here in the MS, presumably it originally named Foliot. Given the London connection of the MS it seems likely the name was removed by Foliot's London colleagues to preserve his dignity.

¹⁰ Matthew 8:20.

serpent approached from the traps, the proud the humble, the impious the pious, the unjust the just, the polluted the unpolluted and pure, with the ugly impurity passed over in silence. He did not cease to despatch arrows from the concealed, and to cherish the kindling of hatred, and to inflame the fire of hatred, and so the raving of Nero deprived the unconquerable soldier of Christ from this light. The manner transcends the crime itself, it justifies Sodom, and excuses Antioch, Herod, and Nero. Is he immune from crime because he did not place his hand? With the language of the Jews, by the deliverance of Judas, with the consent of Pilate and Herod and from the envy of the scribe and the pharisee, the soldiers killed Christ from duty. They who are the lowest of them, incited by hatred and dislike, delivered him to the judge. The servant followed the lord, the soldier the general and the father the son, affected by injuries and afflicted by scandals and indignities, so accused not by his sheep but by wolves, marked by advancing envy and hatred Thomas, previously elected as archbishop, lay dead as martyr for justice, and he did not fear the threats of judges but he agreeably held to be deprived of dignity and to be despoiled of riches for Christ. For the flock united to him: he left behind many sons but he left no heir. The faithful servant was set up in this way beyond the good of his Lord, and now he who sustained wickedness for Christ exults with the angels. Virtues confirm and miracles prove in what was he was in life, that worthy priest who offered himself as a worthy victim for Christ and for his sheep. A lucky exchange of the lofty at his right hand is to be admired, as they who formerly had despised him, now venerate the fibre of his garment.¹¹ A wonderful presumption, bold temerity in excusing excuses in sin.

The author of crime, the traitor of his lord, he contrived falsehoods and begged judgements, and he shall not erase crime through penitence but he shall conceal it, and because the whole world recognised it little hussies are singing it at the crossroads, and with certain letters not procured but rather extorted by royal fear, he strove to obscure and annul it. Surely it will not be possible to blind all eyes from seeing, surely it will not make the eyes of the greatest shepherd bleary eyed, the eyes of the mother church? It is dangerous and damaging to defer a sentence for such great and manifest crime, as for almost seven years he disrespectfully attacked the holy man of God (in exile for the liberty of the church), for whom he had ought to stand. He manifestly harassed with scandals the advancing cause of his whole church, often secretly disparaging with his happy acts and blaming the people. Letters from many survive, and understood and fully noted they clearly injure his soul. The son rises up against the father, Absalon over David, Judas over the saviour, and he attacked the fighting for himself, and with he who he ought to fight until blood, he extended snares and treachery with a preparing tongue. How many appeals did he make, delaying, frustratory, and false, as he scattered what was established of the holy father, as he purchased the time of maligning, who does not know?

Now, having been dragged he is rushing to Rome, though he had preferred to approach Babylon. How much was he maligned in the sanctuary of God, Ham deserved a nude father, deriding slander. He did not scorn the naked father, but clothed in life by Jesus Christ, after death he derided him. What sorts of miracles are not heard by the world, what kinds were daily present for many through the holy martyr Thomas, and Beelzebub announced it with labouring deeds. What greater things were done by Christ to the scribe and pharisee, the devils had spoken with the deeds of the holy spirit, sinning in the holy spirit they had held the zeal of God but not the following knowledge. He is sinning no less, and he holds the zeal of the devil following envy. The church is suffering privately at its head, and it laments that its good was seized, its sanctity trampled, its stones dispersed, and it was almost reduced to

¹¹ Presumably a reference to the Canterbury monks now venerating Becket's hair shirt.

paganism, if the sword of Peter should not assist, if the father should not aid the son and the mother the daughter, the whole progeny of the church will be overcome. How you should extend your hand, greatest father, pick up the sword, crush the enemies and confuse those hostile to the church. Raise your hand with Moses, and you should not fall away with Joshua, until the enemies or penitents should return to the church, or the impenitent should be ruined. There is no need for words, but for blows. A crooked son is not carried away by words. A father should chasten a son who he loves. With a mocker of a son struck, he is set right. This is written to you, adored father, from a certain small church, without name, without authority and with sobs as the pain and lamenting of the whole church is becoming known by a few. The spirit of wisdom shall illuminate your mind, and the spirit of counsel shall shape it. The spirit of courage shall strengthen you. Amen.

[END OF GROUPING]

V fo.144r = L 615-6

Salutem et omne bonum. Ne miremini, mi domine, si vobis ante non scripsi. Non enim neglexi, sed multiplici dierum prepeditus malitia, scribere non potui. Que saltem nunc sero scribo, rogo si gratiam in oculis vestris inueni, habeatis abscondita, omnia enim michi in insidiis posita sunt, et adeo^a quod occasione quarumdam litterarum quas domino meo regi direxi, quibus eum super suo et regni sui statu futuro cautiorem reddidi, nisi sunt quidam in odium et indignationem ipsius me inducere. Sed annuente Domino^b, faciem suam ab eis omnibus auertit, nec fidele obsequium in perniciem meam voluit conuertere. Timide scribo, ultio digna, a quibus iniquitatis mee si quam in Deum et ecclesiam commisi premium expectare debueram, ab eis solis penam incipio reportare. Cetera sileo. In propriis negociis nichil profeci, nullum enim temptaui^c ne inter cetera que michi post reditum meum inuidiose obiecta sunt obiciatur^d, et illud quod immo minus proficerem in alie ius^e, eo quod indulserim propriis. Quid in alienis profecerimus et mundus nouit, nec vos latere potest nec poterit.

Locutus est vobiscum^f nepos domini decani. Illud vos non lateat quoniam multam faciei mee confusionem pertuli¹, non tunc^g temporis tam^h odio persone mee quam eius quemⁱ susceperam cause. Multorum gratiam amisi, multorum offensam contraxi. In amaritudine anime mee viuo², quanta non vixi ab initio ut solummodo super his vobiscum viua voce plenius conferrem, non enim ob varios rerum eventus ea ausus sum scripto commendare, paratus fui in Angl(iam) venire, sed substiti, nam iam alias domestici mei michi parauerunt^j insidias. Confido tamen de Domino quod hiis^k omnibus finem daturus erit, si te michi conseruauerit, quem in terris solatium, consiliarium et auxilium michi concessit. Confido de Domino quoniam pie compassionis, dileccionis, et gratie quam michi ostendistis^l, et laborum quos maxime post discessum meum pro me pertulistis, in retributione multa memor erit. Doleo tamen quod cum creditoribus meis satisfeceris^m, quod vobis ipsi non soluistis. Satis enim habundeque michi sufficiunt labor vester, sollicitudo et gratia ad omne vere dileccionis probamentum. Per eam igitur que inter nos vertitur et firmatur dilectioⁿ, vos obtestor ut de cetero^o meis siue multa siue pauca fuerint indifferenter ad omnes usus vestros ut vestris utamini. Diu enim est ex quo necessitatem reddende rationis vobis remisi et nunc plene remitto.

^a ideo L

^b Deo L

^c tentavi L

^d obiiciatur L

^e alienis L

^f vobis L

^g tunc V, tantum L

^h tam V, et L

ⁱ quam L

^j parauerant L

^k his L

^l ostendisti L

^m satisfeceritis L

ⁿ dilectionem L

^o ceteris L

Id^p solum meum quod de vestris usibus necessariis^q supererit michi reseruate. Scio enim ex ipsius relatu quem ad me misistis quoniam expense vestre multis indigent. Acceptum michi erit cum necesse^r fuerit, pro vobis egere. Retulit michi Bathon(iensis)^s archid(iaconus) T. quoniam dominus rex iunior de consilio sapientum suorum ideo michi benefitium patris sui confirmare distulit, quia prima regie confirmationis carta super elemosina fieri consuevit, quod cum iamdictus archid(iaconus) domino regi seniori intimauerit, satis approbavit, non tamen difficilem in negando se ei ostendit. Super hoc tamen post reditum meum cum domino rege verbum non habui, confisus de quodam in quo summam debui habere fiduciam^t, qui nec cum domino rege me loqui permisit, sed nec ipse super hoc cum eo verbum habuit, quod ideo fecit^u ut alienam gratiam michi vendendo, dum me sibi ad tempus necessarium^v esse credit, meo suasiter abuteretur^w obsequio.

Sed hanc curam in pectore meo minimam reputarem, his enim beneficiis libentissime carerem, si non ab amicis meis desidie mee vel stulticie et ab emulis meis superbie vel furori et impetui meo id adscriberetur^x. Nichilominus tamen secundum consuetum et hoc termino exigetis et solitum laborem impeditis^y et operam, ut in rollis regiis ponantur, hac enim vice tantum, ut audio, hoc labore et presentia vestra opus erit. Cetera Dominus complebit. Cartam donationis quam in me contulit dominus Londoniensis) nemini mortalium ostendatis, nec vos eam dicatis habere, est enim quod latet. Sed quam cicius poteritis eius transcriptum et nomina testium michi per aliquem fidelem mittite, et si secreto fieri posset, nomina eorum qui in capitulo fuerunt vestiario scilicet, quando coram eis donationem renouavit. Vix ad hanc licuram^z tempus vel locum habuit. Si redditus illi michi taliter assignati fuerunt, nullo modo michi imputari potest, sed his qui curam mei habuisse debuerunt, qui etiam^{aa} taliter assignatos, immo citius^{bb} semiassignatos a manibus meis nisi sunt et nituntur auellere.

1. Cf. Daniel 9 :7-8. 2. Job 7:11, 10:1, and Isiah 38:15.

^p ad L

^q necessariis L

^r necesse L

^s Bathon L

^t notitiam *underlined for omission* V, fiduciam *interlined above*

^u om. L

^v necessarium L

^w suasiter abuteretur V, similiter abutetur L

^x adscriberentur L

^y impendetis L

^z V *inserts sufficio underlined for omission*

^{aa} et L

^{bb} verius L

Letter 25

[Master David to and unnamed correspondent]¹

[After June 1170, and after Letter 26 below]²

A greeting, and all good. You should not be astonished, my lord, if I did not write to you before. I was not neglectful, but shackled by malice for many days I was not able to write to you. Since I am now writing, even though it is late, I am asking that, if I found grace in your eyes, you hold this secret, as all are stationed around me in plots. So on the occasion of certain letters which I directed to my lord king, through them I restored him to being more cautious concerning himself and the future standing of his kingdom, except there are certain men [trying] to introduce me to his ill-will and displeasure. But with the Lord approving he averted his face from all of them, and he did not wish to turn faithful allegiance to my destruction. I am writing fearfully, the ultimate revenge, as I ought to expect the uniting of my difficulty from them if in that which I united in God and the church, I began to report the penalty from them alone. On the rest I am silent. I achieved nothing in that particular business for I had tried nothing, and amongst those who were jealously opposed to me after my return,³ it will be exposed that on the contrary I had accomplished less in the law of another, and I had conceded to them in their own. The world knew that that which we accomplished in another's [law], it is not possible to conceal from you and nor will it be.

The nephew of the lord dean⁴ spoke with you. He does not hide you, since I carried the great confusion of my face,⁵ not only of time but in hatred of my person, in that his cause which I received. I lost the grace of many, and I collected the displeasure of many.⁶ I am living in the bitterness of my soul, how much I had not lived from the beginning, as I would have discussed this more fully with you in person, but on account of various consequences of the matter I do not dare to commit it to writing, and I prepared to come to England but I paused, for now he prepared other traps of my household for me. I am trusting in the Lord that he will deliver an end to all of this, and if he preserved you for me, in the solace of the earth he granted counsel and aid to me. I am trusting in the Lord, since he will be mindful in considerable recompense of the pious sympathy, love and grace which you displayed to me, and especially of the works which you carried out for me after my departure. However I am suffering, because you made amends with my creditors but you did not free yourself. For your labour, care, and grace sufficiently and abundantly suffice for me as proof of all true love. Therefore, through that love which is turned and strengthened between us, I beseech you that of the rest of my [men], whether they are great or small you use them indifferently for all your uses, as if they are yours. For it has been a long time since on account of this I despatched poverty by restoring the account, and now I am fully restored.

¹ The letter can be attributed to David because it links to the financial transactions discussed in no.26 below. David asks the recipient to send him his charter and we see in another letter that someone, possibly a servant, has care of his charters, but he does refer to his recipient as 'my lord'.

² There is a reference to Henry the Young King, and this therefore must be after his coronation in June 1170.

³ A reference to his issues at St Paul's after his return from the Curia in the 1170s?

⁴ A Hugh occurs among the canons canon several times between April 1138 and 1150 and therefore was presumably a canon, but he is perhaps dean Hugh de Mareni, dean by May 1162 and thus ruling him out. Presumably Hugh had his own previously unidentified nephew. See *Fasti*, i, 91-6..

⁵ Cf. Daniel 9:7-8.

⁶ Probably referring to the Becket dispute; he supported individuals (e.g. Foliot) as much as their cause and it has led to him losing the favour of many.

I alone will remain from your necessary uses; preserve me. For I know from the report of this which you sent to me, that your expenses are very demanding. It will be pleasing to me to advance for you when it will have been necessary. T(homas) archdeacon of Bath⁷ reported to me that the lord king junior,⁸ from the counsel of his wise advisers, delayed to confirm the benefice of his father to me,⁹ because the first charter of the king's confirmation concerning alms was accustomed to be made, which the said archdeacon announced to the lord king senior that he had sufficiently approved, and he did not express the difficulty in refusing this to him.¹⁰ After my return I did not have a conversation with the lord king about this as I was assured by a certain man in who I ought to hold the greatest faith, and who did not permit me to speak with the lord king but did not hold a conversation himself with him about this.¹¹ For that reason, by selling another's grace to me, whilst he believe me to be necessary for him at the time, similarly he consumed my allegiance.

But I pondered this trifling trouble in my breast, for I would have mostly cheerfully lacked these benefits if by my friends it was ascribed to my idleness or folly and by my rivals to my arrogance or rage or impetuosity. Nevertheless, according to custom at this term you will examine the customary labour and you will support the work so that it is affixed in the rolls of the king and even on this such great turn, as I hear, the work will be from this toil in your presence. The Lord will complete the rest: you should show to no one the charter of presentation which the Lord of London¹² united to me, and you should not say that you hold it for it is that which is hidden. But when you will be more easily able, send a transcript of it and the names of the witnesses to me through another faithful man and, if it is possible to do it in secret, the names of those who were at the head of the wardrobe when he restored the donation before them. He scarcely had the time or place for this correction. If, restored to me, they were ascribed in such a way, in no way is it possible to be charged to me, but to these who had ought to retain my care, and who were assigned in such a way, on the contrary they struggled and more swiftly endeavoured to wrest those who were semi-assigned from my hands.

⁷ Thomas of Earley, appointed archdeacon of Wells by Henry II after 31 Aug. 1166 and occ. as Thomas archdeacon of Bath c. March 1170 and last occ. 29 Sept 1194 X 1195. *Fasti*, vii, 32, 36, 58, 75.

⁸ So this must be after the coronation in June 1170.

⁹ Referring presumably to the financial transactions discussed in no.26.

¹⁰ Seems to suggest that Thomas the archdeacon was supposed to give some revenue or benefice to David, but this was blocked by the young king. Thomas did not inform Henry II of this, however.

¹¹ Possibly a reference to Arnulf of Lisieux's promise to speak to the king on his behalf?

¹² Foliot.

Letter 26

V fo.144r = L 617, whence (part only) *MTB*, vi, no.517; (part only) Brooke, 'Register', 240, and cf. H.G. Richardson in *Memoranda Roll 1 John*, pp.lxxi n., lxxx; Mortimer, 'Criteria', 128–9; Chaplais, *English Royal Documents*, 8–9; *LCH*, nos.1261, 1630

Salutem et sui memoriam. Rerum varietate prepeditus et multa nouorum euentuum angustatus^a malitia vix ad ista sufficio. Si semper vestro indigni auxilio modo magis solito indigeo, multa enim immo tota portio vite mee pendet a vobis. Unde si quandoque in negotiis meis minus diligens extitistis, opus habeo ne modo remissus inueniamini. ^bCum ad dominum Cant(uariensem) pro negotio episcoporum nostrorum diuertissem, durissimam michi retulit controuersiam super beneficio quod a domino rege acceperam. Unde propter hoc et propter alios euentus qui contingere poterant, illud michi mutare feci in proprium dominium domini regis, qui illud carta sua michi confirmauit, ^caliam etiam cartam confirmationis de beneficio quod dominus meus Lond(oniensis) in me contulit michi fecit. Mandat autem domino regi filio suo per litteras suas inclusas ut suam et domini episcopi donationem iuxta tenorem cartarum illarum michi per similes suas confirmet. Precipit per litteras suas inclusas Rann(ulfo) de Broc ut singulis annis statutis terminis xv. libras michi soluat, ita ut de cetero nec aliud breue nec aliud mandatum domini regis super hoc a me exigat. In eundem modum scribit domino London(iensi) pro v. libris, et has litteras domino London(iensi) porrexi. Vicecomitibus de Middelsex^d mandat per aliud breue ne has v. libras a domino episcopo ulterius exigant. Baronibus de scaccario quoddam breue mittit in quo precipit eis ut computent^e Rann(ulfo) del Broc xv. libras et episcopo London(iensi) v. libras, et ut de cetero ab eis aliud breue non exigant. Transcriptum illius et transcriptum eius quod mittitur^f Rann(ulfo)^g ad cautelam, ne quandoque malignari possint, sigillari feci^h, que penes vos retinebitis cum cartis meis. Curate igitur ut hec citissime expediantur, laboribus enim vestris vel sumptibus parcere non poteritis.

Scribunt dominusⁱ Pictauensis^j et Cant(uariensis) archid(iacon)i Willelmo de Sancto Iohanne et Thome sigillario ut curent hec expedite fieri. Dominum Gil(bertum) senescallum socium habebitis. Hoc ei mandat dominus episcopus. Nolo tamen quod eius occasione rem differatis^c. Misissem vobis breue quod postulastis a domino rege. Sed consilium habui ut nullomodo super talibus minimis eum conuenirem, ultra modum enim et supra quam dici possit tunc temporis turbatus fuit propter ea que a domino Cant(uariensi) gesta fuerunt^k. Sic operamini ut de vobis spes mea confidit.

Cetera plenius ex tenore cartarum mearum addiscetis, ut singula suis temporibus faciatis et de consilio. Gratiam in oculis domini regis inueni, et tantam quod^l me ipsum illi negare non potui.

^a angustatus L

^b *MTB starts here*

^{c-c} *om. aliam etiam...rem differatis MTB*

^d Middelsex L

^e comptent L

^f mittit L

^g Raun. L

^h fecit L & Brooke

ⁱ domini L & Brooke

^j Pictauensis L

^k fuerant L, *MTB ends here*

^l ut L

Letter 26

[Master David to an unnamed correspondent]¹

[After December 1170 X c.Easter 1171²]

A greeting and remembrance of the sender. Preoccupied by various matters and troubled by the many evils of recent events, I am hard pressed. If I have always had need of your undeserved help beyond what is customary, much or indeed the whole of my life depends upon you. Whence, if ever you were less than assiduous in my affairs, I have work for you in which you should not be found lacking. When I visited the lord of Canterbury on the business of our bishops³, he reproached me with harshest complaint over the benefice I had accepted from the lord King⁴. So that on account of this and other eventualities that may arise, I have had this benefice changed to one payable from the King's own demesne, with the King granting me a charter of confirmation over this, and granting another charter of confirmation for the benefice given me by my lord, the bishop of London. By letters close, however, the King commanded his son, the Young King, to confirm by his charters the King and the bishop's gift, according to the terms of their own charters. By letters close he ordered Ranulf de Broc⁵ to pay me £15 each year at the agreed terms, so that Ranulf demand from me no further writ or mandate of the lord King on this business. In the same way he wrote to the lord bishop of London over the £5, which letters I carried to the bishop. By another writ he commanded the sheriffs of Middlesex to demand no further account from the lord bishop over these £5. He sent a certain writ to the barons of the Exchequer in which he ordered them to account the £15 to Ranulf de Broc and the £5 to the bishop of London, from neither of whom should they require any further writ. I sealed a copy of this last and of the writ sent to Ranulf, as security, lest they be in future called into question, and you should retain this copy in your possession, together with my charters. Take care, therefore, that these things are immediately expedited, sparing neither labour nor expense in their pursuit.

The lord archdeacons of Poitiers and Canterbury⁶ are writing to William de St John⁷ and to Thomas the Seal Keeper⁸ to ensure that these matters are expedited. Take the lord Gilbert the steward as your colleague, as the lord bishop has ordered him. But I do not want you to delay business on his account. I would have sent the writ to you that you sought from the lord king.

¹ This letter can be attributed to David according to its contents, but the identity of the recipient remains unclear.

² In 1169-70 David received a payment for half the year from the archdeaconry of Oxford. It must have been between 1 and 5 December that David was sent to Becket as a messenger on Foliot's behalf and Becket advised him to change this to a secular prebend. The Pipe Roll for 1170-1 shows the amended payment being made to David so the arrangement described in this letter must have been in place by Easter 1171, the end of that financial year. Cf. above Chapter Two.

³ Suggesting the recipient was linked to one of Becket's enemies amongst the bishops.

⁴ David's income from Oxford, see above fn.2.

⁵ Ranulf de Broc was one of Becket's chief enemies, and accompanied his four murderers to Canterbury in December 1170.

⁶ Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, and Geoffrey Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, both leading courtiers closely associated with the royal chancery, both men destined for future promotion to bishoprics (Winchester and Ely).

⁷ William de Saint John, from the Avranchin, a leading royal officer in Normandy and farmer of the vicomté of Coutances (c.1160-1203): Duggan, *Becket*, 295 fn.41. He witnessed the king's charters between October 1166 and July 1181: *LCH*, nos.88, 209. See also the king's confirmation of his donation to Blanchelande Abbey 1157: *LCH*, no.238 (?spurious). Robert of Torigny calls him the 'lieutenant of Normandy' in his chronicle entry for 1172: Robert of Torigny, 'The Chronicles of Robert de Monte', *The Church Historians of England* iv pt ii, trans. J. Stevenson, 778. in 1170 he was with the Young King when Herbert of Bosham went to speak to him: *CTB*, ii, no.311.

⁸ Otherwise unidentified.

But I was advised not to trouble him over such trifles, since he was at that time disturbed beyond anything that I can convey, over the actions of the lord of Canterbury. So act in this that my trust in you may be confirmed. You will find further things in the terms of my charters, each of which will require your action in time and according to counsel. I have found favour with the King, so much so that I cannot deny him my service.

Letter 27

V fo.144r = L 608-9

Salutem et se ipsum licet munus modicum. Aput plures moris est id citius et crebrius ore ruminare quod animus altius sibi decreuit infigere. Illius itaque cultus totius venerationis et gratie pleni, quem dum aput vos eram de die in diem semper augmentando^a in me super me multiplicastis, gratam vobis vicem rependat qui potest et quem habuistis inspiratorem Deum^b. Si virium mearum esset quod pari possem vice compensare, nouit idem ipse qui quam bono verius^c hominum probat affectus, quod gratiarum actionem facto libentius preuenirem quam verbo. Ago deuotus quod nunc^d possum, si quandoque^e tempus accepero, in agendis gratiarum actionibus opere pleniorum exhibiturus deuotionem.

Cum plura de pluribus ut moris est, ego et mag(ister) N.^f soli secretius conferremus, retulit michi quod cum ab abbacia illa de Rames(eia)^g, cuius ei administratio commissa est et custodia, ad illam aliam de Burgo, causa visitandi dominum Cantuar(iensem) sue legationis tunc^h ibi vices agentem, pariter et domino Cant(uariensi) archidiacono cum eo existente diuertisset, accepit ibidem a quodam Hospitalariumⁱ eos nouum domini pape suscepisse mandatum, cuius quasi huiusmodi debet esse contentia, quod dominus papa mandat^j vobis et princip(i) ut de plano et sine cause cognitione domum eorum in eum statum in quo eam ante tempora vestra possedissee noscuntur eis restituatis. Alioquin post certum dierum numerum a tempore susceptionis litterarum, a diuinorum celebratione vos suspendit.

Obicienti^k michi ea que iamdictus mag(ister) audierat nec esse vera nec verisimilia, tum quia dominus papa velut^l quem negotii series nec^m latet nec latuit ad huiusmodi rescriptum indulgendum tanquamⁿ iuri proprio, sed^o et sibi ipsi contrarium minime posset^p induci, cum^q quia si quoquomodo ab eo fuisset emissum, iam ab eis tota festinatione vobis fuisset exhibitum. H(ec) inquam michi obicienti^r hanc huius^s momentanee suppressionis causam esse subiunxit, ne si domino nostro principe inconsulto mandatum istud vobis exhiberent, eius exhibitione indignationem regiam in se prouocarent, quam ut ab eis prior eorum^t ille dominus de Diua studiosius possit auertere, iam ab eorum capitulo reuersus, aule regie se ingerens, regium fauorem sibi et eis studeret^u conciliare. Adiecit etiam quod iam a diebus

^a augmentando L

^b dominus L

^c quam bono verius V, quasi homo verus L

^d nec L

^e quandocumque L

^f Hugo L

^g Rames L

^h om. L

ⁱ hospitilario L

^j mandavit L

^k Obiicienti L

^l veluti L

^m non L

ⁿ tanquam L

^o om. L

^p possit L

^q tum L

^r obiicienti L

^s om. L

^t illorum L

^u studet L

plurimis magnus ille magister Hospital(is) Ierosolimitani, ut aiunt, Romam aduentauerit^v pro quibusdam suis etiam^w hoc specialiter expediendis negotiis.

His auditis, cum iam nimis dictum N.^x aliquantulum arguerem, eo quod que michi recitaret^y quando ea audiuit, domino Cant(uariensi) archid(iacono) quem apud^z Burgum tunc esse bene nouit, non suggererat, subintulit quid^{aa} inimicum^{bb} amico et homini tanto se nolle nuntiare, nedum non placeret quod diceret, ipse dicens, in dicto displiceret. Ego vero, mi domine, eius instituti homo sum, siue hoc virtus siue vitium, ut in his aduersantibus que mee sollicitudinis^{cc} contingunt officium, presertim cum preuisa prudenter possitis^{dd} auerti, ^{ee}dominis et amicis meis ea predicendo, malim potius eorum offensam contrahere quam eis male fido blandiendo silentio eorum gratiam michi conciliare.

H(ec) itaque, mi domine, vobis ideo significare curauit, ut si pro verbis et tant(um) verbis eadem habenda duxeritis, et ea pro verbis fidelis tamen mancipii affectum redolentibus habeatis. Si vero quid^{ff} momenti vel ponderis eis subesse credideritis, sit^{gg} quod tempestiuus prouisum^{hh}, facilius auertatis. Quicquid horum fuerit, nichil erit omnino periculi. Nam Romanus pontifex pronus et de facili ad irritum deuocabitⁱⁱ quod in fraudem caute^{jj} appellationis ad eum interposite sibi surreptum deprehenderitur.

^v aduentauit L

^w et L

^x Hugonem L

^y recitauerat L

^z apud L

^{aa} quidem L

^{bb} *om.* L

^{cc} sollicitudinis L

^{dd} possunt L

^{ee} *add.* et L

^{ff} quidquam L

^{gg} *om.* L

^{hh} praeuisum L

ⁱⁱ recouabit L

^{jj} tacite L

Letter 27

[Master David to ?Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester]¹

[1179 X 1181]²

A greeting and an offer of himself, although of modest use. Many make a custom of speaking the more readily and frequently of that which their superiors have done for them. In me you have multiplied the cultivation of such complete reverence and full favour, which whenever I am with you is increased day by day, so that may He who can (namely God your inspiration) repay you in kind. If it were within my power to respond as to an equal, he who proves himself the truest of men in good deeds should know that I would rather repay such favours in deed rather than word. In so far as I now can, I act devotedly, hoping to show myself more fully devoted by deed, whenever opportunity arises, in the practicalities of grace³.

¹ Though it cannot be clearly established that this letter was written by David, it survives in his collection as part of a group of three letters (25-7), the other two of which were definitely his. The recipient is unidentified, but the contents suggest a prelate who had come into conflict with the Hospitallers over a particular house (*domum*). The evidence for the Hospitallers in England at this time is scarce, but surviving evidence reveals various disputes into which the order entered. In 1155, for instance, Walter Fitz Robert gifted the church of Burnham-on-Crouch to the priory of Little Dunmow, but a little while later gifted it also to the Hospitallers. This led to conflict between the canons and the order, so that Archbishop Richard of Canterbury was charged by Pope Lucius III with judging the conflicting claims. This he did by letters dated 6 September 1181 x 16 Feb 1184, *EEA*, ii, no.139. The settlement was recorded in a charter of Ralph de Dyve, Prior of the Hospitallers (for whom see below), granting a perpetual vicarage in the church to Walter, a canon of Dunmow, who would pay an annual fee of one gold coin to the order whilst he lived. After Walter's death the canons should pay 3 marks annually to the order, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers*, iv, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (Paris 1906), 320. Robert was prior of Little Dunmow 1163-79, and Ralph prior of the Hospitallers perhaps 1179-?1209, *Heads*, 171. Little Dunmow had been dedicated by Bishop Maurice of London in 1104, *EEA* xv, no.6; *Heads*, 171. Bishops Maurice and Richard Belmeis I confirmed the priory's holdings in *EEA*, xv, nos.6 and 12. Richard Belmeis II confirmed Walter's gift to the priory, 28 Sept 1152 x 4 May 1162, probably 1155, *EEA*, xv, no.64, and again December 1184 x 18 February 1187. Gilbert Foliot confirmed these earlier charters, *EEA*, xv, no.136. If the present letter does refer to the dispute between the order and priory it is not surprising that David, as a member of Foliot's *familia*, would take an interest in the case. This does not, however, seem to have resolved the issues over Burnham, for in the cartulary of the order, the first part of which was begun in 1442, an inscription notes that 'this book was produced on behalf of the Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England in proof of their right in the parish church of Burnham'. The cartulary is discussed by M. Gervers, 'A History of the Cartulary of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England (British Museum Cotton ms, Nero E vi)', *Scriptorium* 28.2 (1974). The Hospitallers also came into conflict with Lesnes priory, founded June 1178 by Richard de Lucy. Henry II had granted lands at Rainham to Lesnes after confiscating them from Fulk Paine, in disgrace for joining the Young King's rebellion. Around Christmas 1179, the manor of Rainham was regranted to Gilbert de Vere who in turn transferred it to the Hospitallers, resulting in dispute between the Hospitallers and Lesnes over Rainham Church: *LCH*, nos.1482, 2746. More promisingly and most likely to be the case referred to here, April 1185 x 1188, the king issued a notification of a settlement made between Bishop Richard (of Ilchester) of Winchester and the Hospitallers concerning St Cross Hospital (referred to in the settlement as the *domum sancte Crucis*), following a settlement made at Dover, 10 April 1185. The record of the agreement notes that a complaint had been made 'some time ago' (*pridem*) concerning the custody and administration of the Hospital, so St Cross might well be the *domus* referred to in the present letter. For the agreement, see *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, i, no.755 and for the king's settlement *LCH*, no.2870.

² The letter refers to a vacancy at the the abbey of 'Burgo', i.e. Peterborough, which was vacant 1175-7 as its abbot was deposed in 1175, either in September or October. See *Heads*, 60 and Gervase, *Opera* i, 256.

Archbishop Richard of Canterbury was apparently at Peterborough in December of that year, *Gesta Regis Henrici* i, 106 whence *EEA*, ii, 279, though perhaps this is a mistake as the accounts say William was deposed by Richard. The outside dates for Richard's visit to Peterborough, discussed in the letter, seem to be Sept x Dec 1175, but Ralph de Dyve, here named as prior of the Hospitallers in England, was not prior until 1178. Ramsey was vacant 1179-80 so this must be when 'N' had custody of it, thus putting the date of the letter after 1179.

³ Phrase also in nos.1, 3, 10, 11, 14, 22.

When Master N.⁴ and I conferred secretly and alone together, talking much about many things as the custom is, he reported to me that when he travelled from Ramsey Abbey⁵, whose administration had been entrusted to him, to that other abbey of Peterborough⁶, to visit the lord (archbishop) of Canterbury⁷, at that time exercising his legatine commission, in company with the lord archdeacon of Canterbury⁸, he heard there from a certain Hospitaller that the archbishop and archdeacon had received a new command from the lord Pope, whose contents were more or less that the lord Pope commands you and the prince (i.e. the King)⁹ that, fully and without any legal objection, you restore their house to the same state in which they are known to have possessed it before your time, or otherwise after a fixed number of days following receipt of these letters he would suspend you from divine service.

It occurred to me that what the aforesaid master had heard could be neither true nor credible, both because the lord Pope would neither allow nor had allowed such a rescript in this affair according to law, and because it could do little to compel the opposing party, since if such a rescript had been issued from the Pope, they (i.e. the addressee's enemies) would by now have been shown it to you with all speed. Although these things, I say, occurred to me, he suggested, as an explanation for the brief delay, that they might not show you such a mandate without our lord the King being consulted, lest by such showing they provoke royal indignation against themselves, to prevent which their prior, that lord of Dive¹⁰, might more carefully seek to protect them, returning from their chapter and entering the royal hall, seeking to reconcile them and himself to the favour of the kings. He added moreover that for several days now, as they say, that high master of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem¹¹ will have set out for Rome in pursuit both of his own business and especially of this particular affair.

Having heard all this, and having too much chided the said N., for failing to mention that which had now told me, as soon as he had heard it, to the lord archdeacon of Canterbury, whom he knew to be then at Peterborough, he interjected that he had no wish to make himself known as an enemy to such a man and friend, still less because what he would say would not only cause no pleasure but positively displease because he himself was saying it. In truth, my lord, I am a man of another stamp, whether this be a virtue or a vice, so that in those things at

⁴ Possibly a reference to Master Nicholas of London, possibly *nomen*?

⁵ The Benedictine abbey of Ramsey in Cambridgeshire, whose abbot William Anglicus (1161-77) supported Foliot's appeal against his excommunication by Becket: *CTB*, ii, no.207 fn.20. William was a monk of Cluny and prior of St-Martin-des-Champs. Elected abbot of Cluny in 1177, he apparently did not leave Ramsey until 1178, and thereafter the abbey was vacant 1179-80, *Heads*, 62.

⁶ The abbey is accounted for in *PR 23 Henry II*, 104, by William de Gundeville, from the deposition of the previous abbot to the election of his successor. A William de Gundeville received 20s as a prebend at Bath 1166-7 to the half year 1172-3, also occ. without title but was presumably as a canon when he occ. 6 Oct 1174 x 29 Sept 1175. Nowhere else, however, is William accorded title as magister, in which circumstance he is unlikely to be the addressee of the present letter.

⁷ This must be Richard of Canterbury, but the only record of his visiting Peterborough is in 1175, suggesting either a confused timeline here or a later visit by Richard of which there is no record. For Richard's itinerary, see *EEA*, ii, 279-80.

⁸ There is some confusion over who was archdeacon of Canterbury at this time, but this was probably Herbert Le Poer, appointed by Richard in 1175, archdeacon until he became the bishop of Salisbury in 1194, *Fasti*, ii, 12-15. David was in some dispute with Herbert over the church of Doddington, see Chapter Two and above no.16.

⁹ Presumably Henry II, but possibly the Young King.

¹⁰ A Ralph de Dyve ('Diva' cf. Dives-sur-Mer, Calvados, cant. Dozulé, Fr.) was prior of the Hospitallers in England in the 1170s. Gervers gives the dates of his tenure as 1178-81 in *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda Camera Essex*, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford 1982).

¹¹ For a list of the high masters without dates, see *ibid*, 569-70.

odds with my duty of care, even though you may wisely avert that of which you are forewarned, I would be prefer by speaking out to my lords and friends to provoke their displeasure that in bad faith and by flattering silence to earn their favour.

Therefore, my lord, I have taken care to inform you of these things so that if you receive them as words and only words, you may nonetheless have them as words suggestive of the spirit of faithful servitude. Should you consider anything in them of importance or weight, let it be that what is hurriedly supplied may the more easily be averted. Whatever it might have been, it shall in future pose no threat. For, by the intervention of cautious appeal presented to him, the Roman pontiff is inclined to and can easily consign to voidance whatever he discovers has been obtained from him by fraud.

[END OF GROUP]

V fo.144v = L 611-3

Dilecto sibi in domino M. dei gratia nouo nouitio de Stanlech^a magister D(auid) London(iensis) salutem ^bet fine commendare principium^b. Magnum est quod nuper ausus es, si tamen ausum tuum finis debitus comprobauerit. Quod ab animo virili a corpore robusto plurima fuerat deliberatione temptandum^c ab imbecilli etate, ab adolescente delicato subita quadam festinatione videtur usurpatum. Sunt qui vaga quadam leuis animi temeritate aggressu^d quiduis^e arduum incipiunt, sed quoniam ad consummandum^f viribus impares inueniuntur, euangelica^g illa parabola de non computatis sumptibus ad turrem construendam recte notantur^l. Et utique licet gloriosius interdum magnis ausis excidere quam de pusillanimitate magnum nichil audere, semper tamen diutius sunt deliberanda que non nisi semel permittuntur agenda. Raro initium ad meritum attenditur, sed finis operis et perseuerantia virtutis nomen et laudem meretur^h. Magnum dixi quod de nouoⁱ ausus es, tam perseuerantie tue primum propositum respiciens quam ruine, que^j absit, penam debitam attendens. Celsiorem siquidem religionis gradum ascendens, si ei perseueranter institerit sicut apud^k Dominum premio maiore donatur, si ab eo ceciderit pena grauiori^l afficitur, sic et apud^m homines de maioris boni perseuerantia acceptior efficitur de ruina abiectior habetur. Nichil enim in peccatis apudⁿ Dominum apostasia grauius, nichil apud homines in hac eius specie reputatur abiectius. Isto siquidem genere peccantibus specialiter in penam inflictum est ut qui hominum consortia propter D(ominu)m reliquerant^o, relicto Domino nullam de cetero apud homines humanitatem sentiant. Vagi facti et profugi, postmodum ad suos etiam progenitores in extreme necessitatis^p subsidium quandoque reuersi, ob nature reuerentiam vix tamen ad momentum et tempus modicum velut indigni ab eis aluntur, et tandem ignominiose agniti, tanquam qui domui et hospitibus suis non nisi confusionem et erubescerentiam afferunt, confusi eliminantur.

De multis magnorum audiui quos rerum gerendarum materia et quedam temporalium administrationum neccessitas^q maioris etiam potestatis auctoritate ab habitu vel ordine rite suscepto reuocauit, sed paucos eorum accepimus quorum extremas felicitates et gaudia infelix exitus et dolor non occupauerit. Magnus^r itaque ausus^s illud precipitanter^t inire, quod semel placitum licite postmodum non poterit displicere, semel initum, qualecumque

^a Stanlech L

^{b-b} om. L

^c tentandum L

^d aggressi L

^e quidem L

^f consummandum L

^g euangelica L

^h meruit L

ⁱ noua L

^j quod L

^k apud L

^l grauiore L

^m apud L

ⁿ apud L

^o relinquerant L

^p necessitatis L

^q necessitas L

^r magno L

^s ausu L

^t precipitant L

postmodum secum afferat periculum, nullo pacta, nulla lege, licentia nulla, auctoritate nulla, sine anime detrimento, sine corporis periculo, sine fame consumptione, sine faciei confusione licebit deserere. Queris^u forsitan quorsum h(ec) et de his quid ad te. Ecce quo tendo. Longe faciat a te Dominus ut tante religionis ordini cui te sponte aggregasti, tam insigni tam preclaro habitui, quem ultroneus^v suscepisti, per te scandalum et blasphemia generetur. Auertat a te D(eu)s ut multorum animus^w ausui tuo simile aliquid secum^x deliberantium a tanto proposito prauo tui auertatur^y exemplo. Absit a te ut tocius tue consanguinitatis, amicorum et notorum tuorum omnis in te facies confundatur. Loquar expressius, propitius sit tibi D(eu)s, et tuti^z ipsi esto propitius, ne secundum illud templum tui corporis^{aa}, quod voto, tonsura et habitu Deo dedicasti, veste religiosa reiecta, violando, scelerata conscientia per diuersa terrarum spatia te precipitem agat, sicque tandem corpus tuum variis humane miserie casibus expositum, sordida paupertas absumat pariter et infelitiorem animam tuam ad Tartareos et eternos cruciatus, cum miseria gemitu^{bb} et merore deducat. Videas itaque oro amice in Cristo karissime, quoniam ausum tuum non recolo ut te terream in ruinam, sed magis ut inuicem ad perseuerantiam. Quod aggrediendum multis modis tibi dissuaderem incipere, a te iam aggressum modis omnibus suo fini^{cc} suadeo limitare. Nichil tibi periculosius, nichil magis ad mortem, quam ab incepto pedem referre. Nichil ergo tibi tutius relinquatur quam nullum de cetero formidando^{dd} periculum, gressum ad anteriora firmare, ut quod audacter incepisti, debito valeas fine concludere. H(oc) vobis, dilecte in Domino, summotenus significare curauit, de firmo et stabili perseuerantie vestre proposito in nullo diffidendo, sed ne promptus^{ee} spiritus carnis in ruinam prone seducatur illecebris premonendo². Aduersantur enim sibi inuicem concupiscentia carnis et spiritus, et adeo ut^{ff} ait apostolus: ‘Ut non quecumque volumus, illa^{gg} faciamus’³, et utique confido de spiritu cuius instinctu litteris vestris michi dies meos et vitam in melius suasisti reformare, quod eam que iam circa vos ipsum facta est mutationem non desinet de die in diem in melius promouere.

Quomodo enim feruor ille spiritus nouitii, quo tanto karitatis zelo succensus vitiis irascaris alienis, te tepescere sineret^{hh} ad ignoscendum propriis. Et certe quamuis ut mala punica in lectis argenteis⁴, sic verbum prolatum in tempore suo, attamen sicut nequaquam michi tutum etatem meam gratie Dei credere seram, sic nec michi fas est vel etatem vestram vel nouellam religionem eidem gratie, siue in corripiendo, siue in predicando iudicare prematuram. Sed de his iuuante Domino quandoque melius verbo quam scripto, efficacius lingua quam littera conferemus. Nunc michi tantum de te tibi sermo ut quod bene incepisti, melius perficias. Magnifica legiturⁱⁱ et singulariter potens, pia semper et exorabilis gloriosa illa, gratia plena

^u quaeres L
^v ultronec L
^w animae L
^x om. L
^y auertantur L
^z tute L
^{aa} corporis tui L
^{bb} gemituum L
^{cc} fine L
^{dd} formidare L
^{ee} penitus L
^{ff} sicut L
^{gg} ea L
^{hh} sinit L
ⁱⁱ igitur L

misericordie mater, domina tua de Stanlech^{jj}, cuius in hoc arto^{kk} et arduo religionis itinere^{ll} quesisse^{mm} ducatum, cuius in tanto negotio videris elegisse patrociniū, ei te totum committe regendum, ei algores tuos et inedias, ei cotidianas passiones tuas et omnes anime tue angustias nunc si potes lacrimis, nunc verbis sensu magis quam lingua prodeuntibus, nunc solo saltem effectu, non semel sed itemⁿⁿ et iterum humilis et deuotus expone, et ipsam propitiā inuenies, paratissimā senties te pio confouendo remedio, omnes impotentie tue^{oo} supplere defectus, nec ullo aduersitatum seu temptationum^{pp} te deficere permittet incursu.

Quot, quales, quantos actus, negotia et opera penitus ab initio quoad homines desperata sue virtutis et potentie magnitudine glorioso fini^{qq} consecrauit, omnis sexus, omnis gradus, omnis etas,⁵ et presertim illi nobili quam^{rr} nuper induisiti dedita militie, pio et magnifico probat et testatur effectu^{ss}. Cuiusmodi exemplorum copiam si tibi velut paucas adhuc litteras edocto ex scripturarum lectione parum datur intelligere, ex eorum cotidianis relationibus quorum tecum beata conuersatio, multa etiam^{tt} non scripta poteris audire. Et utinam vera illa et prefulgida stella maris tibi duce, illa miserorum et desperantium ad D(eu)m mediatrice tibi patrocinate, initium a te suscepti negotii via tibi feliciter acta fine beato iustifices, ut ausus tuus non ad leuitatis, non ad temeritatis tibi vitium imputetur, sed magnanimitatis potius et constantie nomen et effectum apud D(eu)m et homines in fine sortiri mereatur.

Valete. Si michi a te promissis orationibus aliquid ex superhabundanti gratia erogare decreueris, gratissimum michi erit quod gratis et absque precibus accipiam. Quicquid fuerit de superadiiendis^{uu}, confido de vobis in Domino quod michi debitis me minime defraudabis^{vv}.

Luke 24:28-30. 2. Cf. Matthew 26:31 and Mark 14:38. 3. Galatians 5:17. 4. Proverbs 25:11. 5. Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii, ed. R.A.B Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford 1998), 382-3: 'Transient ibi figurae hominum utriusque sexus, omnis aetatis, omnis gradus, omnis postremo conditionis' ['Shapes will pass by of people of either sex, of every age and every degree and every class'].

^{jj} Stanlech L

^{kk} arcto L

^{ll} tramite L

^{mm} quaesiisse L

ⁿⁿ iterum L

^{oo} om. L

^{pp} tentationum L

^{qq} fine L

^{rr} que L

^{ss} affectu L

^{tt} et L

^{uu} superadiiendis L

^{vv} defraudabis L

Master David of London to a new novice of Stanley

[Undated]

To his beloved in the Lord, M. by the grace of God new novice of Stanley¹, Master David of London sends greeting, recommending a final goal to those things now begun. It is a great thing that you now dare, if only your daring achieve its due end. What might have been considered well worth attempting by one of manly spirit and robust health, may appear suddenly undone by the feebleness of age or the delicacy of adolescence. Those there are who from vague levity of spirit embark upon that which is difficult with violent daring, but are found at the end to be unequal to the task: let the Gospel parable be noted here, on not counting the costs of building the tower². And though it is more glorious to perish having dared great things, than from timidity to dare nothing great; things that may be attempted only once should be long pondered. Rarely does the beginning deserve praise, but the labour's end and steadfastness merit the title and praise of virtue. I described as great that which you newly dare, both in consideration of the first hazarding of your perseverance and in respect to the failure that, God forbid, is the attendant punishment. Since to him making the climb, the higher the step in religion, if it be made with constancy, the greater the reward to be assigned in the Lord, or the graver the punishment to be inflicted should he fall. Just so amongst men of great good is perseverance considered the more acceptable, the more abject that failure is held to be. Just as with God no sin is worse than apostacy, so with mankind nothing ranks lower than failure. For such sinners a special punishment is in store, so that with those who abandon the society of men for the Lord will experience no sort of humanity amongst men should they then abandon the Lord. Rendered wanderers and fugitives, should they return to their parents seeking help in their dire necessity, they may obtain a little, albeit with difficulty and for a time and space from natural regard, but considered unworthy by them, and a length acknowledged as a disgrace, as those who bring nothing but confusion and blushes to their house and its inmates, in confusion are they then expelled.

We have heard of many great men whom the march of events or the necessity of worldly government has, by authority of a higher power, recalled from the habit or order once religiously adopted. Yet we allow that there are few such whose final happiness or joy was not overshadowed by grief and an unhappy end. Great indeed is the daring so precipitously to embark upon what, although at once considered pleasing cannot afterwards be allowed to displease, once begun brings afterwards such peril, and that cannot be abandoned by any agreement, any law, any licence, any authority, without damage to the soul, risk to the body, an end to reputation, and confusion of countenance. Perhaps ask yourself if such things be, and for such persons, how will it be for you? Behold my purpose. May the Lord keep you from such a fate, lest through you scandal or blasphemy arise for such a religious order as that which you have sought to join, or to such a distinguished indeed pre-eminent habit as that which you have voluntarily put on. May God turn from you just as the spirit of the multitude, pondering your daring within itself, should turn from so wicked a proposal by your example. May you be spared from finding the faces of your entire kin, your friends and acquaintances entirely turned against you. I speak deliberately: may God speed you and you speed to his protection, lest that second temple of your body, that by vow, tonsure and costume you have dedicated to God, by the putting aside and violation of the religious habit,

¹ Stanley, Wiltshire, Cistercian abbey, founded 1151 at Loxwell, moved to Stanley c.1154: *Heads*, 142.

² Luke 24:28-30.

be suddenly cast out to wander the world in evil conscience, so that at last you body, exposed to various types of human suffering, shall be consumed by sordid poverty and equally your unhappy soul be led in well-earned misery and weeping to Hell and torments eternal. Therefore take heed, I pray you, most beloved friend in Christ, seeing that I do not recall your daring so as to terrify you with the prospect of failure, but rather to urge you to perseverance. What I might by many means have sought to dissuade you from attempting to achieve, I seek now to persuade you, having once begun, by all means to direct towards a single goal. Nothing is more perilous for you, nothing more deathly, than to stumble at the start. Therefore no greater safeguard can be offered to you than that you fear no danger and that you take one step at a time, so that what you have boldly begun you pursue to its due completion. Above all, beloved in the Lord, I take care to advise you in no way to set aside the firm and steady intent of your perseverance, but to exercise forethought, lest prompted by the spirit of the flesh you be tempted to sink in failure³. For the desire of the flesh and the spirit are opposed one to the other, so that, as the apostle says, ‘You cannot do the things that you would do’⁴, and in all respects I trust, with the same spirit by whose instinct you sought by your letters to me that I reform my life and occupations for the better, that the change that you have now made in your circumstances shall not cease to tend towards the better, day after day.

For in whatever way that fervour of the novice’s spirit, inflamed with such zeal of charity, enrages you against the vices of others, may it allow you increase of warmth in forgiveness towards your own. Certainly, although a word spoken in good time is like scarlet apples on beds of silver⁵, nevertheless just as I shall in no way spread the belief that my age is some sort of guarantee of God’s grace to me, so it is not in my opinion a divinely ordained rule that either by preaching or reproaching, I should judge your age or your new religion to be premature. But of these things, with God’s help, it is better that we should speak together by word rather than in writing, and more effectively by the tongue than the letter.⁶ Let speech now be directed as much to me as to you, so that what you have well begun you may the better complete. It is recorded that magnificent and singularly powerful, always holy and ready to persuasion, is that glorious mother of mercy, full of grace, your lady of Stanley, whose leadership is to be sought in this narrow and difficult path of religion, whose patronage you should be seen to choose in such business, entirely surrendering yourself to her governance, in your fastings and freezings, in your daily sufferings and all afflictions of your soul, with tears if you can, now in words spoken more in thought than by the tongue, now at any rate produced the once, now not once but again and again showing yourself humble and devoted, finding her well disposed, sensing her most ready to comfort you with pious remedy, supplying all that you lack in your weakness, and allowing that you in no way fail from the onset of adversities or temptations.

How many, what sort, and how great were the deeds, matters and works by which from the beginning, entirely, she has brought people, of both sexes, all degrees, every age⁷, though despairing of their strength and the extent of their power, to a glorious end, proving herself dedicated and by the pious and magnificent outcome witnessing especially to that noble

³ Cf. Matthew 26:41 and Mark 14:38.

⁴ Galatians 5:17.

⁵ Proverbs 25:11.

⁶ Reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux, as in nos.1 and 13.

⁷ A fairly commonly quoted phrase, as in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii, ed. R.A.B Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford 1998), 382-3.

knighthood in which you have now been clothed⁸. You may hear an abundance of instances of this kind, unwritten, from the daily report of those with whom you engage in blessed converse, even if to you, thus far taught few letters, very little may be gleaned from the reading of written reports⁹. And may you by a blessed ending, through that true and glittering star of the sea your guide, through your protectoress, that intercessor before God for all those in suffering or despair, justify the beginning of that business on which you have embarked by the way happily marked out to you, so that your daring not be counted against you as a sin of fickleness or rash temerity, but rather that in the end, both with God and amongst men, you deservedly emerge with the title and achievement of magnanimity and constancy.

Farewell. If with your promised prayers you struggle to disburse anything to me from the superabundance of grace, it will be most pleasing to me to accept it freely and without my asking for it. And whatever there may be yet to add, I trust in the Lord that you will do nothing to cheat me of that which you owe.

⁸ The reference is clearly to the Cistercian order, although the syntax here is complex and confusing.

⁹ If the translation here is correct, and Master David is suggesting that his correspondent as yet possessed only limited reading ability, what on earth, one wonders, was that correspondent supposed to make of the excessively flowery style, even of this brief allusion?

Letter 29

V fo.145r, also in V(c) fos.131v-132r; C fos.116v-117v (pp.222-4) no.219; D fo.81r-v no.42; B fos.268v-269v, whence *MTB*, vi, no.395 (noting further copies); *LCH*, vi, no.4261 (listing further printings) (J-L 11392); not in L

<Alexander episcopus seruus seruorum Dei karissimo in Cristo filio H(enrico) illustri Anglorum regi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem>^a. Excellentie tue nuntios dilectos, s(cilicet) filios nostros ^belectum Sancti Aug(ustini), R(eginaldum) archid(iaconum) Saresb(eriensem)^c, H(enricum) de^d Norhamton^e, et regie sullimitatis litteras per eosdem nobis transmissas ea qua decuit benignitate admisimus, et illius feruentissime dileccionis^f ardorem^g quem circa nos et ecclesiam Dei a nostre promotionis exordio magnificentia tua tam constanter^h exhibuit ad animum sollicite reuocantes his que nobis iamdicti nuntii ex parte celsitudinis tue discreteⁱ satis et cum omni diligentia intimarunt^j, licet nimis ardua et difficilia essent, aurem^k beneuolam^l curauimus adhibere^m. Illius siquidem honoris et reuerentie quam regia sullimitasⁿ nobis instante necessitatis tempore sicut excellentie tue nos sepe^o intimasse meminimus, tota prout maior pars Cristianitatis cognouit deuotione impendit, non immemores existentes, ad petitionum tuarum, in quibus cum Deo possumus promotionem vehementer accendimur. Nec aliquid nobis umquam^p honoris vel^q gratie satis esse videtur, quod celsitudini tue indulgere possimus. Verum^r attendentes quod tu cui omnipotens D(eu) inter filios hominum tot diuitiis habundare tanta prudentia et discretione pollere concessit, contra eum cui seruire regnare est, pugnare non velis aut^s eius resistere^t voluntati, presertim cum strenuitati tue totiens contulerit de hoste triumphum, de immensa illius bonitate confidimus omnimodis et speramus, quod animum et voluntatem tuam circa ecclesiam et eius negotia mitiorem^u effitiet^v, et ad id cor tuum quod beneplaciti sui fuerint^w inclinabit, licet memorati nuntii constanter assererent^x te tanta ^yesse turbatione^y commotum, quod

^a *Address supplied from C, MTB, om. V, V(c)*

^b *Clarembaldum add. V(c), MTB*

^c *Simonem de Carter' add. V(c), C, MTB*

^d *om. C, MTB*

^e *om. C, Norhamtune MTB*

^f *om. V(c), caritatis MTB*

^g *add. caritatis V(c)*

^h *add. et feruenter C, MTB*

ⁱ *sdiscrete underdotted for correction V*

^j *intimauerunt MTB*

^k *om. V(c)*

^l *beneuolentiam nostram V(c)*

^m *add. et MTB*

ⁿ *serenitas V(c), C, MTB*

^o *sepius C*

^p *umquam nobis C, MTB*

^q *et MTB*

^r *veruntamen MTB*

^s *nec V(c), C*

^t *om. V(c)*

^u *add. et C*

^v *efficiat C*

^w *fuerit V(c), C, MTB*

^x *asseuerent V(c), MTB*

^y *turbatione esse MTB*

venerabilem fratrem nostrum ^zCant(uariensem) archiepiscopum^z nullo modo in gratiam^{aa} reciperes, nec circa eum tuus poterat animus aliquatenus mitigari^{bb}.

Nos autem qui paterne circa personam tuam affectionis non possumus obliuisci, sed te sicut catholicum principem et regem Cristianissimum in omnibus quantum honestas permittit honorare et exaudire optamus, credentes firmiter et sperantes quod discreta prouidentia tua in his que Dei sunt et ad ecclesie negotium^{cc} spectant, gloriosius esse^{dd} suam^{ee} vinci quam vincere voluntatem nequaquam ignoret, prefato archiepiscopo sub spe et fidutia^{ff} quod ille in cuius manu corda regum consistunt, ^{gg}animum tuum^{gg} mitigabit^{hh}, et reⁱⁱ inspiratione sua serenare^{jj} dignabitur, dedimus in mandatis et omnimodis inhiuimus ne in te aut^{kk} terram^{ll} tuam^{mm} velⁿⁿ in^{oo} personas regni tibi^{pp} subiecti^{qq}, interdicti seu excommunicationis sententiam, donec ipsum in gratiam tuam recipias et tibi reconcilietur, proferre ulla ratione attemptet^{rr} aut in aliquo grauare presumat.

Et quoniam litteras illas quas magnificentie tue anno preterito per nuntios tuos^{ss} ultimo destinauimus, viribus de cetero constat carere^{tt} si predictus archiepiscopus interim^{uu} te aut terram tuam aut^{vv} personas regni tibi^{ww} commissi^{xx} in aliquo grauare presumpserit, presentes litteras poteris in argumentum nostre voluntatis ostendere^{yy}, et te et tuos a suis grauaminibus immunes demonstrare. Quod autem in scriptis nostris et^{zz} legatis varietatem inuenisti^{aaa} nullatenus admireris^{bbb}, cum et beatus Paulus propositum suum^{ccc} sepius mutasse legatur, licet nos in hac parte nostrum immutasse^{ddd} propositum minime recolamus, cum^{eee} nobis etsi non ex parte tua pro certo fuit intimatum et quasi certa spes et fidutia facta, quod

^z archiepiscopum Cantuariensem V(c), C

^{aa} *add.* tuam V(c), C, MTB

^{bb} *mitigare underdotted for correction to* mitigari V, mitigare L

^{cc} negotia V(c), MTB

^{dd} *vel add.* C

^{ee} tuam V(c), MTB

^{ff} *add.* quasi certa C, MTB

^{gg} tuum animum C

^{hh} mitigare C

ⁱⁱ te C, MTB

^{jj} mitigare V(c), MTB

^{kk} *om.* V(c), *add.* in V(c), MTB

^{ll} terras V(c)

^{mm} *om.* V(c)

ⁿⁿ aut V(c)

^{oo} *om.* V(c)

^{pp} tui V(c), MTB

^{qq} subiectum L; *om.* V(c), MTB

^{rr} attentet MTB

^{ss} tuos nuntios C

^{tt} carere constat C

^{uu} *add.* in C

^{vv} *vel* V(c), MTB

^{ww} tui V(c), MTB

^{xx} subiti C, *om.* V(c), MTB

^{yy} *add.* poteris V(c)

^{zz} *vel* V(c), MTB

^{aaa} inuenistis V(c)

^{bbb} mireris MTB

^{ccc} *om.* C

^{ddd} mutasse MTB

^{eee} *add.* et B, C, MTB

pre-nominatus archiepiscopus illis mediantibus tibi deberet reconciliari^{fff}, quod etiam ex quibusdam scriptis que nobis ostensa fuerunt, visi sumus plenius concepisse. Unde contigit quod^{ggg} eosdem legatos specialiter^{hhh} hac de causa iuxta verbum nuntiorum tuorum ad regiam sullimitatem transmisimus, quibus cumⁱⁱⁱ fiducia ista^{jjj} coram quibusdam fratribus nostris dum adhuc coram nobis presentes essent, iniunximus ut in cognitione causarum inter te et archiepiscopum ordine iudiciario nullo^{kkk} modo^{lll} procederent, presertim cum de reconciliatione sicut diximus quasi certi essemus. Et ideo prudentia tua si taliter scripsimus et mandauimus, in nullam debet^{mmm} admirationem deduciⁿⁿⁿ, nec alicui mutabilitati^{ooo} quod^{ppp} propter^{qqq} honorem tuum^{rrr} et sub tali spe^{sss} fecimus imputare, presertim cum homines simus et in multes^{ttt} circumueniri possimus.

^{fff} reconciliari deberet C

^{ggg} *add.* per V(c)

^{hhh} *om.* V(c)

ⁱⁱⁱ sub C, *MTB*

^{jjj} *om.* V(c)

^{kkk} nulla V(c), *MTB*

^{lll} ratione V(c), *MTB*

^{mmm} *om.* C

ⁿⁿⁿ adduci C, *MTB*

^{ooo} multiplicitati V(c)

^{ppp} *add.* specialiter V(c)

^{qqq} ob *MTB*

^{rrr} *add.* fecimus imputare V(c), *add.* fecimus sub tali spe imputare C

^{sss} spe tali *MTB*

^{ttt} multis V(c), *add.* decipi ac V(c), C, *MTB*

Letter 29

Pope Alexander III to King Henry II¹

19 May 1168²

<Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his most beloved son in Christ Henry illustrious King of the English, sends greetings and apostolic blessing>. With fitting kindness we received your excellency's dear messengers, namely our sons the abbot-elect of St Augustine's Canterbury³, Reginald archdeacon of Salisbury⁴, and Henry of Northampton⁵, together with the letters your royal highness transmitted to us through them, and carefully recalling the ardour of that most fervent love which your magnificence constantly showed for us and the church of God from the time of our promotion, we took care to lend a friendly hearing to those things that the aforesaid messengers announced to us sufficiently and with all diligence on behalf of your highness, even though such things were arduous and troublesome. Mindful of that honour and reverence that with devotion, as the larger part of Christendom knows, your highness supplied in our time of urgent need, as we remember your excellency has frequently reminded us, we are strongly inclined to grant your requests in so far as in God we can do this. Nor shall anything of honour or grace ever seem too much for us with which we may assist your highness. In truth, considering that you, whom omnipotent God with such prudence and caution has showered with such riches amongst the sons of men, have no desire to fight against or to resist the will of Him whom to serve is to reign, and especially since He has so often matched your strength to victory against your foes, we entirely trust and hope that from His immense goodness He will temper your spirit and wishes in respect to the church and its affairs, and incline your heart towards such things as please Him, even though your messengers repeatedly asserted that you were moved by such great disturbance that you would on no account receive into your grace our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, or in any way temper your spirit towards him.

We, however, who can in no way cease from paternal care for you, and who prefer to honour and give heed to you as a Catholic prince and most Christian king in all things in so far as honour permits; firmly believing and hoping that your prudent discretion will in no way disregard the fact that, in those things that are of God and pertain to the business of the church, it is more glorious to fight for than against His will; in the hope and faith that He, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, may temper and deign by his inspiration to calm your soul towards the aforesaid archbishop, we have issued our commands and in all ways forbidden the archbishop that he attempt for any reason to pass sentence of interdict or excommunication against you, your land or those persons of the realm subject to you, or in any way presume to cause injury, until such time as you receive him into your grace and he is reconciled to you.

And since those letters that we sent to your magnificence through your messengers last year are understood to lack strength, should the aforesaid archbishop meanwhile presume in any

¹ Despite being told to keep the details of this letter secret, Henry II had this letter read out before clergy and French magnates at La Ferté Bernard, see *CTB* i, no.170 fn.1. The three messengers named within had been sent to the Curia by Henry II along with Simon of La Châtre, see Duggan, *Becket*, 141, 147.

² Dated by Jaffe to 29 December 1167, but by Reuter to 19 May 1168, who supposed it to have been carried by the returning envoys.

³ Clarembald, intruded into St Augustine's 1163 and deposed 1173 (see no.52), died 18 March the same year. *Heads*, 36.

⁴ For Reginald, see above no.7.

⁵ For Henry, see above no.4.

way to vex you, your land or persons of the realm committed to you, you may show the present letters in proof of our intention, proving yourself and yours exempt from his attacks. You are not to wonder at any other change that you may find in our letters or legates, since we read that St Paul himself often altered his intention, so that we consider ourselves in no way bound to remain unchanging in ours, and since as is made plain by certain letters that were shown to us, we are plainly seen to have determined that the aforesaid archbishop should be reconciled to you through their (i.e. the legates') mediation, even if this was not certainly reported to us by you or rendered a sure hope or pledge. Whence it arose that, in accordance with the words of your messengers we sent those same legates to your royal highness on this matter in particular, whom we enjoined with this pledge, in the presence of various of our brothers then in attendance upon us, that they would by no means exercise *ordo iudiciarius* in hearing the cases between you and the archbishop, above all, as we have said, because we were almost sure there would be a reconciliation. And so your prudence should in no way be surprised if we have written and commanded thus, nor impute to changeability anything that we have done here on account of your honour and as a result of such hope, above all because we are human-beings and can therefore exercise flexibility in many things.

Letter 30

V fo.145r; C fo.62r-v (pp.122-3) no.161, and again at fo.117v (p.224) no.220; D fo.82r no.44; B fos.188v-189r, whence Giles, ii, 79 no.354; *MTB*, vi, no.400d; not in L

Dominus papa ad episcopos Angl(ie)^a. Super discretione vestra satis compellimur admirari quod, cum viri prudentes et prouidi sitis in officii vestri executione, ita negligentes extitistis quod vix eius reminisci videmini sicut in operibus vestris plenius comprobatur. Illud etiam specialiter in vehementem nos admirationem adducit, quod de obedientia quam ecclesie Cant(uariensi) debetis aut parum aut nichil curatis, sed ita eius immemores comparetis^b, quasi quid D(e)o, quid hominibus exhiberi debeat, penitus ignoretis. Que utique ita nuda et pastore desolata vel existit^c, ut illud propheticum sibi merito valeat adaptari: ‘Quomodo sedet sola ci(uitas) p(lena) p(opulo) f(ecta) est quasi vi(dua) domina gentium.’¹ Veruntamen quicquid hactenus in^d huiusmodi negligentia, ne dicam^e inobediencia, deliqueritis^f, nos paterne circa vos dilectionis^g nequaquam obliti, benignitate potius quam seueritate duximus utendum^h, et vobis, sicut venerabilibusⁱ nostris longe ultra quam merueritis^j deferendum. Inde siquidem est quod^k karissimi in^l Cristo^m filii nostri H(enrici) illustris Anglorum regis optentu, et nuntiorum suorum instantia et prece inducti, et expensis etⁿ laboribus vestris parcere cupientes, appellationem quam aduersus venerabilem fratrem nostrum T(homam) Cant(uariensem) archiepiscopum, ne^o iamdictum^p tum regem aut vos aut^q regnum Anglie in aliquo grauaret, iam pridem fecistis, vobis auctoritate apostolica relaxamus, ita quod eam per vos vel per responsales vestros exequi nullatenus teneamini.^r

1. Lamentations 1:1.

^a Dominus papa Angl(ie) *om.* V(c), Alexander episcopus seruus seruorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus uniuersis episcopis per Angliam constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem *MTBB*

^b vel apparetis B, apparetis *MTB*

^c Desolata consistit V, *with* vel ex(sistit) *interlined*

^d *om.* V(c), B

^e dicamus V(c), C, B, *MTB*

^f deliquistis V(c), *add. in later hand* vel delinquentis B

^g dilectionis circa vos V(c), B, *MTB*

^h utendum duximus *MTB*

ⁱ *add. fratribus* V(c), *CCB*, *MTB*

^j *add. in later hand* vel meruistis B; meruistis *MTB*

^k *add. nos* *MTB*

^l *om.* C, *MTB*

^m *om.* *MTB*

ⁿ ac *MTB*

^o V *inserts in, undotted for omission*

^p demum V(c), B, demum (*add. in later hand*) vel deinde B

^q vel V(c), C, B, *MTB*

^r *add. Dat' Beneuent' vii. kal' Maii* C, *MTB*

Letter 30

Pope Alexander III to the bishops of England

[24 April 1168]¹

The Lord Pope to the bishops of England. We are moved entirely to marvel at your discretion that, as prudent and skilful men in the discharge of your office, you should have shown yourselves so negligent that what your deeds plainly reveal you barely seem to remember. It is especially a topic of furious wonder to us that you take little or no care for the obedience that you owe to the church of Canterbury, but appear so forgetful of it that you entirely ignore what is owed to God and what to men. Canterbury thus stands both naked and deprived of its pastor, appearing to justify the prophetic saying ‘How lonely stands the city, once full of people; how like she is to a widow who was once the mistress of nations’². Even so, in whatever ways you may have erred in such negligence, or even disobedience, we are led to use kindness rather than severity, in no way neglecting our paternal love for you, supporting you as most worthy of reverence long after you shall have deserved such support. So it is that at the behest of our most beloved son in Christ, Henry the illustrious king of the English, led to this by the request of his messengers, thinking to relieve your expenses and travails, by apostolic authority we release you from the appeal you previously launched intended to prevent our venerable brother Thomas archbishop of Canterbury from in any way harming the King, yourselves or the realm of England, so that we hold as void any execution of this appeal by you or your representatives.

¹ The dating clause appears in other manuscript copies of this letter.

² Lamentations 1:1.

Letter 31

V fo.145r = L 644; *MTB*, vi, no.513; *GFL*, no.202.

G(ilbertus) Dei gratia London(iensis) episcopus dilecto filio suo mag(istro) D(avid) salutem^a, gratiam et benedictionem. Affectum vestrum erga me, karissime, nepote meo R. referente cognoui, et audita quasi certa suscipiens, vobis ut amico karissimo meum, si id tamen libet suscipere, in summa committo necessitate negotium. Sic^b enim de facto contigit ut Dominus in me Cantuar(iensis) manum aggrauauerit, et in me nec citatum quod nouerim, nec commonitum, die Palmarum sententiam excommunicationis emisit. Ego vero seueritatem hanc ante presentiens, ad audientiam apostolicam in initio fere Quadragesime appellauit, et appellationi diem octauas Purificationis beate Marie constitui. Latam vero post^c appellationem sententiam nullam reputans, in ordine meo ministrare non destiti. Unde michi summe necessarium est ut onus hoc suscipiatis, et appellationem meam domino pape presentetis, et modis omnibus optinere studeatis ut appellationem meam admittat et indultum oppressis omnibus in commune remedium michi nequaquam subtrahat, sed in presentia sua auditis his que proponuntur aduersum me, iuxta quod sue visum fuerit equitati in me statuendo decernat. Quia vero ad ipsum xenia ob casus varios mittere nequaquam possum, aliquem creditorum suorum transmittat ad me per quem mea sibi seruitia copiose iuxta quod ipse^d dictauerit exhibeam, vel si ibi creditores inueneritis, ibidem pecunia accipiatur, et tam ipsi quam curie secundum quod vobis visum fuerit seruiatur.

^a *om. L, MTB*

^b *sicut L*

^c *per L*

^d *om. L, MTB*

Letter 31

Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London to Master David¹

c. April-May 1169²

Gilbert by God's grace bishop of London to his beloved son Master D(avid) sends greetings, favour, and blessing. I know of your affection towards me, best beloved, thanks to information from my nephew R(ichard)³, and accepting what I heard as certain, and in so far as this can be taken up, in my greatest need I commit my business to you as my dearest friend. The fact is that the Lord has raised up the hand of Canterbury against me, so that he issued a sentence of excommunication against me on Palm Sunday⁴, even though I was not cited, so far as I knew, nor summoned. Sensing that such severity was imminent, I appealed to apostolic hearing near the beginning of Lent, establishing the octave of the Purification of the Blessed Mary⁵ as the term of appeal. Reputing as nothing any sentence pronounced after this appeal, I did not cease from my episcopal duties. Whence it is of the highest importance to me that you take up this burden, presenting my appeal to the lord Pope, and endeavouring in all ways to ensure that he accepts my appeal and in no way withdraws the indult 'Oppressis omnibus' issued to me in the common interest, but instead determine whatever seems to him to command equity for me, having heard in his own presence whatever is raised against me. Because I can by no means send him gifts, on account of various reasons, he should send any of his creditors to me via whom I may liberally render my service to him, as he may suggest. Or, should you come across any of his creditors there, let the money be accepted there so that both they and the curia may be served, as you judge fit.

¹ Letters 31-3, 35-6, 38-40 all concern Foliot's attempts to gain absolution from his excommunication by Becket in 1169.

² Foliot had made his appeal, discussed within, around the beginning of Lent (Ash Wednesday, 5 March), and in March he had written to Becket and Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, to inform them.

³ Gilbert's nephew Richard Foliot, who left Bologna before the other nephew, Robert Banastre, on account of ill health, see *GFL*, no.191.

⁴ 13 April.

⁵ 9 Feb 1170.

Letter 32

V fo.145r = L 644; *MTB*, vii, no.657; *GFL*, no.211.

G(ilbertus) Dei gratia London(iensis) episcopus dilecto suo mag(istro) D(auid) salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum. Ad suggestionem^a nuntiorum domini regis per dilectum nostrum Nich(olaum) archid(iaconum) nobis^b factam, et ad commonitionem et consilium tuum, latentes insidias, viarum discrimina et anceps vite periculum, maturato reditu vitauimus, licet cum multa difficultate per^c montium incommeabiles semitas quiete et prospere ad Sanctum Ambrosium deuenimus^d. Et quoniam^e necessario presentiam tuam coram iudicibus a domino papa delegatis negotii nostri summa desiderat, quas possumus preces tibi affectuose porrigimus quatenus ob nostrum prouectum et liberationem aduentum nostrum Rothomagi sustineas, et nos cum omni celeritate illuc properabimus.

^a suggestionem L

^b vobis L, *MTB*

^c per *interlined* V, *GFL*, propter L, *MTB*

^d devenimus L, *MTB*

^e quam L, *MTB*

Letter 32

Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London to Master David

[9 February X 5 April 1170]¹

Gilbert by the grace of God bishop of London to his beloved Master David sends greeting and an expression of sincere love. At the suggestion of the messengers of the lord King, made to us through our beloved Nicholas the archdeacon², and at your prompting and counsel, in our hastened return, avoiding the lurking dangers, perils of the roads, the uncertain threat to life, and albeit with great difficulty the impassable mountain paths, we have arrived peacefully and prosperously at St Ambrose³. And because pressing need requires your presence before the judges of our business delegated by the Lord Pope, we affectionately extend to you all possible prayers that for our advancement and release you await our arrival at Rouen, to where we shall hasten with all speed.

[END OF GROUP]

¹ Written shortly after the date of Foliot's appeal but before his absolution at Rouen on 5 April.

² The archdeacon of London. Nicholas had been in communication with Foliot on Henry II's behalf.

³ Milan.

V fo.145v; V(c) fo.139r; C fos.119v-120r (pp.228-9) no.225; D fo.89r-v no.68; *MTB*, vii, 208-9 no.627; J-L 11716; *Diceto*, i, 337-8 (part only). Not in L

Alexander episcopus s(eruus) s(eruorum) Dei G(ilberto) London(iensis) episcopo^a.
 Quod tibi ad presens apostolice benedictionis aloquium nullatenus impertimur, non duritie nostre, sed meritis cause tue est^b potius adscribendum. Cum enim metropolitanum tuum sententiam in te audiuerimus protulisse, indignum omnino esset et ab honestate nostri officii penitus alienum ut te nostris deberemus litteris salutare. Quod utique graue plurimum et omnino molestum habemus, cum te, sicut venerabilem fratrem nostrum^c et virum quem religione non modica litteratura quoque et honestate nouimus preeminere, arcioris^d in Domino caritatis brachiis <non> amplexemur^e, et tibi in omnibus, quantum cum Deo et iustitia possumus, prompto animo deferre velimus et affectioni tue honorem et gratiam libentius exhibere. Ut autem nostram circa personam tuam voluntatem certis operum inditiis experiaris, et nos tibi benedictionem non de voluntate sed de neccessitate potius subtraxisse cognoscas, venerabilibus fratribus nostris ^fRothom(agensi) archiepiscopo et Exon(iensi) episcopo dedimus in mandatis ut^g te, recepto iuramento quod nostro super his pro quibus in te sententia ^hest prolataⁱⁱ debeas parere mandato, nostra vice absoluant, ^jsi de appellatione quam diceris fecisse diffisus potius absolui volueris quod tibi magis credimus expedire quam tuam prosequi appellationem. Si autem appellationem duxeris prosequendam, nos personam tuam libenter videbimus, et rationibus tuis diligenter auditis et cognitis, super h(oc) secundum quod Dominus nobis^k administrauerit iudicabimus. Quod si a iamdicto archiepiscopo et episcopo absolui volueris, ipsi te auctoritate nostra absoluent, ita quidem ut pro eo quod excommunicatus fueras nullum ordinis aut officii seu dignitatis periculum siue^l aliquam infamie notam debeas sustinere^m. Verum si uterque illorum his exequendis interesse non poterit, alter sicut dictum est ea nichilominus exsequatur, et venerabili fratri nostro T(home) archiepiscopoⁿ ex parte nostra precipient^o necnon et in virtute^p obed(ientie) iniungent^q, quod absolutionem tuam occultam habeat et omnino secretam, donec absque periculo tuo valeat propalari.^r

^a *address om. V(c), MTB*

^b *om. MTB*

^c *vestrum V, nostrum supplied from V(c), MTB*

^d *arctioris MTB*

^e *amplexamur V(c), amplectimur MTB*

^f *Di begins here*

^g *add. a MTB*

^h *lata est Di*

ⁱ *protelata V(c), proleta MTB*

^j *om. si de...nostra absolvent Di*

^k *nobis Dominus V(c), MTB*

^l *neque MTB*

^m *Di ends here*

ⁿ *add. Cantuariensi MTB*

^o *precipiat MTB*

^p *viuitute V, virtute supplied from V(c), MTB*

^q *iniunget MTB*

^r *V(c) and MTB continue hereafter with letter 82 below*

Letter 33

Pope Alexander III to Bishop Gilbert of London¹

[12 February 1170]²

Alexander servant of the servant of God to Gilbert bishop of London. That for the present we do not bestow apostolic blessing upon you is to be attributed not to our hard-heartedness, but rather to the merits of your own case. For since we hear that your metropolitan has imposed sentence upon you, it would be in every way unfitting and entirely foreign to the honour of our office were we to greet you with our letters. We would consider it even more serious and entirely unworthy were we <not> to embrace you in the arms of charity more closely in the Lord as our venerable brother and as one who we know to be pre-eminent in religion and honour, and of more than moderate learning, wishing in all things, and in so far as God and justice permit, to defer to you with promptitude and the more freely to answer your affection with honour and grace. But so that you may the better test our intentions towards you from the sure proofs of works, understanding that we have withheld our blessing from you not so much by wish but from necessity, we have commanded our venerable brothers the archbishop of Rouen³ and the bishop of Exeter⁴ that, as soon as they have received the oath that you must submit at our command concerning those things for which sentence was passed against you, they may grant absolution in our name, provided that in the appeal that you are said to have made you shall be willing to be declared doubtful or absolved, which we believe will be more in your interest than that you pursue your appeal. If, however, you choose to prosecute that appeal, we shall gladly see you, and having carefully heard and comprehended your arguments, shall offer judgement on the same as God may see fit to instruct us. And if you shall choose to be absolved by the aforesaid archbishop and bishop, they shall do this by our authority, so that you should not be sustain any peril to order, office or dignity or any other sign of infamy. In truth, should either of them be unable to attend the execution of this affair, it may be done by one of them alone, as is said, and they are to order archbishop Thomas on our behalf, enjoining him by virtue of obedience that he is to keep your absolution hidden and entirely secret until it may be divulged without risk to you.

¹ This is the letter David secured after Foliot's appeal on 9 Feb, where the Pope informed Foliot he was to be absolved by the bishops of Rouen and Exeter.

² The dating clause appears in other manuscript copies.

³ Rotrou, bishop of Évreux 1139-1164, and archbishop of Rouen 1164-83.

⁴ Bartholomew, consecrated bishop of Exeter after 18 April 1161 and before the end of the year.

V fo.146r = L 641; *GFL*, no.240

Venerabili domino suo fratrique karissimo R(ogero) Wigorn(iensi) Dei gratia episcopo frater G(ilbertus) London(iensis) salutem. Quantam in Cristo karissime de benevolentia vestra amicitiarum^a spem iam diu percepimus, non facile paucis explicamus. Equidem vos ab ineunte etate usque in diem hanc continua caritate dileximus et profectibus vestris et laudabilibus in Cristo successibus tota animi iocunditate semper^b exultantes applausimus. Quia ergo vos ad hoc iam diuina prouexit clementia, ut in eodem regno pari nos curae ecclesie sue prefeceat et honore, debemus ipsius adimplendo legem^l, alter alterius onera portare, et de fraternis cordibus vicissim nobis imperante caritate si qua grauant, his simul humeros utrimque^c supponere, et h(oc) confidenter in Domini spiritu sustinere. Huic^d siquidem nos amicitiarum legi subicimus, et fraternitatem vestram ut sua nobis confidenter iniungat obsequia preueniendo et^e obsequium iam nunc exigendo prouocamus. Ne vero diu vos suspendat oratio, quod anxia mente proferimus^f, quod tristi manu scedule vix committimus quia sic fieri res expostulat aperimus.

Arma sumit aduersum nos familiaris vester^g et quondam domesticus noster, magister ille D(avid), et quem laudum titulis extulimus, quem beneficiis honorauimus, quem sperabamus amicissimum, non solum experimur ingratum sed etiam infestissimum, hic cupide mentis iniecit oculos in precipuam ecclesie nostre dignitatem, et ut eam nobis inuitis optineat, ad dominum papam iter parat, ut eius auctoritate nos ledat, et ipsum circumueniendo quod nostri iuris est non violenter solum sed impudenter extorqueat. In procinctu positus hac de causa festinat ad vos, ut a vobis et a domino Hereford(ensi) commendaticias accipiat, et^h porrectis pro ipso precibus, nos auctoritate et ope vestra expeditius et efficacius non solum offendat sed opprimat.

Inde est quod dilecte nobis in Domino benevolentie vestre preces affectuose porrigimus, ne insurgenti in nos arma subministretis, nec impugnantem nos aut litteris aut adminiculis aliis in dampna nostra sustentetis. Quod si magnum in oculis suis hominem ab hoc proposito reuocaretisⁱ, labori^j nos exemptos et oneri^k gratie vobis debitores efficeretis^l. Nam quod corpore, quod animo, quod sensu valemus aut censu, totum exhaurire malumus quam hosti licet^m tanto succumbere. Quod si litteras quod absit iam dedistis, quoniam in dampnum et detrimentum nostrum sunt elicite, rediberiⁿ si placet eas faciatis ea qua preestis et potestis auctoritate. Nam si vobis sero scripsimus, h(ec) causa est quod iter suum ad vos nobis penitus occultauit. Nam amicum sceleri^o velle nesciri², et qui vias suas occultit, conscientiam

^a amicitiaque L

^b sepe L

^c utriusque L

^d hinc L

^e etiam L, V *add. iam, underlined for omission*

^f preferimus L

^g vir L

^h ut L

ⁱ revocaveritis L

^j labore L

^k onere L

^l efficietis L

^m liceat L

ⁿ reddi L

^o *add. est* L

perdit^p. Aget in Cristo karissime, aget exauditio precum, ut nos promptos habeatis in omne quod poterimus exhibere seruicium. Valete.

1. Galatians 6:2
2. Cassiodorus, *Variae* XII 17, 3: 'Amicum est autem crimini velle nesciri et qui vias suas occultit, conscientiam prodit'

^p prodit L

Letter 34

Bishop Gilbert of London to Bishop Roger of Worcester¹

[? Shortly before no.34, possibly July-August 1179]²

To his venerable lord and most beloved brother Roger by the grace of God bishop of Worcester³, brother Gilbert (bishop) of London sends greeting. In so far, beloved, as in Christ we have long hoped for your benevolence's friendship, we shall struggle to explain in the few following words. Indeed, we have esteemed you in continuous charity from youth through to the present day, applauding you and always rejoicing in your successes and laudable achievements in Christ with complete joyfulness of spirit. Therefore since divine clemency has advanced you to such things, promoting you to honour and the care of a church in this realm equal to ours, we must in fulfilling God's law both of us bear the same burden, and if troubles arise, from brotherly love, once again ruled by charity, shoulder them together⁴, bearing them confidently in the spirit of the Lord. To this law of friendship accordingly do we submit ourselves, and just as that law confidently commands our obedience in supporting you, so we call upon like obedience in requesting your support. But lest our speech too long detain you, we make plain to you that which with a troubled mind we offer and that which we commit with difficulty and a grieving hand to this writing, as the following narrative will show.

Your familiar, lately a member of our household, that Master David who we raised with titles to renown, whom we honoured with benefices, whom we believed our best of friends, has taken up arms against us, so that we find him not only ungrateful but most plaguing and we find that he is not only ungrateful but even most hostile, here with greedy mind casting his eyes on the principal dignity of our church⁵, and that he might obtain it against our will, preparing to travel to the lord Pope, to injure us by the Pope's authority and to extort by circumvention what is ours by right, not only violently but with impudence. Preparing his case, he hurries towards you so that from you and from the lord of Hereford⁶ he may receive commendations and having made his requests, not only offend but oppress us the more readily and effectively by your authority and aid.

Hence it is that we affectionately extend our prayers to your benevolence, our beloved in the Lord, lest you lend arms to him who has risen against us, or by letters or other means, support him to the of injury of us who are under attack. So that by dissuading this man, so great in his own estimation, and by freeing us from travail and burden you make us debtors to your grace. For whatever strength we have in body, in spirit, in sense or judgement, we would gladly exhaust rather than submit to such a foe. And if, God forbid, you have already issued any letters, in so far as they are sought to our harm and detriment, please have them withdrawn by whatever authority you command. For if we write to you late in the day, we do so because he very nearly concealed from us that he was to visit to you. For he who plots wickedness to a friend dissimulates, and he who covers his footsteps has lost track of

¹ For a detailed discussion of the events surrounding this letter, see Chapter Two.

² According to *GFL*, for further discussion see *ibid*.

³ Roger was elected March 1163, consecrated 23 Aug 1164, and enthroned 2 Feb 1165. He died 9 August 1179: *Fasti*, ii, 99-102.

⁴ Galatians. 6:2.

⁵ For a discussion of what this may refer to see Chapter Two.

⁶ Presuming this is a bishop it must be either M. Robert of Melun, consecrated 22 Dec 1163 and d. 26 Feb 1167, or Robert Foliot, elected bishop after 1173, consecrated 6 Oct 1174, died 9 May 1186, see *Fasti*, viii, 1-7. Given these dates the latter is much more likely.

conscience⁷. Bestir yourself in Christ, beloved. Bestir yourself in hearing our requests, that you may find us ready in all things to serve you. Farewell.

⁷ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, XII, 17, 3.

Letter 35

V fo.146 = L 642-3; *MTB*, vi, no.512; *GFL*, no.210

G(ilbertus) Dei gratia London(iensis) episcopus dilecto filio et amico suo karissimo mag(istro) D(avid) salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Que vestra michi nuntiauit epistola, multa gratiarum actione suscepti, iam nunc obsecrans^a et preces in hoc obnixe porrigens ut quod michi littera significatum est, opere complere velitis, et vestre mentis affectum erga me etus^b quod postulo declaretis effectu^c. Probatio namque dileccionis exhibitio operis est^{d1}, et operatur amor magna^e si est. Si vero operari renuit, amor non est. In amoris igitur experimentum et remunerationis condigne premium postulo ut meum ad presens onus pro parte suscipiatis, et meum ad dominum papam aduentum tam ipsi quam curie significetis, ex parte tam nostra quam vestra supplicando et sollicitudinem quantam poteritis adhibendo ne latam in me a domino Cant(uariensi) sententiam, quam nullam esse iuuante Domino, et ipso semper recte iudicante^f constabit, sua roboret auctoritate, nec ratam habere velit si die appellationi^g prefixo, a Purificatione scilicet b(eate) ^hV(irginis) octauo, me nondum ad curiam peruenisse contigeritⁱ.

Nam cum Octobri mense transfretauerim^j et ad dominum regem veniens, querende paci^k domini Cant(uariensis) operam diligenter impenderim², inspirante Domino, rex adeo pietate motus est ut, remota ambage et obscuritate verborum que in colloquio quod cum ipso Gratianus habuerat uniuersa^l turbauerat, pacem archiepiscopo suisque concederet, ipsumque sua suscipere et cum honore Dei et libertate ecclesie possidere, nulla regalium consuetudinum habita mentione, permetteret^m. Que cum domino Cant(uariensi), presente Francorum rege comiteque Teobaldo ceterisque qui conuenerant, primo complacuissent, postmodum eo quod sibi dominus rex negabat osculum, repudiata sunt.

Speramus veroⁿ quod tunc^o minus^p actum est, in colloquio quod inter reges die beati Hilarii Turonis futurum est, Domino iuuante, complendum est^q. H(ec) me causa detinet, ista remoratur occasio, ut cum ceteris querende paci pie studentibus operam dem^r, ut in longum protracta dissensio fine tandem terminetur optate^s. Quod si ad vota processerit, ad dominum papam visitandum me pertrahet iamdiu super hoc concepta voluntas. Re secus accidente, compellet adesse necessitas^t. Agatis itaque, karissime, quod presentis articuli est summo

^a obsecrationes L, *MTB*

^b enixius L, eius *MTB*, *GFL*

^c affectu *MTB*

^d est operis L

^e magna amor L

^f iudicando V *underdotted and interlined for correction* to iudicante

^g appellationis L, appellatione *MTB*

^h *add.* M. L

ⁱ contigat L

^j transfretauerimus L, *MTB*

^k pacis L

^l uniuerse L

^m promitteret L

ⁿ *add.* ut L

^o nunc L

^p minime L

^q sit L, *MTB*

^r demus L

^s optato L, *MTB*, *GFL*

^t necessitas L

supplicando et suadendo pontifici, ne his qui sermonibus odii circumdederunt me¹ fidem habeat, ne^u latam in iniuriam beati Petri sententiam ipse confirmando suscipiat, ne ordinem euuangelicum^v oris ipsius dominici constitutione consecratum, humane presumptionis immutatione, ut ita dicam prophanari permittat, presertim dicente Domino: ‘Non est seruus maior domino suo, nec apostolus maior eo qui misit illum’³. Michi siquidem quicquid circumquaque minentur plurimi, suaderi non potest apostolica auctoritate quodlibet^w modicum Cristi corporis menbrum, nedum episcopum orthodoxum, non commonitum, non regulariter citatum, inauditum, indefensum et in nullo contumacem^x aut^y notorii criminis reprehensione obnoxium, ab ipsius Cristi corpore fuisse precisum. Agetis ita, karissime^z, confidenter et^{aa} interuentu strenuo rem in suspenso tenebitis quousque meam, iuuante Domino, innocentiam presente me sub sole constituatis.

1. Gregory the Great, Homily XXX, (*PL* 76, col.1220): ‘Probatio ergo dilectionis, exhibitio est operis.’
2. Cf. Ps:108:3 3. John 13:16

^u nec L, *GFL*

^v euuangelicum L

^w quamlibet V, quemlibet L, quodlibet *suppl.*

^x contumacie L, *MTB*

^y et L

^z V *add.* prudenter, whence L, *MTB*, but in V underdotted for omission

^{aa} *om.* L

Letter 35

Bishop Gilbert of London to Master David of London

[c. December 1169]¹

Gilbert by God's grace bishop of London, to his dear son and most beloved friend Master David, sends greeting, grace, and blessing. Those things contained in your letter I received with much cause for praise, and now beseech and humbly request that you choose to complete that of which your letters inform me, and that, in effecting what I seek, you display your mind's inclination towards me. For the proof of affection resides in deeds displayed². Where deeds are lacking, there is no love. In test of love, therefore, and in return for a suitable prize, I ask that you take up my burden for the present, signifying my coming arrival both to the Pope and to the curia, and that both on my behalf and yours you request and, in so far as you can, call upon the Pope so to persevere in right judgement, lest by his authority he approve that sentence pronounced against me by the lord of Canterbury, a sentence that with God's help will prove void, nor confirm it should it happen that I am unable to reach the curia by the day fixed for the appeal, on the octaves of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin³.

For when I crossed over in October, coming to the lord king, I worked diligently for the peace of the lord of Canterbury⁴, and with the Lord's help, the king was so moved by piety that, setting aside the ambiguity and obscurity of language that had disturbed everybody in the meeting between him and Gratian, he was prepared to grant peace to the archbishop, allowing him to receive his lands and, with God's honour and the liberty of the church, possess them without any mention of royal customs. Which proposals although initially pleasing to the lord of Canterbury, meeting in the presence of the King of the French and count Theobald, were subsequently rejected, in that the lord King refused him the kiss of peace.

Truly, we hope that although less was accomplished then, with the Lord's assistance, it will be brought to completion at the meeting at Tours between the kings on the coming feast of St Hilary⁵. It was this cause that detained me, this occasion that delays me, that I may join with the others striving for a pious peace, so that the protracted dispute may at last be brought to a desired end. Had I a choice in the matter, I would long ago have carried out my determination to visit the lord Pope. Thing being otherwise, necessity compels me to remain. Therefore strive, best beloved, that these facts are presented to the Pope in pleading and persuasion, lest he trust in those who encircle me with words of hatred⁶, lest he confirm that sentence pronounced in injury of St Peter, and lest, to speak freely, he allow that evangelical state, consecrated by command of the Lord's own mouth, to be profaned at the presumption of human changeability, above all recalling the Lord's words: 'The servant is not greater than his lord, nor the apostle greater than He who sent him'⁷. Indeed, many threaten me on every side, and nothing done by apostolic authority can persuade this modest member of Christ's body, indeed this orthodox bishop, that he should have been cut off from that body of Christ,

¹ For the letter was written after the meeting in November but before the January meeting (both discussed in the letter).

² Gregory the Great, Homily XXX, in *PL* 76, col.1220.

³ 9 Feb 1170.

⁴ Becket.

⁵ 13 January 1170.

⁶ Psalm 108:3.

⁷ John 13:16.

without warning, irregularly summoned, unheard, undefended and in no way contumacious or stained with an accusation of notorious crime. Thus strive in confidence, best beloved, and by your forceful intervention hold the thing in suspense until such time when, God willing, in my own presence, you prove my innocence in the light of day.

Letter 36

V fo.146r; L 641-2; *MTB*, vi, no.512; *GFL*, no.216

Quod amici mei dominique karissimi nomen supprimo, quod obsequium grate michi salutationis omitto, h(ec) causa est quod apostolica seueritate proiectus foras et extra castra positus¹, ad eos qui intus sunt nec accedere nec communis audeo salutationis verbum vel commissum scedule communicare. Cui tamen salutatio non conceditur, que miseris sola superest, saltem supplicatio non negatur. Descendenti namque de monte Domino leprosus occurrit, qui non salutando sed adorando potius et affectuose supplicando, quod postulabat optinuit². Foris itaque consistens et una cum decem illis ad amicum a longe vocem eleuans³, intima cordis anxietate supplico ut in oborta michi ad presens neccessitate^a manum michi consilii et auxilii porrigatis, ut quem rerum experientia amicum^b nondum agnouistis, amicum de cetero non affectu solum sed et operis efficitia plene possideatis.

Duo quidem sunt que postulo, que modis omnibus optinere desidero. Unum, a sententia que me premit absolui. Alterum, paucis quos adhuc forte^c visurus^d sum annis, a potestate domini Cant(uariensis) que me premit et perimit emancipari. Conferet de his vobiscum mag(ister) Daud, quem deprecor ut instruatis et in his que erga dominum papam vel curiam dicenda fuerint vel agenda dirigatis, et me ut dictum est totum de cetero possideatis.

1. Cf. Numbers 19:8 2. Cf. Matthew 8:1-4 3. Cf. Luke 17:12-16

^a neccessitate L

^b om. L

^c om. L

^d vixurus L, *MTB*

Letter 36

[?Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London to an unnamed cardinal or other ally at the curia]¹
[c.30 November X 29 December 1170]²

That I suppress the name of my friend and best loved lord, and that I omit a greeting and obeisance so pleasant to me, is to be explained by that apostolic severity by which I am cast out of doors, and placed beyond the camp³, not daring to visit, to communicate in writing, or to address a common greeting to those within. To him, however, to whom no greeting is allowed, who remains in misery and alone, at least no pleading can be denied. For when the Lord descended from the mountain, the leper rushed to meet him⁴ and obtained that which he requested, not by greeting but by worship and affectionate supplication. Standing, therefore, outside the gates and as one in ten of those lifting up their voice to a far-off friend⁵, I beseech you with innermost anxiety of heart, that in my present need, you extend to me the hand of counsel and assistance, so that though you may not know me as a friend by things done, you will henceforth possess a friend not only in feeling but the full accomplishment of works.

Indeed, there are two things that I seek and in all ways wish to obtain: one, to be absolved from the sentence that oppresses me, the other, for which I must wait perhaps a few more years, that I be freed from the power of the lord of Canterbury⁶ who presses me and has oppressed me before now. Master David will talk these things through with you, whom I beg you to instruct and direct in such things as have been said as regards the Pope and the curia or any other business, so that, as said above, you may possess me as yours entirely.

¹ The letter is clearly written to a trusted ally at the Curia, but Foliot does not name them due to his excommunication. There are multiple possible candidates here. Anne Duggan's work has shown the cardinals considered to be 'Becket friendly', with 13 remaining cardinals not openly in the Becket camp. However, one of those labelled as 'Becket friendly' could be a possibility here. At one time Foliot wrote to a Cardinal Deacon I. to ask for their assistance for the monks of Saffron Walden. The only I. this could have been was Hyacinth (Iacintus) Bobo, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin. Presuming that this letter was sent to a cardinal he could consider to be friendly, it is possible this letter went to Hyacinth. For Foliot's letter to cardinal I., see *GFL*, no.215, for Hyacinth's career, see *CTB* i, no.16 ft1.

² David carried this to the Curia along with nos.41-43 and a letter from the King to the Pope (*MTB* vii, no.729).

³ Cf. Numbers 12: 14 -15.

⁴ Cf. Matthew 8:1-3.

⁵ Cf. Luke 17:12-13.

⁶ i.e. for London to be exempt from Canterbury as a metropolitan.

Letter 37

V fo.146r-v = L 743; *MTB*, vi, no.478; *CTB*, ii, no.192

Domino et patri Tho(me)^a Dei gratia Cant(uariensi) archiepiscopo Ioc(elinus) eadem gratia Sar(esberiensis) ecclesie minister creditum sibi ministerium prudenter dispensare. Respicientes ad priora opera vestra pater^b, et eorum exempla non immerito formidantes, veritissimi ne immoderata seueritate in personam domini nostri regis Angl(orum)^c aut regnum eius aut in nos Cant(uariensis) ecclesie suffraganeos, siue commissas nobis ecclesias asperum aliquid^d et importabile decerneretis^e, et ommissa citationum solempnitate, defensionis quoque interclusa licentia, nos indefensos iuri tamen semper parere promptissimos, suspensionis seu excommunicationis laqueis adstringeretis^f. Cui morbo congruo, ut credimus, occurrentes remedio, ad apostolicam clementiam circa initium Quadragesime appellauimus, appellationi prosequende diem^g octavam^h Purificationis beate Marie constituentes. Quod vobis presenti pagina significare curauimus ut si quas in nos actiones habetis, in presentia domini pape, iuuante Domino, responsuri iam dicto die appareamus, ipsius iudicio in omnibus et per omnia humiliter et deuotissime parituri. Mitiget Deus erga nos animi vestri motum, ne grauia que intenditis, effectu prosequente compleatis.

^a *om. L*

^b pater V, pariter L, *MTB*, *CTB*

^c Anglie *CTB*

^d aliquod L, *MTB*

^e decernatis L, *MTB*

^f adstringatis L

^g die L

^h octava L

Letter 37¹

Bishop Jocelin of Salisbury to Archbishop Thomas Becket

After 18 March 1169²

To his lord and father Thomas, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, Jocelin, by the same grace minister of the church of Salisbury, worthily discharge the ministry entrusted to him.

Having regard to your previous actions, and equally fearing their example- not without cause- we were afraid that with excessive severity you might impose some hostile or insupportable sentence on the person of our lord the king of England, or on his realm, or against us, the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, or the churches entrusted to us, and, having omitted a solemn citation and barred the right of defence, bind us, undefended, with the bonds of suspension or excommunication- although we are always most ready to obey the law.

Believing that we are applying an appropriate remedy for this sickness, we appealed to the Apostolic See at the beginning of Lent, setting the octave of the Purification of St Mary as the term of our appeal. We have taken the trouble to inform you of this action by the present letter, so that if you have taken any action against us, we will with the Lord's help appear on that day to respond to the Lord Pope's presence, humbly and zealously to accept his judgement in all things and over all things. May God soften the movement of your mind against us, so that you do not carry into effect the oppressions which you intend.

¹ Trans. *CTB*, ii, no.192.

² Duggan believed Foliot likely launched his appeal on this date, see *ibid* fn.1.

Letter 38

V fo.146v = L 643-4, also in B fo.83r-v; C fo.147r-v (pp.281-2) no.292, also at fo.187r-v (pp.361-2) no.385; D fo.83r-v no.47, and numerous other mss., whence Giles, i, 287 no.195; *MTB*, vi, no.474; *GFL*, no.198; *CTB*, ii, no.193

Venerabili patri et domino Tho(me)^a Cant(uariensi) archiepiscopo frater G(ilbertus) London(iensis) ecclesie^b minister, apto^c rationis moderamine sibi credita dispensare. Seueritatem vestram pater^d ex retroactis et agnitis non immerito suspectam habentes, pertinuimus ne in dominum nostrum regem Angl(orum)^e aut^f regnum eius, ne in nos Cant(uariensis) ecclesie suffraganeos episcopos, aut commissas nobis^g ecclesias, maledicti aut interdicti sententiam ferendam esse decerneretis, et nos indefensos, iuri tamen semper stare promptissimos, iamdicte pene nexibus inuolueretis. Quod ne nobis^h omnino foret liberum, ad clementiam domini pape iuxta Quadragesime initium appellauimus, et appellationi diem octab(as) Purific(ationis) beate Marie constituentisⁱ, h(oc) vobis scripto presenti significare curauimus, ut si quid habetis in nos quod iudicio persequi^j libeat, in eius tunc presentia, iuuante Domino, respondeamus, et eius per omnia sententie humiliter et deuotissime pareamus. Auertat iram suam Dominus, ne quod proponitis optato fine concludatis.

^a *om.* L

^b *add.* humilis L

^c *aperito* L

^d *add.* dominus Saresberiensis et ego aliique fratres nostri B, *MTB*, *GFL*, *CTB*

^e Anglie L

^f *add.* in B, *MTB*, *CTB*

^g vobis L

^h vobis B, L, *MTB*, *GFL*, *CTB*

ⁱ constitueueristes V, constituimus L, constituentes *suppl.* from B, C

^j *prosequi* L, *MTB*

Letter 38¹

Bishop Gilbert of London to Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury

c.18 March 1169²

To his respected father and lord Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, brother Gilbert, minister of the church of London, to dispense what has been entrusted to him with the appropriate moderation of reason.³

Mistrusting your severity, father- not without reason, following our knowledge of what you had done before- the lord of Salisbury and I and other brethren feared that you would decide to impose a sentence of excommunication or interdict on our lord the king of England, or on his realm, or on us, the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury, or on the churches in our charge, and envelop us in the bonds of the same penalty, without hearing our defence, and despite our readiness to stand to law. So that you should not be free to do this in any way, we appealed to the Lord Pope's clemency at the beginning of Lent, and set the octave of the Purification of St Mary as the term of our appeal, this we have taken care to notify you by this present letter, so that if you have anything against us which can be pursued in law, we shall then reply with the Lord's help in the Pope's presence, and we shall most humbly and devotedly obey his sentences in all things. May the Lord turn his anger away, so that you do not bring what you propose to its desired end.

¹ Trans. *CTB*, ii, no.193.

² See no.37 fn.2.

³ Mirroring the salutation used in the only surviving letter of routine administration sent by Gilbert to Becket in 1163-4, see *GFL*, no.148 and the salutation in *GFL*, nos.14 and 40.

Letter 39

V fo.146v = L 643; *GFL*, no.203(a). A variant form of this same letter is recorded in B fos.236v-237r; C fo.187v (p.362) no.386; D fos.84v-85r no.54, and other mss., whence Giles, ii, 9-10 no.277; *MTB*, vi, no.504; *GFL*, no.203(b)

Domino suo karissimo illustri Anglorum regi H(enrico) frater Gil(bertus) London(iensis) ecclesie minister salutem et debitum deuote fidelitatis obsequium. ^aMittimus ad vos, domine, familiarem clericum nostrum mag(istrum)^b Hen(ricum)^c utique fidelem vestrum, quanto possumus affectu supplicantes ut ipsum in petitionibus nostris benigne si placet audiatis, et ^dillatam vobis et nobis^e iniuriam reuocantes, ad animum in summa^d nobis^f necessitate^g regia si placet^h clementia subueniatis. Quod quidem beneⁱ facietis, si domino pape pro nobis^j affectuose scripseritis, ut appellationem quam ad ipsum fecimus, ut iuris dictat equitas, admittat, et ^klatam in nos post appellationem^k sententiam ea qua potest et debet equitate suspendat donec causam nostram audiat et cuique digna meritis compensando^l diffiniat^m. Ad cardinales etiamⁿ amicos vestros^o litteras si placet exposcimus, ut ad hoc dominum papam inflectant, et super admittenda appellatione nostra indultum ^poppressis omnibus^p in commune^q beneficium, prece vestra, nobis optineant. Sixtus enim papa sic statuit: ‘Quotiens^r episcopus se a suo metropolitano putauerit^s pregrauari, vel eum suspectum habuerit^t, mox Romanam appellet sedem a qua dum se audiri poposcerit, nullus eum excommunicet, antequam causa summi pontificis ^uauctoritate finiatur^u, quod si aliter presumptum fuerit, nichil erit sed viribus omnino carebit^v’. ^vCumque^w itaque concordet iuri quod petimus, amicis vestris et beneuolis id, domine, non negetis quod a summo pontifice facile, si vestrum in hoc affectum senserit, impetrabit^v. ^xConseruet incolumitatem vestram^y Dominus^z in

^a *Opens here* Henrico regi Anglorum Gill(bertus) Lundon(ensi) episcopus B

^b *om.* B, *GFL(b)*

^c Heny L

^{d-d} *om.* illatam...in summa B, *GFL(b)*

^e nobis et vobis *MTB*

^f *om.* nobis *MTB*, *add.* in B, *GFL(b)*

^g *add.* nostra B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^h *om.* si placet B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

ⁱ bene quidem B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^j *add.* aliquantulum B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^{k-k} post appellationem in nos latam B, *GFL(b)*

^l *add.* cuique B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^m retribuatur B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

ⁿ et L

^o vestros B, ?nostros V

^{p-p} omnibus oppressis *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^q *om.* in commune B, *GFL(b)*

^r quoties L

^s senserit B, *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^t habuit L

^{u-u} finiatur auctoritate B, *GFL(b)*

^{v-v} *om.* Cumque...impetrabit B, *GFL(b)*

^w cum L, *MTB*

^x *add.* De cetero quia crebra allocutione frui vestra summopere nobis necesse est et consilio, excellentie vestre deuotissime supplicamus ut nobis transfretandi licentiam concedatis, et in partibus transmarinis nuntios quos ad dominum papam mittimus, nos expectare permittatis B, *MTB*

^y *add.* in longa tempora omnipotens *MTB*, *GFL(b)*

^z *GFL(b)* ends here

Cristo domine dilectissime. Nuntio vero nostro cetera dicenda committimus. Gregorius magnus²: ‘Priuilegium meretur^{aa} amittere qui concessa sibi abutitur potestate’^{dd}.

¹. Gratian, *Decretum* C.2 6 q. c.16 (ed. Friedberg, col.471) (Pope Felix II, from pseudo-Isidore)

². Gratian, *Decretum* C.11 3 q. c.63 (ed. Friedberg, col.660)

^{aa} metropolitanum L

Letter 39

Bishop Gilbert of London to King Henry II of England¹

[Early June 1169]²

To his most beloved lord Henry, illustrious King of the English, brother Gilbert, minister of the church of London sends greeting and the obedience owed from devoted fidelity. We send you, lord, our familiar clerk Master Henry,³ equally faithful to you, requesting with as much feeling as we can that you kindly listen to the petitions that he brings from us, and, if it please you, recalling the injury done to you and to us, supply mercy in our great need. Which to do well would involve your writing on our behalf in friendly terms to the lord Pope, asking that, as equity dictates, he allow the appeal we have made to him, and in so far as he can and ought by equity to do, that he suspend the sentence passed against us after our appeal, until such time as he can hear our case and judge which party deserves reward. If it please you, we implore you to write also to your friends amongst the cardinals, that they persuade the Pope to such action, and that, at your request, in respect to the admission of our appeal, the obtain a papal indult ‘oppressis omnibus’ for the good of all. For Pope Sixtus has thus ruled: ‘Whenever a bishop wishes to raise complaint against this metropolitan, or holds him in suspicion, he should appeal immediately to the Roman see, in which, whilst his hearing is pending, no-one may excommunicate him before his case has been completed by authority of the high pontiff, and should anyone presume to do differently, it shall be null and voided of all strength’⁴. Therefore since what we see is consonant with law, do not fail, lord to seek from your friends and well-wishers that which you can easily obtain from the Pope should he know your desire. Many the Lord keep you in free from harm, in Christ, most beloved lord. We have entrusted our messenger with others things to be spoken. As Gregory the Great: ‘He who abuses any power granted to him, deserves to lose his privilege’⁵.

¹ There are two versions of this letter, and the version from David’s register was presumably sent to him in 1169. The other is either the version sent to the king or a later revision, see *GFL*, 275. Foliot was excommunicated with 9 others at Clairvaux on 14 April 1169. Although he argued that his prior appeal invalidated the sentence, he observed it in part. He organised a defence, including sending Master Henry of Northampton to Henry II to secure the king’s support and permission to go abroad to await the return of his envoys, *CTB*, ii, no.194 fn.1. This letter then, was likely carried by Master Henry to the King.

² For it was after Foliot’s appeal in March.

³ Henry of Northampton, for whom, see above.

⁴ Actually Pope Felix, from Pseudo-Isidore. The canon is Gratian, *Decretum* C.2, q. 6, c. 16. Gilbert also uses it in *GFL*, no.201 also to Henry II. See *GFL*, 274 fn.3 and Morey and Brooke, *Foliot*, 165 fn.1.

⁵ Gratian *Decretum* C, 11, q.3, c.63, trans. B.C. Brasington, ‘Memory, Anger, Oblivion: Ivo of Chartres and the Presbyter of Orléans’, *Medieval Paradigms: Essays in Honour of Jeremy DuQuesnay Adams*, i, ed. S. Hayes-Healy (New York 2005), 180.

Letter 40

V fo.146v; C fo.187r (p.361) no.384, whence Giles, i, 242-4 no.175; *MTB*, vi, no.475; *GFL*, no.200 (noting further mss. and printings). Not in L

Patri suo et domino summo pontifici Alex(andro) frater Gil(bertus) London(iensis) e(cclesie) m(inister) humilem ad omnem^a quod^b valet mea^c paruitas obedientiam. Seueritatem, domine, patris nostri domini Cant(uariensis) archiepiscopi, ex quibusdam auditis et agnitis recte suspectam habens, ne indebite pene me nexibus artaret et laqueis, ad vestram circa initium Quadragesime appellauit clementiam, et appellationi diem octab(as) Purif(icationis) beate Marie constitui, ut iram qua me iniuste persequitur vestra declinarem protectione, et nexus quibus immeritum parabat inuoluere, usque ad diem cognitioni cause in presentia vestra constitutum, obiectu sacri nominis aliquatenus euitarem.

Unde dilecte michi^d in Domino^e sanctitati vestre pat(ri)^e toto prostratus spiritu supplico ne indultum oppressis omnibus in^f commune remedium michi, si placet, subtrahatis, ne me tanquam reprobum a vestri protectione tutaminis abitiatis, sed facta ad vos appellatione suscepta, si qua postmodum est in me lata sententia, ipsam ut iustum est aut habeatis irritam, aut teneatis suspensam, ut^g die qua iuuante Domino sullimitati vestre^h sum paratus^h assistere, iuxta quod merui statuatis in me, et vel conuictum abitiatis, vel innocentemⁱ si sic visum fuerit absoluatis. Nam culpa mea siqua est h(ec) utique est^j quod mandatorum pondere que utique aut declinare necesse michi fuerat, aut cum defectu et omni miseria suscipere, me grauatum sentiens, ad apostolicam ausus sum audientiam appellare, ut vestro me per omnia^k committerem consilio^k, et consultis vobis aut a regno discederem aut alleuiato mandatorum onere in commissa michi ecclesia residerem. Nam ut breui complectar quod verum est, dum inter dominum regem et dominum Cant(uariensem) res in hunc modum vertitur, impossibile est me aut alium^l ipsius regni^l episcopum unius mandata suscipere et alterius iram importabilem declinare. Agat itaque, si placet, paterna pietas ut si in me nec^m confessum necⁿ conuictum nec citatum nec^o ullo modo conuentum, post appellationem etiam ad sullimitatem vestram interpositam, ulla est in me^p prepropere vel prepostere lata sententia, hanc viribus ut iustum est euacuetis, et si vestram ex sanctitate remittitis^q iniuriam, saltem beati Petri et sancte sedis eius ad animum reuocetis, et me ad omne quod iusseritis^r

^a omne V, L, omnem *suppl. from C, MTB*

^b quod L, *GFL*, quo C, *MTB*

^c mea valet C

^d mi *MTB, GFL*

^e pater sanctitati vestrae C, *MTB*

^f *om. MTB, GFL*

^g *add. in, MTB, GFL*

^h paratus sum *MTB, GFL*

ⁱ innocentem L

^j *om. GFL*

^k consilio committerem C, *MTB, GFL*

^l regni ipsius C, *MTB, GFL*

^m non *MTB*

ⁿ non *MTB*

^o non C

^p *om. in me C, MTB, GFL*

^q remittatis L

^r iusseretis *MTB*

obsequium utique promptissimum^s inuenietis. Conseruet vos incolumem in lon(ga) te(mpore)
Dominus in Cristo dilecte^t pater.

^s promptissimum L
^t dilectissime L

Letter 40

Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London to Pope Alexander III

[April 1169]¹

To his father and lord, the high pontiff Alexander, brother Gilbert, minister of the church of London, offers humble obedience in all that my littleness can address. Rightly holding the lord archbishop of Canterbury in suspicion, lord, for his severity, heard and understood from others, and lest he might unjustly catch me in his nets and snares, I appealed to your mercy around the beginning of Lent, setting the octave of the Purification as the term for my appeal, so that I might sink into your protection to escape the anger with which I was unjustly persecuted and citing your holy name avoid the nets that he undeservedly prepared to snare me, until such time as the cause might be heard in your presence.

Whence, entirely prostrate in spirit, I beseech you, my beloved in the Lord, holy father, lest you see fit to withdraw that indult 'oppressis omnibus' granted in common to my aid, or cast me out as a reprobate from the shelter of your protection, but instead, receiving the appeal I made to you, ensure that any sentence subsequently passed against me is either, as is right, considered void, or that you hold it in suspense, so that on that day when, with God's help, I am ready to assist your holiness, you pronounce whatever sentence I deserve and either cast me out as convicted, or absolve me as innocent, should this be apparent. For my guilt, if guilt there be, was surely this, that I was obliged, having considered the commands put to me, either to refuse them or to accept them albeit faulty and inadequate, so that considering myself beset with difficulties, I dared appeal to the apostolic hearing, that I might in all things defer to your counsel and, having consulted you, either flee the realm or, having reduced the severity of the commands, remain in the church committed to me. And so that I may briefly set out the truth, whilst things between the lord King and the lord of Canterbury were thus situated, it was impossible for me or for any other bishop of the King's realm to accept the command of either party without incurring the insupportable anger of the other. Act then, if it please you, pious father, that should I, not confessing, not convicted, uncited nor in any way summoned, after the appeal made to your holiness, have in any way over-anticipated or misordered the sentences duly passed, that you declare such actions void, as is just², and should you thus remit the injury done to you, at least recall to mind St Peter and his holy see, and you will find me most prompt to show to both of them whatever obedience you may judge me to owe. May the Lord keep you safe for long to come, beloved father in Christ.

¹ Written to the Pope in April 1169, after Foliot's first excommunication by Becket.

² Cf. Decretum, C. 24, q. 3, c. 6.

Letter 41

V fo.146v = L 759; *MTB*, vii, no.732

Rothomagensis domino pape. Nouerit serenitas vestra quod in reformatione pacis inter dominum regem Angl(orum) et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Cant(uariensem) archiepiscopum iuxta mandatum vestrum diligentem adhibuimus sollicitudinem, et in ea perquirenda frequentem sustinuimus mentis angustiam, et non modicum corporis laborem, et plurimas expensas. Ipse vero pace reformata cum gratia regis in Angliam rediens, durum et triste dedit sui aduentus principium. Nam statim in suo ingressu, omnes episcopos Anglie suspendit, et quosdam excommunicauit auctoritate litterarum uestrarum. Et quas^a a sanctitate uestra ad pacis reformationem si nondum facta esset receperat, eis usus est in gladium ultionis. Unde dominus rex non modicum turbatus et iratus est, videns agi contra coronam filii sui, et ab ipso cui pacem concesserat, et a quo pacem exspectabat^b omnia turbari. Porro pro certo teneatis quod rex iunior in coronatione sua manifeste iurauit se obseruaturum omnia ecclesie iura sicut in antiquo et communi consecrationis canone continetur, neque de nouis consuetudinibus mutatio^c aliqua facta est. Supplicamus itaque paternitati uestre qua^d precum instantia quatenus mala ista efficaciter auertatis, ipsum auctoritate uestra ab huiusmodi calumpniis reprimendo, ne unius audacia in pernitiem totius regni conuertatur, et fiat nouissimus error peior priore¹.

¹ Cf. Matthew 12:45

^a quos *L*

^b expectabat *L*

^c mentio *MTB*

^d graui *L*

Letter 41

[Archbishop Rotrou] of Rouen to Pope [Alexander]

[c.30 November X 29 December 1170]¹

[Archbishop Rotrou of] Rouen² to the lord Pope. Your serenity should know that, in accordance with your mandate, we applied careful reflection to the restoration of peace between the lord King of the English and our venerable brother the archbishop of Canterbury, in pursuit of which we endured frequent disturbance of mind, not a little bodily effort, and much expense. With the peace thus remade, and the archbishop, with the King's favour, returning to England, his return from the start proved difficult and unhappy. For immediately on his entry into the kingdom, he suspended all the English bishops, excommunicating various of them by authority of your letters. And those commands that he had received from your holiness, intended to remake peace should peace not have been achieved, he now used as a sword of vengeance. As a result, the King was not a little disturbed and angered, regarding this as done against the crown of his son, by one to whom he had granted his peace, so that he from whom the King had expected peace, instead now stirred up everything. Hereafter, know for sure that the Young King openly swore at his coronation to observe all the rights of the church as set out in the ancient and common form of consecration, not is any change made to the new constitutions. We therefore beseech your paternity with the insistence of whatever prayers we can, that you act to prevent this evil, reprimanding him by your authority to desist from such attacks, lest the audacity of one man redound to the ruin of the entire realm, and the latest errors prove worse than those before³.

¹ This, along with nos.42-3 are part of a dossier carried by David to the Curia in the last month of Becket's life, after his return to England. For further detail, see Duggan, *Becket*, 171.

² For Rotrou, see no.33.

³ Cf. Matthew 12:45.

Letter 42

V fos.146v-147r; V(a), 67v-68r = Lupus 854-5 no.77; Giles, ii, 213-15 no.448 (from Lupus and Bodley 937); L 589-90; *MTB*, vii, 420-2 no.730 (also citing copies in B fo.340r-v, and in Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 509); (from V(a), attributing this to Arnulf of Lisieux) Poupardin, 366-7 no.11

Domino karissimo et patri^a reuerentissimo^b Alex(andro) Dei gratia summo pontifici Egid(ius) Ebroic(ensis) ecclesie humilis minister sue serenitatis seruus^c debitam et deuotam obedientiam. ^dCirca mee vocationis initia vestre debueram pedibus maiestatis aduolui, et ibi infirmitatis mee remedium^e querere, ubi summi consilii angelus salutaris consilii posuit firmamentum. Verum ad hec et alia debiti nostri officia exequenda^f peccatis exigentibus impedimur, maxime cum citra spem omnium grauiora solito aput nos et circa nos scandala oriantur. Cum enim post multos labores et totius fere ecclesie graues molestias, et illam sollicitudinem quam in sacrario pectoris^g quasi crucem assiduum portabatis, ad pacem Cant(uariensis) archiepiscopi animum gloriosi regis Anglorum ad preces vestras et iuxta vestri formam mandati diuina clementia inclinasset, et audita pace omnium bonorum voces exultarent^h et corda, et ipse Cant(uariensis)ⁱ, saluo, sano honestoque comiteu transisset in Angliam, et omnes in aduentu suo vocem iocunditatis et canticum prestolarentur letitie, versa est in luctum cithara eorum^l, et tantam regie serenitatis perturbationem afflictionemque ecclesiarum, totiusque populi fere desperationem accepimus ut non possimus grauiter non dolere. Quia domini regis offensa omnes qui sub ditione eius Domino famulantur grauatur pariter et offendit, et ipso laborante, quiescere nec volumus nec debemus.

Quia ergo semel cepi, loquar ad dominum meum cum sim puluis et cinis². Meminerit queso^j, pater sanctissime, prudentia tua^k quod sancta animalia oculos ante et retro habentia describuntur³, et ad designandam munditiam animalium, ungule fissuram^l legislator non tacuit⁴, et^m utⁿ lumine multiplici ardue discretionis subtilitas, et in fissura ungule credite nobis dispensationis moderamen suauissimum designetur. Ad h(ec)^o a mente vestra non excidit quod ubi tantorum^p strages apparet, detrahendum^q est^r seueritati^s in pluribus, et occasione unius persone non oportet totam domum Domini concuti tam grauiter et turbari^t, presertim

^a pater *MTB*

^b reuerentissima *MTB*

^c seruus *MTB*

^d L, V(a), *MTB* start here

^e remedia *MTB*

^f exsequendo V(a)

^g add. vestri V(a), *MTB*

^h axultarent L

ⁱ add. archiepiscopus *MTB*

^j ergo L

^k vestra *MTB*

^l fissura L

^m om. Et V(a), L, *MTB*

ⁿ add. in *MTB*; add. et. V(a)

^o hoc L

^p multorum V(a), L, *MTB*

^q detrahentium V(a)

^r esset V(a), L

^s veritati V(a), L

^t conturbari L

cum^u rege pacato^v, si viam pacis Cant(uariensis) agnosceret^w et diligeret agnitam, plus^x uniuersali^y paci ecclesie, plus proprie per mansuetudinem discretam consuleret^z, quam comminationibus choruscando, et omnem potestatis sue rigorem^{aa} exerendo proficiat. De cetero, pater sancte^{bb}, nec nouum nec mirum est humanum animum posse^{cc} falli vel fallere. Ad utrumque posuit nobis cautelam magni consilii angelus, dicens : ‘Estote prudentes sicut serp(entes), et sim(plices) s(icut) c(olumbe)’⁵.

Miror qua^{dd} impudentia^{ee} vestre sit^{ff} sanctitati suggestum^{gg} regem^{hh} nostrum filium regisⁱⁱ nostri^{hh} professionem debitam^{jj} consecrationis sue tempore^{kk} non fecisse, et iuramentum de^{ll} conseruandis quibusdam consuetudinibus^{ll} prestitisse. In unius negatione et affirmatione alterius^{mmm} pari malignitate grassatum est. Dico enim vobis coram Deo et testor in animam meam, quod professionem aⁿⁿ domino rege factam audiui in publico. De iuramento autem nec ante consecrationem^{oo} nec^{pp} tempore consecrationis cui assidue presens interfui^{oo}, nec post consecrationem usque in hanc horam auribus meis vel modicum verbum insonuit. In his^{qq} omnibus, pater sancte, vigilet et prouideat sancta discretio vestra, ut queratis^{rr} et rogetis que ad pacem sunt peregrinantis Ierusalem, ne maior in ecclesia Dei scissura fiat et grauior. Tempus est, reuerentissime pater, ostendendi et extendendi^{ss} circa karissimum filium tuum illustrem regem Anglorum apostolice viscera^{tt} caritatis, ut ei respondeat mane iustitia sua, humilisque et prompta deuotio quam vobis et ecclesie Romane tempore opportuno exhibuit^{uu} in sinum suum apostolico moderamine conuertatur^{vv}. Conseruet vos Deus ecclesie sue per tempora longiora.

1. Cf. Job 30:31 2. Genesis 18:27 3. Cf. Revelations 4:6 4. Cf. Leviticus 11:1-47 5. Matthew 10:16.

^u autem L

^v peccante *MTB*

^w cognosceret L

^x *om.* V(a), vellet L

^y *om.* L

^z consulere L

^{aa} vigorem L

^{bb} *om.* pater sancte V(a), L, *MTB*

^{cc} *om.* *MTB*

^{dd} quod L

^{ee} imprudentia L

^{ff} *om.* L

^{gg} sanctitati suggestum V, serenitati suggestit L

^{hh} Anglorum et domini regis Anglorum et principis nostri filium V(a), *MTB*

ⁱⁱ regem L

^{jj} *om.* V(a), L, *MTB*

^{kk} *add.* debitam V(a), *MTB*; *add.* debito L

^{ll} qconseruandis quibusdam consuetudinibus *underdotted for correction* V, quibusdam consuetudinibus conseruandis *MTB*

^{mmm} alterius affirmatione L

ⁿⁿ *add.* predicto *MTB*

^{oo-oo} *om.* nec...interfui L

^{pp} ne *MTB*

^{qq} hiis V(a)

^{rr} geratis L

^{ss} exercendi *MTB*

^{tt} vincula L

^{uu} *add.* ut L

^{vv} V(a), L, *MTB end here*

Letter 42

Giles Bishop of Evreux¹ to Pope Alexander III

[c.30 November X 29 December 1170]

To his most beloved lord and most reverend father Alexander by God's grace high pontiff, Giles humble minister of the church of Évreux, the servant of his serenity, offers due and devoted obedience. Having recently been called to office, I should fly to the feet of your majesty, there to seek remedy for my infirmity where the angel of sound counsel has placed the seat of best advice. Truly, in exercising these and the other offices incumbent upon us, we are set about with pressing sins, especially since beyond any expectation and more gravely than is customary, scandals have arisen concerning us and our affairs. After the many efforts and grave troubles of almost the whole church, and that anxiety which you had borne in the sanctuary of your breast like a constant cross, divine mercy inclined the spirit of the King of the English towards peace with the archbishop of Canterbury, following your prayers and in accordance with your command, so that at the sound of peace the hearts and voices of all good men were raised in exultation. Although the archbishop of Canterbury crossed safely into England, with a good and appropriate following, and at his coming all raised their voice in joy and in songs of gladness, now is their harp retuned to mourning², and we find such disturbance of the King's highness, such affliction of churches, and such despair amongst virtually all the people, that we must gravely suffer, because the offense to the King both wounds and offends all those known to the Lord living under his rule, and amidst his striving, we neither wish nor are obliged to remain silent.

Since I have once begun, I speak to my lord as if I were dust and ashes³. I ask, your holiness, that your prudence remember those sacred beasts described as having eyes both before and behind them⁴, and that in establishing the cleanliness of beasts, the legislator did not keep silent over the cleaving of the hoof⁵, as with the subtle discretion with which a light has many rays, so in the cloven hoof you may find a path to discretion elegantly revealed to us. In this respect, it will not have escaped your notice that wherever the overthrow of such persons occurs, the sufferings of the many are lessened, since the fate of one individual should not be allowed so gravely to shake and disturb the Lord's whole house, especially as, with the King now satisfied, had Canterbury acknowledged the path to peace, and knowing it pursued it, it would have for the greater benefit to the peace of the whole church, and more seemly, had he sought to counsel by discreet mercy rather than to profit by thundering curses and exercising the full rigour of his power. For the rest, holy father, it is neither new nor remarkable to discover that the human soul can both deceive and be deceived. At all points, the counsel of the angel cautions us, saying 'Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves'⁶.

I marvel at the impudence of the suggestion made to your holiness, that our king, the King's son, failed to make due profession at the time of his consecration, swearing an oath to maintain certain customs.⁷ Such slander is advanced with equal malice both in its opening denial and its following affirmation. I say to you before God and testify on my soul that I

¹ Bishop of Évreux 1170-9.

² Cf. Job 30:31

³ Genesis 18:27.

⁴ Cf. Revelations 4:6.

⁵ Cf. Leviticus 11:1-47

⁶ Matthew 10:16.

⁷ i.e. the Constitutions of Clarendon.

heard the profession made in public by the lord king. Of the oath, by contrast, neither after consecration, nor during consecration at which I was dutifully present, nor after consecration, through to this present hour, has the least word reached my ears. In all this, holy father, your holy discretion should watch and guard, that you seek and inquire from those journeying to Jerusalem in search of peace, lest there be greater schism in the church, and worse. The time has come, most reverent father, to reveal and extend the bowels of apostolic charity in respect to your most beloved son, the illustrious king of the English, so that in the morning he may be repaid his justice, and through apostolic moderation be reconciled in his breast to that humble and prompt devotion that he displayed to you and the church of Rome in time of need. May God keep you for his church's sake for long to come.

V fo.147r; V(a) fo.67r-v = L 583; *MTB*, vii, no.731; A no.59

Reuerentissimo domino^a et patri Alex(andro) Dei gratia catholice ecclesie summo pontifici Arn(ulfus) Lex(ouiensis) ecclesie humilis minister salutem et debitam cum omni deuotione obedientiam. Quanta sollicitudine et diligentia, quibus modis et artibus ad pacem domini Cant(uariensis) post egressum eius laborauerim, manifestis rerum liquet inditiis, adeo ut id nec imperitia debeat ignorare nec ingratitude valeat diffiteri. Licet enim aput^b principum celsitudinem periculosa sit libertas consilii, presertim cum crebris exacerbationibus in perpetuas inimicitias odia conualescunt, accessi tamen frequens et sedulus intercessor, simulando plerumque dissimulando sepius, sicut humana mos est ingenia variare, ubi discretis^c rationibus suisque modis infructuose veritas expeditur. Tanta quippe nominis illius apud regis domesticos inuidia percrebuerat, ut regi simul^d et regno putaretur infestus quem vel zelus ecclesiastice pacis vel preceptionis vestre necessitas de eo mentionem facere compellebat. Vicit tamen regem inuictissimum vestre reuerentia maiestatis, et contra spem multorum, contra opinionem uniuersorum ex quo Dominus imperauit ventis et mari, uniuersa procellarum perturbatio conquieuit. Vicit enim iram, vicit odium, vicit denique seipsum ad preces vestras rex potentissimus, et precedentes acerbitates ob deuotionem vestre paternitatis clementia commutauit, adeo ut miraretur, ipse quod id sibi potuerit imperare, vel^e cuiusquam^f impendere caritati. Inde erat quod personam vestram omni^g sibi tempore^h feruentissima caritate credebat fore deuinctam, quia soli vobis remisit quod erat humano generi si peteret negaturusⁱ.

Reddita est itaque, me presente, archiepiscopo pax et gratia, et ad eius voluntatem per nuntios simul^j et litteras ad uniuersa que possederat restitutus, in Angliam a domesticis regis deductus, ibique ex utriusque regis mandato^k cum honore summaque gratulatione receptus est. Facta esse videbatur tranquillitas magna, et in deuotionem vestram omnia deducta^l erant, et ambo reges ad obedientiam vestram pariter et humiliter inclinati. Ipse vero, quod sine dolore simul^m et rubore dicere non possumus, portauit in manibus ignem et gladium, et qui venisse sperabatur in benedictionibus, tranquille pacis initia visus est maledictionibus infecisse, vestre ut aiunt indulgentie beneficiis abusus, qui rescriptum quod ut pax fieret datum credimus, ad pacis lesionem non distulit retorquere. Ecce enim in pace amaritudo amarissima¹, et ob noui regis consecrationem postquamⁿ inter regem et archiepiscopum compositum est quam^o ex conscientia vestra et mandato nouimus processisse, quidam episcoporum ab episcopali dignitate suspensi sunt, quidam anathematis vinculo grauius^p

^a *add.* suo L

^b apud L

^c directis V(a), L, *MTB*, A

^d *om.* V(a), *MTB*, L, A

^e vel V, et L

^f cuiusquam V, utcumque L

^g omni V, Dei L

^h ipse V(a), L

ⁱ regaturus *MTB*

^j simul V, fuit L

^k *add.* summo V(a), *MTB*, L, A

^l reducta L

^m similiter L

ⁿ postquam V, pro qua L

^o quem L, *add.* etiam V(a), *MTB*, L, A

^p graviter L

innodati, quasi in^q ipsa consecratione aliquid ecclesiastice deperierit dignitati^r. Loquar^s ergo licet id presens non viderim, quod per religiosas venerandasque personas omnique^t maiores exceptione michi fideliter innotuit.

Nichil umquam in consecrationibus regum exigi solet aut requiri quod a consecrando non fuerit diligentius requisitum et exuberantius adimpletum. Iuravit enim filius patre id affectuosius mandante et districtius imperante, utraque manu super sanctum altare coram positis euuangeliiis^u et sanctorum reliquiis, quicquid ecclesiastice libertatis vel dignitatis in canone continetur, quia quem^v ritu Cristiano consecrari postulabat, Cristianis profecto legibus voluit subiacere. Nichil ibi omnino de quarumlibet^w consuetudinum^x sonuit diuersitate, super qua^y beatitudinem vestram sicut ex tenore rescripti vestri^z datur intelligi, fraudulenter nouimus circumuentam. Nichilominus tamen episcopi non conuenti^{aa}, non citati, inauditi, subito sagittati sunt et humiliati pedes eorum in compedibus qui mandatis apostolicis obsequium fideliter prestiterunt, et uterque regum graui merore confectus, qui in ignominiam suam quod actum est estimant^{bb} plenius redundare. Facta sunt ergo nouissima peiora prioribus², quoniam una prius ecclesia laborante, multis modo pernities imminet et lamentum, cum in hoc facto contra^{cc} personas ecclesiasticas ambo reges ad graues inimicitias prouocentur. Supplicamus ergo dilectissime nobis paternitati vestre, cui omnium ecclesiarum et personarum curam^{dd} a Deo^{ee} commissam esse cognouimus, quatinus^{ff} auctoritas vestra que regis celsitudinem ad misericordiam potuit inclinare, sacerdotis animositatem temperet et refrenet, ne subita pacis insperate leticia quam de vestra benignitate percep(imus)^{gg}, in eam crescat insolentiam ut confidentia gratie vestre bella regibus inducat et regnis, quia noster et multorum metus est ne scintilla^{hh} h(ec) ad incendium coalescatⁱⁱ, nisi discreta seueritas celerius^{jj} ^{kk}hominis illius feruorem^{kk} temperet et compescat audaciam.^{ll}

1. Isaiah 38:17 2. Cf. Matthew 12:24-5.

^q om. L

^r dignitatis L

^s Loquor *MTB*, A

^t omniumque A

^u euuangeliiis L

^v quoniam L

^w quantarumlibet L

^x consuetudineum *underdotted for correction* V

^y quo L

^z om. L, *MTB*

^{aa} conuincti L

^{bb} existimant L

^{cc} circa *MTB*

^{dd} causam V(a), L

^{ee} Domino L, *MTB*

^{ff} quatenus L, *MTB*

^{gg} susceper(imus) *corrected to percep(imus)* V

^{hh} scintillula V(a), L, *MTB*, A

ⁱⁱ conualescat L

^{jj} celeriter L

^{kk} fervorem hominis illius L

^{ll} *add.* omnipotens Dominus personam vestram ecclesie sue per multa tempora conseruet incolumen V(a), L, *MTB*, A

Letter 43¹

Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux to Pope Alexander III

[c.30 November X 29 December 1170]²

To his most reverend lord and father Alexander by God's grace high pontiff of the Catholic Church, Arnulf humble minister of the church of Lisieux sends greeting and due obedience with all devotion. The evidence will show with what solicitude and diligence, with what methods and skills, I have laboured for the peace of the lord of Canterbury after his departure. So much so that ignorance should not ignore it nor ingratitude deny it. We know that freedom of counsel is dangerous before our high prince, especially since hatred blazes up with repeated provocations into perpetual enmities. Yet I, a frequent and sedulous mediator, have approached, pretending often, concealing much, for human nature is born to waver when truth is discovered unproductively by straightforward reasons and its own methods. Thus such great hatred of his [Becket's] name has become prevalent among the King's household, that one who is forced to make mention of him, by either zeal for ecclesiastical peace or the necessity of your command, is thought hostile both to the king and the kingdom. Still, reverence of your majesty conquered the most unconquerable king, and despite the hope of many, against the opinion of the world, the worldwide disturbance of storms ceased, since the Lord rules the sea and the winds. For that most powerful king conquered anger, he conquered hatred, he conquered even himself at your request, and with clemency mitigated the preceding bitterness, so as to be wondered at that he could so rein himself in or do such things for love of another. Thus it was that he believed your person to be bound to him for all time with the most fervent love, because to you alone he remitted what would have been denied to the whole human race, had it been asked.

Thus in my presence³, peace and favour were restored to the archbishop, and at his own wish, through both messengers and letters, restored to everything that he had possessed, He was conducted into England by the servants of the king. There, by order of both kings⁴, he was received with the highest honour and rejoicing. Great tranquillity seemed to have been established, and all had been returned to your devotion, so that both kings equally and humbly bent to your obedience. The archbishop, however, about whom we cannot speak without sadness and shame, carried fire and sword in his hands, and he who it was hoped had come with blessings was seen to have undone with his curses the tranquil beginnings of peace. Abusing, as they say, the favours of your indulgence, he did not refrain, we believe, from twisting your letter demanding that peace be made back upon itself, to the breaking of the peace. 'Behold, in peace is my bitterness most bitter'⁵, and because of the consecration of the new king, to which king and archbishop had been reconciled and that we knew to have proceeded with your knowledge and at your command, certain of the bishops were suspended from episcopal office, and certain others were bound more heavily by the chain of anathema, as if in that consecration the dignity of the church had somehow perished. Therefore I speak, even though I did not see this in person, what has been made known to me faithfully by religious and venerable persons, except by the highest-ranking one of all.

¹Adapted below from the translation in *LCA*, no.3.20, albeit with significant changes.

² See no.41 fn.1.

³ At Fréteval 22 July 1170.

⁴ Henry II and the Young King.

⁵ Isaiah 38:17.

Nothing that is accustomed to being performed or required in the consecrations of kings failed to be asked or most enthusiastically accomplished. For the son swore his oath, having been affectionately charged and strictly ordered by his father, with both hands placed on the holy altar, in the presence of the gospels and relics of the saints, undertaking to uphold whatever ecclesiastical freedom and dignity the Church canon law sets out, because he who was seeking to be consecrated by Christian rite wished to subject himself to Christian laws. Nothing there in any way spoke of any divergence in customs, in which respect we know, from the terms of your rescript, that your blessedness has been fraudulently misled. Nonetheless, the bishops who have faithfully showed their obedience to apostolic orders, were of a sudden hunted out and humiliated, their feet in shackles, despite the failure to convene them, to cite them, or to hear them, and both kings, who think that what was done rebounds more to the disgrace of the doer, are consumed by a weighty sadness. Therefore, new injuries have been inflicted worse than the old⁶, so that from the suffering of one church, disaster and lamentation loom for many, since by this act both kings will be provoked to serious enmities against men of the church. We therefore beseech your fatherhood, most dear to us, to whom we know that the care of all churches and persons has been entrusted by God, that your authority, that has been able to bend to mercy the highness of the king, may temper and restrain the animosity of this priest, lest the happiness of an unhoped-for peace, which we have received from your kindness, encourages his insolence, so that confidence in your favour may lead him to war with kings and kingdoms, since it is our fear, and the fear of many, that this little spark may grow into a blaze, unless prudent sternness rapidly tempers the passion of this man and curbs his audacity.

⁶ Cf. Matthew 12:45.

Letter 44

V fo.147r-v; V(c) fos.102v-103r = *MTB*, vii, no.550; *CTB*, ii, no.211. Not in L

<Venerabili viro et tum prouectione etatis et morum sanctitate tum consecrationis munere karissimo patri Henrico Dei gratia Wintoniensi episcopo Thomas eiusdem miseratione Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et sedis apostolice legatus salutem et beati certaminis cursum feliciter consummare>^a salutem et perseuerantem^b in iusticia et in matris ecclesie defensione constantiam. ^cAd sanctorum gloriam et reproborum dampnationem necesse est scandala prouenire¹. In^d tribulationibus probantur^e electi, qui probati per patientiam, coronas^f adquirunt sibi¹ et aliis proficiunt per exemplum. Sed ve illi per quem scandalum venit². Quia ergo London(iensis) episcopus non parcit a scandalis, et inter cetera patentis malitie opera postquam Sathane traditus est³, etiam contra matrem suam et vestram sanctam Cant(uariensem) ecclesiam tam impudenti audacia^g et parricidali impietate calcaneum erexit⁴, ut dicere ausus sit se ei ex quo translatus est, nullam debere subiectionem aut obedientiam exhibere, et ad cumulum dampnationis sue adiecit, quod cathedram archiepiscopalem ad ecclesiam^h London(iensem) transferri faciet, fraternitatem igiturⁱ vestram de qua plene confidimus, quanta possumus affectione rogamus quatenus^j pro matre vestra defensionis clipeum opponatis filio Belial⁵, qui pre ceteris allophilis tanquam alter Goliath^k de Geth⁶ solus auctore Domino de castris incircumcisorum progredi non erubuit, nec timuit uniuersitatem filiorum Cant(uariensis) ecclesie prouocare ad certamen, dum matris eorum sanguinem sitit et catholice pacis deserit unitatem. Scripserat domino pape pro fratre nostro Ebor(acensi) archiepiscopo, sollicitans eum etiam attestatione mendaci et mendosa ut eum pateretur crucem deferre per prouintiam nostram nescio quid emolumenti sibi suspicans euenturum, si odio persone nostre ecclesiam cui ex professione fidem et obedientiam debet, quocumque lesisset modo. Sed Cristus qui Cantuariensem a prima fundatione inter turbines varios et magnas multas, quia^l procellas rexit et fouit ecclesiam, misericorditer operatus est ut in pleno consistorio per testes omni exceptione maiores reuelaretur falsitas et iniquitas eius. Deo autem in primis gratias agimus, deinde vobis et ceteris fratribus nostris qui vos ut oportuit ex quo eum constitit anathemate condempnatum, ab illius participatione suspendistis, et tam illum quam ceteros excommunicatos nostros per episcopatum vestrum edicto publico iussistis euitari. Claruit hic fides vestra constantia virtutis effulsit, que publice potestatis et officialium minas eque ut blanditias mandatis Dei censuit postponendas. Liberastis conscientias vestras, famam seruastis^m, dum tam verbo veritatis quam fortitudinis exemplo docuistis quod Deo potius oportet quam hominibus obedire⁷. Certum itaque habeatⁿ sinceritas vestra quando quidem tanta caritas Dei per Spiritum Sanctum diffusa in cordibus

^a *suppl. CTB, V begins salutem*

^b *perseuerante MTB*

^c *V(c) begins here*

^d *ut V(c), MTB, CTB*

^e *probentur V(c), MTB, CTB*

^f *coronam glorie V(c), MTB, CTB*

^g *audaia V, suppl. audatia*

^h *om. ad ecclesiam V(c), MTB, CTB*

ⁱ *om. V(c), MTB, CTB*

^j *quatinus V(c), CTB*

^k *Goliad V(c), MTB, CTB*

^l *que V(c), MTB, CTB*

^m *purgastis V(c), MTB, CTB*

ⁿ *om. V(c)*

vestris^{o8} et de certamine prouentum educet gloriosum. Et quidem tanto citius et gloriosius quanto feruentius et constantius in incepta perseuerabitis veritate. Unde vos oramus et obsecramus in caritate Dei et obtestamur per fidem, per obedientiam, per sinceritatis affectionem quam matri vestre Cant(uariensi) ecclesie debetis quatenus ad tuendam dignitatem et iura Cant(uariensis) ecclesie cui professionem exhibuistis, contra prefatum episcopum exurgatis in auxilium nobis, et domino pape scribatis et curie testimonium veritatis, quale filios pro matris iustitia reddere decet. Nam qui illud subtraheret in articulo tante^p presumptionis^q, proculdubio infidelis habendus esset et infideli deterior, in quem ius exigeret usque ad internitionem^r omnes fideles irruere. Nec tamen res ista quicquam habere potest^s periculi, cum veritas perspicua sit, et ut dici solet ‘lippis et tonsoribus’⁹ patens. Sed quia maledictus est qui gladium reuocat a cruore¹⁰ et pestilens flagellandus est¹¹ ut erudiat sapiens ad salutem, se ipsum legis subicit maledicto quicumque parricide cum lapide non occurrit et gladio. Vid(etu)r namque prestare consensum, qui cum possit non arguit aut impedit talia committentem¹². Et ne a nobis districtius exigatur si eorum qui ecclesiam persecuntur^t et quos ut penitentiam agerent in multa patientia iam fere toto quinquennio supportauimus, magnas et manifestas ulterius dissimulauerimus culpas, fraternitati vestre denuntiamus nos publice excommunicasse Galfr(idum) Cant(uariensem) archd(iaconum) et Rob(ertum) vicarium eius, R(icardum) de Iuilcestr’, Will(elmu)m Giffard’, com(item) Hug(onem)^u, Ric(ardum) de Luc(i), Adam de Cheringes, et^v item eos qui officia vel beneficia ecclesiastica contra sacrorum canonum^w institutionem de manu laica acceperunt, vel ea usurpauerunt propria temeritate. Similiter et illos qui domini pape nuntios^x et^y nostros ne ecclesie necessitates prosequantur impediunt. Vobis ergo^z auctoritate domini pape et nostra mandamus quatinus eos tales habeatis^{aa} quales haberi decet^{bb} sollempniter excommunicatos, sacrorum canonum disciplina prescribit^{cc13}. Valeat semper vestra fraternitas et nos et causam Dei que in manibus vestris est sacrorum orationibus commendare meminit.

- 1 Peter 5:4. 2. Cf. Matthew 18:7. 3. 1 Corinthians 5:5. 4. Cf. John 13:18. 5. 1 Kings (1 Sam.) 17:4. 6. Cf. 1 Kings (1 Sam.) 17:4. 7. Acts 5:29. 8. Cf. Romans 5:5. 9. Horace, *Satires* I.VII, (*Florilegium Gallicum*, fo.92rb) : ‘Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.’ 10. Cf. Jeremiah 48:10. 11. Cf. Proverbs 19:25. 12. Gratian, *Decretum* D.86 c.3 (ed. Friedberg, cols. 297-8) and D.83 c.3 (ed. Friedberg, cols. 293-4). 13. Gratian, *Decretum* c.11 qu.3 c.20 (ed. Friedberg, cols. 631-2).

^o *add.* testimonio clari operis processit in publicum seruili timore depulso et excluso, quod Deus cito Sathanam conteret sub pedibus vestris V(c), MTB, CTB

^p tanti V(c), MTB, CTB

^q discriminis V(c), MTB, CTB

^r interneccionem MTB, CTB

^s potest habere MTB, CTB

^t persecuntur MTB

^u *om.* com(item) Hug(onem) V(c), MTB, CTB

^v *om.* et V(c)

^w canonum *repeated* V

^x *om.* V(c)

^y aut V(c), MTB, CTB

^z autem MTB

^{aa} *add.* et in episcoptu vestro haberi faciatis V(c), MTB, CTB

^{bb} debere V(c), MTB, CTB

^{cc} MTB ends here Valet, V(c), CTB end here

Letter 44¹

[(?)Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury to (?)Bishop Henry of Winchester²]

[June 1169]

A greeting, and perseverance in justice and constancy in the defence of the mother church. To glorify the saints and damn the wicked, it is necessary for scandals to occur, so that the elect, tested by afflictions and proven by suffering, may win a crown for themselves³ and profit others by their example: but woe to those through whom the scandal comes.⁴ Therefore, since the bishop of London does not refrain from scandals and, among the other actions of his manifest malice, after he was handed over to Satan⁵ he has even raised his heel against his mother and yours, the holy church of Canterbury, with the shameless presumption and impiety of one who would kill his parent,⁶ and dared to say that he owed neither subordination nor obedience to her since his translation, and to crown his guilt he added that he would have the seat of the archbishopric moved to the church of London,⁷ therefore we pray to you with the utmost affection, brother, in whom we have great trust, in defence of your mother to set your shield before the son of the Devil,⁸ who, in advance of the other foreigners, did not blush to go forth alone from the encampments of the uncircumcised like another Goliath from Geth,⁹ by the Lord's will, or fear to provoke the whole multitude of Canterbury's sons to battle, while he thirsts for their mother's blood and abandons the unity of Catholic peace. He wrote to the Lord Pope on behalf of our brother the archbishop of York, inducing him with deceitful and lying testimony to allow York to have his cross borne before him throughout our province; I do not know what advantage he hoped would come to himself if out of personal spite against us he had in some way damaged the church to which he was bound by his profession to show faith and obedience. But Christ, who has ruled and cherished the church of Canterbury from its first foundation through various hurricanes and many mighty storms, has mercifully brought it about that his falsehood and wickedness should be revealed by highly-placed witnesses before the whole Consistory. Nevertheless, we offer our thanks in the first place to God, and then to you and our other brethren, who withdrew from all contact with him, as you ought, as soon as his excommunication was known, and by public edict ordered both him and our other excommunicates to be avoided throughout your bishoprics. In this action your faith was made illustrious and your virtue, which rated the threats as well as the blandishments of the public power and its officers below the mandates of God, blazed forth in its steadfastness. You set free your consciences and persuaded your honour when you taught that God should be obeyed rather than men,¹⁰ both by speaking the truth and by giving an example of courage. Consequently, your sincerity

¹ This translation comes mostly from *CTB* ii, no.211 though I have amended it as Duggan was working with a slightly different text.

² Other manuscript copies of this letter preserve the salutation, which shows it was written from Becket to Bishop Henry of Winchester, see *CTB* ii, no.211. However, this version adds an alternative and more general salutation, and there are other textual differences between this copy and those found elsewhere which are closer to one another, suggesting it may have been written to another of the English bishops or circulated as a more generalised version.

³ 1 Peter 5:4.

⁴ Cf. Matt 18:7; Luke 17:1.

⁵ 1 Corinthians 5:5. Referring to Foliot's excommunication on 13 April 1169, published in St Paul's cathedral on 20 May 1169.

⁶ Cf. John 13:18.

⁷ See Chapter Two for a discussion of this.

⁸ 1 Kings (1 Sam) 2:12.

⁹ Cf. 1 Kings (1 Sam) 17:4.

¹⁰ Acts 5:29.

can be certain with such great love for God diffused through your hearts¹¹ by the Holy Spirit, and indeed, the more passionately and committedly you persevere in what you have begun in truth, the more swift and splendid will be the outcome. Therefore we pray and beg you in the love of God, and we entreat you by faith, obedience, and the unfeigned affection which you owe to your mother the church of Canterbury, to rise up in our support¹² against the fore-named bishop to defend the dignity and rights of the church of Canterbury, to which you have made profession, and write such evidence of the truth to the Lord Pope and the Curia, as sons should render for their mother's rights. For anyone who refuses this testimony in a moment of such acute stubbornness should certainly be regarded as an infidel, and indeed worse than an infidel, whom justice requires all the faithful to rise up to destroy. There can be no danger at all in such a cause, whose truth is so manifest that it is, as they say, known 'to barbers and the half-blind'.¹³ But since he is cursed who holds his sword back from blood,¹⁴ and the plague-bringer should be scourged¹⁵ to instruct the wise man for his salvation, whoever does not attack the murderer of his parent with stone and the sword subjects himself to the strict judgement of the law. For he seems to give consent who does not when he can either censure or prevent the person so acting.¹⁶ Therefore, lest a more severe reckoning be required from us for having put up with the misdeeds of those who persecute the Church and borne with them in great patience for almost five years so that they might do penance, we are sending you official notification, brother, that we have publicly excommunicated¹⁷ Archdeacon Geoffrey of Canterbury¹⁸ and Robert his deputy, Richard of Ilchester,¹⁹ William Giffard,²⁰ Earl Hugh,²¹ Richard de Lucy,²² Adam of Charing,²³ and those who have received ecclesiastical offices of benefices from lay hands, contrary to the dispositions of the sacred canons, or who have usurped them through their own rashness; in the same way, we have excommunicated those who prevent our messengers or the Lord Pope's from attending to the Church's needs. Moreover, we command you by the Lord Pope's authority and ours to recognise them as excommunicate, as the teaching of the sacred canons prescribes for those who have been excommunicated in the appointed manner.²⁴ Your fraternity should be well always, and remember to commend us and the cause of God which is in your hands with prayers of the divine.

¹¹ Cf. Romans 5:5 .

¹² Cf. Ps. 34 (35).

¹³ Horace, *Satires* I.VII (*Florilegium Gallicum*, fo.92rb).

¹⁴ Cf. Jeremiah 48:10.

¹⁵ Cf. Proverbs 19:25.

¹⁶ Gratian, *Decretum*, D.86 c.3 (ed. Friedberg, cols. 297-8) and D.83 c.3 (ed. Friedberg, cols 293-4).

¹⁷ The following is the second list of excommunicates, published on 20 May.

¹⁸ Geoffrey Ridel, royal clerk, see no.3.

¹⁹ Archdeacon of Poitiers, see above no.17.

²⁰ It is not quite certain who William is, for suggestions see *CTB* ii, no.195 fn.6.

²¹ Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk. His name is not amongst the second list of excommunicates which appears in the version of this letter printed in *CTB*.

²² Royal administrator, he had helped draw up the Constitutions of Clarendon. For his career, see E. Amt. 'Lucy, Richard de (*d.* 1179)', *ODNB* [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17149>, accessed 05/01/2020].

²³ Son of Ivo, holder of the manor of Charing, he collaborated in the royal exploitation of Canterbury estates, see *CTB* ii, no.195 fn.6.

²⁴ Gratian C.11 qu.3 c.20 (ed. Friedberg, cols. 631-2).

Letter 45

V fo.147v; B fos.157v-158v = *MTB*, vi, no.332; (from a variety of sources, generally as a letter from John of Salisbury to John bishop of Poitiers) *LJS*, ii, no.230

^aQuia te super statu ecclesie et impetrata legationis euentu^b sollicitum esse non ambigo, ad tuum^c et aliorum Deum timentium consolationem h(ec) tibi succincta breuitate censui perscribenda. Noueris itaque dominum Cant(uariensem) et nonnullos de coexsulibus suis in oct(auis) beati Martini inter Gisortium et Triam accessisse ad colloquium legatorum. Cum vero illi multa proposuissent de caritate domini pape et sollicitudine nostri quam attentius gerit, de laboribus ipsorum et itineris sui^d periculis, de magnitudine principis et de^e necessitate ecclesie, de malitia temporis, de amore et beneficiis quibus dominus rex preuenerat Cant(uariensi), et de honore quem^f semper ei^f exhibuit, adiecerunt^g querelas et iniurias^h quibus rex a domino Cant(uariensi) se lesum esse^h conqueritur, imponens ei etiamⁱ inter cetera quod ei excitauerat guerram regis Francorum, querentes consilium quomodo tantam indignationem placare possent, quia sine multa humilitate et moderatione et exhibitione honoris nouerant tantis periculis remedium adhiberi non posse. Cant(uariensis) autem^j in omni humilitate et mansuetudine spiritus, post gratiarum actionem domino pape et illis debitam, respondit ad singula rationibus veris et probabilibus, querelas regis euacuans et iniurias ecclesie et damp(na) intolerabilia patenter exponens, et quia humilitatem et delationem honoris ab eo exigebant, respondit se libentissime^k omnem humilitate(m)^l exhibiturum et honoris et reuerentie quantumcumque posset, saluo honore Dei et libertate ecclesie et honestate sue persone^m et possessionibus ecclesiarum. Et si eis videretur aliquidⁿ adiciendum aut demendum aut immutandum, rogauit ut ei consilium darent, habens adquiescendi^o propositum, salua conditione professionis et ordinis. Illis autem dicentibus se non venisse ut ei sed ut eum consulerent et reconciliationis temptarent viam^p, quesitum est ab archiepiscopo an in presentia legatorum vellet promittere obseruantiam consuetudinum quibus decessorum suorum tempore reges usi sunt, et sic sopitis omnibus querelis redire in gratiam regis, et recipere sedem suam et administrationem, et pacem sibi et suis. Ad h(oc) archiepiscopus respondit nullum decessorum suorum ab aliquo regum ad hanc professionem fuisse arcatum, neque se Deo auctore promissurum unquam ut obseruet consuetudines que legi Dei patenter aduersantur, sedis apostolice conuellunt priuilegium, ecclesie perimunt libertatem, quas dominus papa Senonis in illorum et multorum presentia condempnauit, et ipse postea, domini pape secutus auctoritatem^q, quasdam earum cum obseruatoribus suis

^a *add.* Amicus amico B; *add.* Amicus amico. Vera domini Cantuariensis cum legatis inter Gisortium et Triam. *MTB*

^b aduentu *interlined for correction to euentu* V

^c tuam *MTB*

^d *om.* *MTB*

^e *om.* *MTB*

^f ei semper *MTB*

^g *add.* etiam *MTB*

^{h-h} quibus rex se lesum esse a domino Cantuariensi *MTB*

ⁱ et *MTB*

^j vero *MTB*

^k *om.* *MTB*

^l humilitate V, humilitatem *suppl.* *MTB*

^m persone sue *MTB*

ⁿ aliquid videretur *MTB*

^o acquiescendi *MTB*

^p *add.* item *MTB*

^q sententia V *underdotted*, with auctoritate *interlined above*, sententiam *suppl.* *MTB*

subiecit anathemati, sicut in multis conciliis catholica ecclesia^r fecisse dinoscitur. Item interrogatus est an si non confirmationem saltem dissimulationem et tolerantiam vellet repromittere, aut non facta altrinsecus aliqua mentione consuetudinum ^srecipere sedem sua^s et pacem. Respondit archiepiscopus quod gentis nostre^t prouerbium est quia^u ‘Taciturnus pretendit speciem^v confitentis’. Et cum rex^w sibi videatur esse^x in possessione consuetudinum^y et^z eas obseruandas iniuste et violenter cogat ecclesiam, si sic taciturnitate impetrata cessaret concussio^{aa}, auctoritate legatorum maxime^{bb} interueniente, statim sibi et aliis videretur optinuisse in causa ista. Adiecit etiam se malle^{cc} exulare perpetuo^{dd} proscribi, et si Deus ita disposuit pro iusticie defensione mori, quam in salutis sue dispendium et preiudicium ecclesiastice libertatis hanc ineat pacem. Deus enim est qui in tali causa tacere prohibet^{ee} sacerdotes, qui dissimulantibus Gehennam preparauit ubi nulla erit dissimulatio pene. Lectus est et libellus illarum abominationum^{ff}, et quesitum a cardinalibus an a Cristianis liceat talia^{gg} obseruari, nedum a pastoribus dissimulari.

Progressi sunt ad aliam questionem, sciscitantes an ^{hh}eorum vellet stare iudicio^{hh} super his que ⁱⁱvertuntur inter ipsum et regemⁱⁱ. Ille autem se de cause sinceritate confidere respondit, et cum ipse et sui qui a multo tempore^{jj} destituti sunt plene fuerint ad omnia restituti, habita ratione causarum et^{kk} rerum et temporis, iuri libenter pariturum et se non^{ll} posse nec velle declinare, quin ubi et quando et quomodo debebit, subeat iudicium eius vel illorum cuius vel quorum iudicium dominus papa eum debere stare^{mm} decreuerit. Interim se et suos ad litigandum urgeri non posse nec paupertatem suam ad h(oc) sufficere, quibusⁿⁿ etiam victualia desunt, nisi Cristianissimi regis Francorum viuant^{oo} expensis. Noluit enim prima facie declinare iudicium et si aliquem eorum iure optimo posset habere suspectum, ne causam regis iustificare videretur, nec liti se^{pp} immergere, antequam sit ad omnia^{qq} restitutus, ut possit causam sufficienter instruere, ut quemlibet diuitem aduersarium non formidet, innitens gratie Dei. Procedentes hinc quesierunt^{rr} an sub eis iudicibus^{ss} vellet respondere episcopis qui

^r ecclesia catholica *MTB*

^{s-s} *om. MTB*

^t nostre gentis *MTB*

^u quod *MTB*

^v speciem pretendit *MTB*

^w rerum V, rex *suppl. MTB*

^x *om. MTB*

^y *add. esse MTB*

^z *add. ad MTB*

^{aa} concursio *MTB*

^{bb} maxime legatorum *MTB*

^{cc} *add. perpetuo MTB*

^{dd} *om. MTB*

^{ee} prohibet *MTB*

^{ff} abominationum illarum *MTB*

^{gg} talia liceat *MTB*

^{hh-hh} vellet eorum iudicio stare *MTB*

ⁱⁱ⁻ⁱⁱ inter ipsum et regem vertuntur *MTB*

^{jj} tempore multo *MTB*

^{kk} *om. MTB*

^{ll} nec *MTB*

^{mm} stare debere *MTB*

ⁿⁿ cui *MTB*

^{oo} viuat *MTB*

^{pp} se liti *MTB*

^{qq} ad omnia sit *MTB*

^{rr} quesitum est *MTB*

^{ss} siudicibus *underdotted for correction V*

appellauerant contra eum^{tt}, quia presentes erant. Archiepiscopus autem^{uu} memor litterarum quibus ei presentata est illa qualisqualis^{vv} aut potius nulla^{ww} appellatio concepta ut ibi perhibetur^{xx} nomine omnium comprouincialium episcoporum et abbatum et personarum regni in prouintia Cant(uariensi) degentium, et certus quod isti non conuenerant Rothomag(i), et quod plurimi eorum huius fuerant appellationis ignari, et multis qui nouerant displicebat utpote iusticie quantum in auctoribus eius^{yy} erat potius elusio^{zz} quam appellatio. Respondit super h(oc) nullum domini pape se recepisse mandatum, et cum illud receperit, consulto responsurum et facturum quod ratio dictauerit. Ceterum paupertatem suam et suorum ad itinera^{aaa} sumptus et lites non esse idoneam, et clementiam Cristianissimi regis h(oc) sine molestia pati non posse, ut liberalitas eius que exulantes episcopos decreuit humanissime consolari, eum et coexsules suos sepe et diu exhibere cogatur in domibus alienis. Nam ubi adest^{bbb} copia victualium facilius est procurare expensis^{ccc}.

Die autem sequenti Cristianissimus rex legatos admittens ad colloquium sub religione iuramenti purgavit innocentiam domini Cant(uariensis), perhibens ei testimonium quod ei semper consilium dederit^{ddd} ut pax seruaretur, et^{eee} saluo honore utriusque regis, et populi utrimque debita pace^{fff} gauderent. Rogauit archiepiscopus^{ggg} legatos ut aliquod ecclesie consilium darent, et si ipse alicubi excederet, rectiorem ostenderent viam. Illi autem zelum eius quem habet in Domino approbantes, ei compassi sunt, sed de proposito eius non dixerunt aliquid immutandum. Sic data benedictione ad^{hhh} inuicem, abⁱⁱⁱ inuicem^{jjj} discesserunt, et statum est et Deo auctore^{kkk} stabitur in finibus istis donec ecclesia conualescat et persecutores eius aut conuertantur aut pereant. Illa rogauit pro te et rogare non cessat ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu quandocumque opportunitas aderit^{lll} conuersus ad illos confirma fratres tuos^l. H(ec) illis ostendes ad quos^{mmm} missus es, lapsos erige, stantes robora, ut firmi sint. Pluresⁿⁿⁿ sunt patroni et defensores ecclesie quam impugnatores. Eam in tribulatione non deseret^{ooo} qui pro liberatione eius posuit animam suam. Causam sancti non deserent pro qua veriti non sunt^{ppp} fundere sanguinem preciosum^{ppp}. Hanc omnium celestium virtutum tuetur exercitus, et

^{tt} contra eum appellauerant *MTB*

^{uu} autem V, vero *MTB*

^{vv} qualiscumque *MTB*

^{ww} aut potius nulla V, vel nullus potius *MTB*

^{xx} *add. sub MTB*

^{yy} eius auctoribus *MTB*

^{zz} elusio potius *MTB*

^{aaa} itineris *MTB*

^{bbb} adest V, est *MTB*

^{ccc} expensas *MTB*

^{ddd} consilium semper dederat *MTB*

^{eee} *om. MTB*

^{fff} quiete *MTB*

^{ggg} archiepiscopo V, archiepiscopus *suppl. MTB*

^{hhh} ad *om. MTB*

ⁱⁱⁱ *om. MTB*

^{jjj} *om. MTB*

^{kkk} auctore deo *MTB*

^{lll} fuerit *MTB*

^{mmm} quod *MTB*

ⁿⁿⁿ *add. enim MTB*

^{ooo} deserit eius *underdotted and interlined for correction* V, non deseret in tribulatione *MTB*

^{ppp} sanguinem suum dare *MTB*

maiestas^{qqq} que Sathanam conterit sub pedibus suis² de membris eius ministris nequitie, ut spes est fidelium^{rrr}, et patr(um) promissio^{sss} cito et^{ttt} facile et feliciter triumphabit.

1. Cf. Luke 22:23 2. Cf. Romans 16:20

^{qqq} maiestis *underdotted for correction V*

^{rrr} fidelium est *MTB*

^{sss} promissio patrum *MTB*

^{ttt} *om. MTB*

Letter 45¹

[John of Salisbury to John, bishop of Poitiers]²

[Late November 1167]³

[A friend to a friend: the truth (of what happened in the meeting) of the archbishop of Canterbury with the legates between Gisors and Trie]⁴. Because I do not doubt that you are concerned about the state of the Church and the outcome of the legation that has been granted, I thought it right to send you this brief letter to console you and the others who fear God. Know therefore that the archbishop of Canterbury and not a few of his fellow exiles came to the legates' conference at the octave of St Martin (i.e. 19 November) between Gisors and Trie. The legates had much to say of the Pope's affection and the care for us which he constantly exercises, of their own labours, of the perils of their journey, and of the prince's greatness and the Church's needs, of the evil times, of the love and benefactions showered by the king on the archbishop and of the honour the King had always shown him. They added something on the complaints and injuries that the king claims he has suffered at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, among other things charging the archbishop with stirring up war from the king of the French, seeking advice as to how they could quieten such anger, since they were aware that without great humility, moderation, and display of honour no cure could be supplied for such perils. The archbishop of Canterbury, however, after due thanks to the Pope and the legates, in all humility and gentleness of spirit replied on every point, giving true grounds, clearly established, refuting the king's complaints and plainly setting out the injuries and insupportable losses suffered by the Church. And since they insisted on humility and a display of deference from him, he replied that he would freely offer all humility and such honour and reverence as he could, saving God's honour, the liberty of the Church, his own good name, and the churches' possessions. And if they should seek any addition, subtraction or change, he asked that they give him their advice, with which he would hope to agree, saving the terms of his profession and order. They replied that they had not come to give but to seek advice of him, and to find a way to reconciliation. The archbishop was asked whether in the presence of the legates he was prepared to promise to observe the customs that kings had observed in the time of his predecessors, and thus, with all quarrels set aside, return to the king's favour and receive back all his see and office and peace for him and his. To this the archbishop replied that none of his predecessors had ever been constrained to make such a profession by any of the kings; nor would he, with God's help, ever promise to observe customs plainly contrary to God's law, that overthrow the privilege of the holy see and destroy the church's liberty. The Pope himself condemned the customs at Sens in their presence and that of many others, and the archbishop himself, having sought the Pope's authority, laid some of these terms, together with those who observed them, under anathema, just as the Catholic Church is known to have done in many councils. Again he was asked whether he would undertake, if not confirm them, at least to turn a blind eye and tolerate them, or else to receive his see again and peace, with no reference made at all to the customs. The archbishop replied that it is proverbial amongst our people that 'silence implies some sort of consent', and because the King would regard himself as in possession of his customs, and would compel the Church to observe them unjustly and by force, if he thus agreed to silence and all turmoil ceased, especially if this was achieved by authority of the

¹ Here adapting the translation supplied by Brooke and others for *LJS*, ii, no.230.

² No recipient or author is named in the manuscript copies of this letter but it is assumed to have been sent by John of Salisbury to his friend, Bishop John of Poitiers.

³ See *LJS*, ii, no.230 and xxxvi.

⁴ Here in square brackets inserting the introductory matter missing from V.

legates, it would instantly appear to the King and to others that the King had won this case. He added that he preferred to be sentenced to perpetual exile and outlawry, and, if God so planned, to die in defence of justice, rather than to accept this peace to the hazard of his soul and the prejudice of the ecclesiastical liberty. For it is God Himself who forbids priests in such a case to be silent; God who has prepared a hell for those who dissimulate, where no-one can turn a blind eye to punishment. The catalogue of the abominable customs was read out, and the cardinals were asked whether it was lawful for Christians to observe such practices, let alone for their pastors to turn a blind eye to them.

They passed on to another question, asking whether the archbishop was willing to accept their judgement on the issues between himself and the King. He replied that he trusted in the sincerity of his case, and whenever he and his, who had long been despoiled, should be given full restitution of all they possessed, and when account had been taken of cases, circumstances and time, he would gladly obey the law, and that he neither could nor would refuse to submit to the judgement of whatever person or persons the Lord Pope decreed, where and when however he ought. In the meantime he and his followers could not be pressed to enter legal process, nor would their poverty prove sufficient for the task, since they lacked even food, were it not for the fact that they live at the expense of the most Christian king of the French. He would not refuse judgement in the first instance, even if he had good legal grounds for reckoning one of them suspect, lest he appear to justify the King's case. But he would not enter legal process before he had been restored to all his possessions, so that he might sufficiently prepare his case, and so that, relying on God's grace, he would not fear any adversary, however rich. Passing on from this point, they asked him whether before them as judges he was prepared to reply to the bishops who had appealed against him, since they were present. But the archbishop recalled the letter in which that so-called appeal (or rather non-appeal) had been expounded to him, devised (as it claimed) under the name of all the bishops and abbots of his province and of all the realm's persons living in the province of Canterbury. He was certain that all these had not gathered at Rouen, that many of them were ignorant of the appeal, and that it displeased many of those who knew of it, and that its authors to the best of their ability not so much appealing to as evading justice. He replied that on this issue he had received no papal mandate, and that when it came he would give a considered answer and do what reason dictated; but his own and his followers' poverty rendered them unfit for the expenses of a journey and of litigation and it was not without nuisance to the most Christian king that his generosity, that caused him to provide in a most humane way for the support of exiled bishops, should be forcibly diverted to sustain himself and his fellow-exiles, frequently and for long periods, in other men's homes. For where there is food in plenty, it is easier to secure living expenses.

On the following day the most Christian King (of France) received the legates in conference, swore an oath to prove the innocence of the archbishop of Canterbury, and bore him witness that the archbishop had always counselled him that peace be preserved, saving the honour of both kings, that the peoples of both kings might rejoice in due tranquillity. The archbishop asked the legates for advice to be given to the church, and if he himself strayed from it at any point, to show him the straighter road. Approving his zeal in the Lord, they gave him their sympathy, but said nothing to alter anything in his proposed course. Thus, with blessings to each other, they parted, and thus things stand and will stand in these parts, with God's help, until the Church revives and its persecutors are either converted or perish. She has prayed for you and does not cease to pray that your faith fail not; and do you, whenever opportunity

arises, turn to your brothers and strengthen them.⁵ You will show this service to those to whom you were sent: raise up those who have fallen, confirm those who stand upright, that they may be strong. More there are who offer protection and defence to the Church than those who attack it. He who risked His spirit for its freedom will not desert it in the hour of tribulation. The saints will not desert that cause for which they were not afraid to spill their precious blood. Over it keeps watch the army of all heavenly virtues, and the majesty that tramples Satan under His feet,⁶ will swiftly, easily and prosperously triumph over Satan's members, the servants of wickedness, as is the hope of the faithful and the promise of the fathers.

[END OF GROUP]

⁵ Cf. Luke 22:32.

⁶ Cf. Romans 16:20.

Letter 46

V fo.147(b) recto = L 582; *GFL*, app.7 no.2

Domino pape^a. Lator presentium mag(ister) Will(elmus), clericus et medicus illustris domini regis Anglorum, dominorum cardinalium litteras ad nos detulit, quibus nobis in mandatis dederunt ut super possessione ecclesie de Hotun^b a qua se iniuste per Laurentium clericum de Hotun^c querebatur^d deiectum, plenam ei iusticiam exhiberemus. Allegauit itaque in presentia nostra constitutus, dum ob^e publicas regni causas ac deuota regie necessitatis obsequia longe ageret in partibus transmarinis, se iamdicte ecclesie possessione contra omnem iuris ordinem destitutum, velut^f qui a nemine in iudicio defensus fuit, velut^g ad quem nulla omnino citatio peruenit.

Super hac absentia sua rei publice causa, et quod in possessione nominate prius ecclesie fuerit cum causa rei publice ceperit abesse, nichilominus et^h infra annum reuersus, de lite suscipienda cautionem sepius obtuleritⁱ, sufficiens et idoneum plurium honestorum virorum testimonium produxit, sed et aliorum instrumentorum eandem possessionis causam instruentium, plurimam nobis copiam exhibuit. Omnem etiam nobis optulit cautionem quod restituta sibi possessione, coram iudicibus prius a sanctitate vestra delegatis, a quibus fuerat expoliatus, vel incontinenti coram nobis vel coram aliis quibuscumque quos ipsemet Laur(entius) eligeret, litem super principali negotio subiret, nichilominus ex habundanti et super aliis causis si quas aduersus ipsum supranominatus^j Laur(entius) habuerit, ei sine tergiuersatione responderet.

Laurentius vero litteras quasdam venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Dunelmensis episcopi et abbatis de Valle Dei exhibuit, quibus nobis significarunt quod eum in ecclesie supradicte possessionem miserar(unt)^k. H(ec) autem missio utrum de iuris ordine vel contra iuris ordinem processerit, ex earumdem litterarum inspeccione quarum transcriptum vobis dirigimus, vestra discretio paucis et de facili aduertere poterit. Huic enim cognitioni preces nostras non accomodauimus. Illis siquidem litteris exhibitis, in vocem appellationis sine temporis predefinitione incontinenti ad audientiam vestram erupit. Magister Will(elmus) nichilominus institit, et de lite suscipienda cautionem offerens, possessionis restitutionem sibi fieri postulauit. Interpositam^l appellationem multis de causis frustratoriam et iniquam, immo nullomodo admittendam docuit, cum in causa momentanee possessionis ex ciuilibus^m iuris constitutione, appellatio inueniatur inhibita, que quidem constitutio postea nec iure legum nec canonum legitur retractata. Huic tamenⁿ appellationi siue fuerit equa^o siue iniqua^p, ob sedis

^a *add.* Arnulfus Lexoviensis L

^b Hotum L

^c Hotum L

^d conquerebatur L

^e ab L

^f veluti L

^g veluti L

^h *om.* L

ⁱ obtulit et L

^j supranotatus L

^k miserant L, *GFL*

^l Interpositam L

^m cuiuslibet L

ⁿ autem L

^o aequum L

^p iniquum L

apostolice reuerentiam deferentes, in negotio nobis ab eorum celsitudine commisso
nequaquam ulterius processimus.

Letter 46

[From a judge or judges delegate] to the Pope

[Undated, ?after 1171]¹

To the Lord Pope. The bearer of these letters, Master William, clerk and physician of the illustrious lord King of the English², brought us the letters of the lord cardinals in which they delivered commands to us that we do full justice to him concerning possession of the church of 'Hotun'³, from which he claimed to have been unjustly ejected by Laurence, clerk of 'Hotun'. He thus alleged in our presence that whilst he was labouring in the public business of the realm and in devoted obedience to the king's needs far off in lands beyond the seas⁴, he was deprived of possession of the church against all legal form, despite the fact that he was without anyone to defend him in this judgment, and despite no citation whatsoever having reached him. Concerning his absence in public affairs, and that he was in possession of the church when such affairs first caused his absence, and that nevertheless he returned within a year, he has frequently produced a security for the dispute to be heard, and sufficient and appropriate testimony from many worthy men, also showing us several and various of the other documents by which this case of possession is governed. He also offered us a security that, with possession restored to him, he would defer his complaint over the principal business either to the judges previously delegated by your holiness, whose hearing he was denied, or immediately before ourselves or others whom he and Laurence might choose, nevertheless answering fully and without delay whatever other cases the aforesaid Laurence might have against him.

Laurence in return exhibited certain letters of our venerable brothers the bishop of Durham⁵ and the abbot of Vaudey,⁶ by which they informed us that they had out of pity granted him possession of the aforesaid church. By inspecting the letters, of which we are sending you a transcript, your holiness can briefly and easily advise whether this release was made by or against ordinary right. We made no attempt to apply ourselves to establishing this distinction. Having shown these letters, he broke out in the voice of appeal to your jurisdiction, hastily and without the pre-ordained delay. Master William nevertheless stood his ground, and offering a security 'de lite suscipienda', sought to be restored to possession.

¹ The mention of cardinals delegating relatively routine business in England, suggests a date during one or other of the cardinals' legations after 1171.

² Not quite clear who this William is. A William the king's clerk accompanied Herbert of Bosham as envoy to the Emperor in the 1150s, *LCH*, no.1093 and William the physician (*medicus*) appears in a notification of the king's confirmation of possessions and liberties in 1155 x August 1158, where it is said he had land in 'Cameston' and he pays 20 solidos per annum, see *LCH*, no.820. A Master William *medicus* witnessed a charter of Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury in [? Nov 1193 x April 1194], and a spurious inspeximus of the same archbishop where the witnesses list is earlier than the charter which can possibly be dated April 1195- Feb 1198, see *EEA*, ii, nos.592 (spurious), 623. A William the clerk appears in the Pipe Rolls, see *PRs 2-4 Henry II*, 181 (Kent), *13 Henry II*, 37 (Sussex), *18 Henry II*, 130 (Sussex), *19 Henry II*, 26 (Sussex) and 112 (Northumberland).

³ Not clear where exactly this is. Possibly Hutton in Essex, given to Battle Abbey by William the Conqueror but at least in the later Middle Ages the advowson of the vicarage belonged to St Paul's, see *Taxatio* and Newcourt, *Repertorium*, 343-4. Other potential Huttons include Hutton in the diocese of Bath and Wells, Hutton-in-the-Forest in the diocese of Carlisle, and Sherrif Hutton, Hutton Buscel, Hutton Cranswick, and Hutton Wandesley, all in Yorkshire.

⁴ So this may well be the same William who acted as the king's envoy to the Emperor in c.1157, see K. Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the Hand of St James' *The English Historical Review* 90.356 (1975).

⁵ Hugh de Puiset, bishop 22 Jan 1153-2 March 1195. *Fasti*, ii, 30.

⁶ Vaudey, Lincolnshire, Cistercian, founded 23 May 1149, abbots: J. occ. 1156 x 63; Acius occ. 1155 X 66-1170 X 84; Simon occ. 1183 X 4-1186, *Heads*, 146.

He pronounced the intervening appeal, for many reasons, to be frustratory and vexatious and therefore in no way to be allowed, since in a case of momentary possession, according to a ruling of civil law, an appeal should be considered inadmissible, which same ruling is nowhere reported to have been withdrawn either in civil or canon law. As for this appeal, whether it was equitable or inequitable, in the business deputed to us by the cardinals, deferring to the apostolic see, we proceeded no further.

Letter 47

V fo.147(b) recto = L 639-40; *GFL*, no.248

Reuerentissimo^a patri et domino suo karissimo A(lexandro) ^bsummo Dei gratia^b pontifici frater^c Gil(bertus) London(iensis) ecclesie minister salutem et debitum sincere dileccionis et humilis obedientie famulatum. Mandatum, pater, a vestra sanctitate suscepimus^d, ut de causa que inter I(ohannem) clericum et Guill(elmum) de Lanual' super ecclesia de Walcr'^e vertitur, veritatem diligenter inquireremus, et si constaret nobis I(ohannem)^f predicta ecclesia violenter et absque ordine iudiciario spoliatum fuisse, eam sibi, omni contradictione et appellatione remota, cum omnibus inde ablatis, auctoritate vestra restitui faceremus et in pace dimitti. Ad hoc itaque statuto die partibus euocatis, I(ohannes) se in iamdicta ecclesia presentatione Hamonis de Sancto Claro, qui ad hoc duos e suis cum signatis suo nomine litteris destinauerat, per manum H(enrici) archid(iaconi) de^g Huntendon'^h, personamⁱ canonicè institutum fuisse asseruit, seque ex tunc ipsam ecclesiam de Walcr(a)^j continue possedissee, donec per Guill(elmum) de Lamual' et homines suos ab ecclesia ipsa et fundo ad ipsam pertinente violenter ut assererat eiectus est.

Horum omnium testes producebat in medium, sacerdotes quamplures et clericos, presentationis et institutionis iamdicte, possessionis etiam sue et illate sibi violentie testimonium perhibentes, prolatis etiam in idipsum astruebat instrumentis, cartam proferens Ham(onis)^k a quo fuerat archid(iacono) presentatus, cartam etiam^l archid(iaconi) per quem fuerat institutus. Presentes aderant clerici duo, quorum unus in partibus illis decanus erat, alter ante ipsum decanus extiterat. Hii se in carta archid(iaconi) testes annotatos^m fuisse audientes, prosilientes in medium fidem instrumenti non paru(u)m vacillare fecerunt, tactis euuangeliiisⁿ iurare parati se presentationem iamdictam numquam vidisse aut scisse, nec institutioni I(ohannis) ut carta testabatur interfuisse. I(ohannes) vero viuas testium voces sibi sufficere asserens, eorum testimonia postulabat admitti, et iuxta vestri formam mandati sibi et ecclesiam et cetera que fuerant ablata restitui. Guill(elmus) vero de Lanual', sicut instrumentis sic et testibus I(ohannis) fidem non habendam esse respondit, asserens Rad(ulfum) patrem I(ohannis) personatum ecclesie de Walcr'^o de manu Rob(erti) Bloet dudum Lincolniensis episcopi suscepisse, ipsumque in ea toto vite sue curriculo usque ad ipsum obitus sui diem ut personam ministrasse, nec ullum omnino consistere qui ipsum in vita sua aut suscepte cure renuntiasset aut personatum ecclesie susceptum in manu episcopi aut alicuius^p officialium suorum refutasse cognouerit. Assistebant ei testes quamplurimi, viri

^a Reuerendissimo L

^b Dei gratia summo L

^c frater L

^d susceptum L

^e Walgr. L

^f Iohanni L, Iohannem *GFL*

^g *om. GFL*

^h Huntendon' L

ⁱ personatum tum L

^j Waler. L

^k Kam. L

^l et L

^m adnotatos L

ⁿ euangeliis L

^o Waler. L

^p alterius L

probate opinionis, sacerdotes et laici, qui patrem^q I(ohannis) in ecclesia memorata usque in^r ipsum obitus sui diem perseuerasse, et ut personam^s officium in ea sacerdotale per se aut suos suo nomine adimplere firmiter asserebant.

Causabatur etiam Will(elmus) I(ohannem) in impetratione rescripti vestri in fraude tacendi deliquisse plurimum, cum se filium sacerdotis dissimulans, patri suo in ecclesia in qua ministrauerat succedere, et auctoritate vestra in ipsam irrepere contra sacros canones et decretales^l epistolas que pre manibus aput multos habentur attemptauerit^t. Rescriptum itaque vestrum fraude protestans elicium, Ioh(ann)i prodesse non oportere asseruit, cum h(ec) forma sit iuris, ut etsi sacrum oraculum huiusmodi precatore afferat, carere debeat impetratis. I(ohannes) vero h(ec) inquisitioni nostre^u commissa non fuisse respondens, mandato vestro innitens et insistens plurimum, probationes suas suscipi, et iuxta vestri formam mandati ablata sibi restitui multa quidem instantia postulabat.

Cuius quidem examinatis testibus cum in causa procedere disponeremus, Guill(elmus) ad exceptionem peremptoriam conuolans, obiecit I(ohannem) in causa hac audiri nullatenus oportere, cum iuramento coram multis corporaliter et sponte prestito firmauerit se nunquam in vita sua Guill(elm)o controuersiam de iamdicta ecclesia moturum, nec contra eius voluntatem in eiusdem ecclesie petitione quicquam decetero machinaturum. Procedebant quamplures id testificantes se prece I(ohannis)^v ad hoc Walcrie^w conuenisse, ut in eorum se presentia^x I(ohannes) in h(oc) quod dictum^y est obligaret^z, et ecclesiam iamdictam proprium sequens animum, ipsis presentibus abiuraret. Quam nimirum abiurationem cum iuramento probare parati essent, I(ohannem)^{aa} se quorundam qui aduersus eum testificabantur machinatione in castrum^{bb} Walcrie^{cc} inductum, et ibidem ilico per homines Guill(elm)i compedibus astrictum^{dd} fuisse, sicque vi^{ee} mortisque metu^{ff} compulsus, fidelitatem Guill(elm)o de corpore suo et omnibus que iuste possidebat sub iuramenti religione promississe confessus est, asserens tamen ipsam de qua agitur ecclesiam se nullatenus abiurasse. Cumque iuramenti in hanc formam prestiti testes produceret, et nos partis utriusque testes applicare vellemus examini, Ioh(annes) se per nos grauari conquerens, eo quod ante restitutionem suam aliquam sibi exceptionem etsi peremptoriam obici permiserimus, ad audientiam vestram appellationem instituit, et actioni diem octab(as)^{gg} beati Ioh(ann)is Baptiste constituit. Nos vero ex incidenti questione appellatum fuisse attendentes, appellationi ipsi deferendum esse censuimus, et res gestas aput nos ipso quo geste sunt ordine sanctitati vestre presenti scripto notificare curauimus. Valeat sullimitatis vestra in Cristo, dilecte pater.

^q praenominatum L

^r ad L

^s persona L

^t attentauerit L

^u vestrae L

^v D. L, I(ohannes) L, I(ohannis) *suppl. GFL*

^w Waleriae L

^x *add.* obligaret L

^y dictus *GFL*

^z *om.* L

^{aa} I(ohannes) *GFL*

^{bb} castro L

^{cc} Waleriae L

^{dd} adscriptum L

^{ee} in L

^{ff} mortis metum L

^{gg} octavam L

1. Gratian, *Decretum*, C. 8 c.7 (ed. Friedburg, cols.591-2) and D. 56 c.1 (ed. Friedburg, cols.219-20)

Letter 47

Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London to Pope Alexander III¹

[1162 X 1181]²

To his most reverend father and most beloved lord Alexander by the grace of God highest pontiff, brother Gilbert, minister of the church of London, sends greeting, a due portion of sincere love, and the servitude of humble obedience. We received your holiness' mandate, father, that we diligently investigate the truth of the case that has arisen between John the clerk and William de Lanvally³ concerning the church of Walkern⁴, and that should we find that John had been violently and without justice despoiled of the aforesaid church, we should restore it and release it to him in peace, together with everything taken from it, with all contradiction and appeal set aside. With the parties summoned, therefore, on the day duly established, John declared himself to have been canonically instituted as parson of the aforesaid church by H(enry) archdeacon of Huntingdon⁵ at the presentation of Hamo de Saint-Clair⁶ who had dispatched his sealed letters to this effect delivered by two of his men, and to have himself possessed this church of Walkern continuously from that time until, as he asserted, he was violently ejected from that church and its glebe by William de Lanvally and his men.

For all this he produced many priests and clerks as witnesses in court to the aforesaid presentation and institution, testifying to his possession and the violence done to him, and he strewed written instruments left and right, proffering Hamo's charter by which he had been presented to the archdeacon, and the archdeacon's charter by which he had been instituted. Two clerks attended, one of whom had been rural dean in those parts, the other still dean⁷.

¹ Discussed in Cheney, 'Roger', 216, and see Chapter Three.

² The limits are Foliot's tenure as bishop of London and Alexander's death in 1181, no other evidence is given for dating.

³ Royal seneschal of Rennes, 1162- c.1172. He was a descendant of Aimeric, an illegitimate son of Geoffrey Boterel I, lord of Penthièvre in Brittany. The only lands he possessed were one knight's fee in Abingdon (Camb.) and possibly other land in the honour of Richmond. He was in Henry II's service from 1154 and participated in the campaign in Brittany in 1166. After 1172 when he stopped acting as seneschal of Rennes he served as castellan of Winchester and as a royal justice in England. He died before Michaelmas 1185 and perhaps c.1182, J. A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire 1158-1203* (Cambridge 2000), 209.

He witnessed charters of the king in England and France between 1155 X 1158 and 1179 X 1181, nos.79, 100, 102, 141, 194, 226, 227, 234, 237, 241, 324, 388, 429, 467-8, 495, 574, 632, 700, 703, 718, 735, 785, 799, 800, 864a, 882, 946, 1020, 1042, 1048, 1106, 1121, 1135, etc. He often appears high in the witness lists, after the bishops.

⁴ Walkern (Hertfordshire) in the diocese of Lincoln and the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, the rural deanery of Baldock. Held in the *Taxatio* partly by the abbot of St John's abbey in Colchester, and partly the abbot of St Alban's, *Taxatio*, 37. Appears as 'Walchra' in *LCH*, no.663.

⁵ Henry, first occ. 1114 X 23 and last occ. 1156 X 57. The same Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, who is the historian. A Hugh, archdeacon of Huntingdon, appears only once 1160 x 66 though this may be a mistake for Henry. See *Fasti*, iii, 26-30.

⁶ Hamo of St-Clair-sur-l'Elle (Manche). Seems to have been king's sheriff (of Colchester?) to King Stephen. Son(?) of Hubert of St Clair. Witnesses Stephen's acta at various times, see *Regesta Anglo-Normannorum* iii eds. Crone and Davis, nos.271, 341, 944, 946-8 and see no.210 for a charter addressed to Hamo and the citizens of Colchester.

⁷ Presumably the deans of Lincoln. The list of deans at this time is a little confused, Adelelm first occ. 1141 X 45 and last occ. after c. May 1173, but two other individuals also appear as dean during his office. H. occ. in three charters probably before c.1165 and a William occ. before c.25 Dec 1166. Adelelm does not occ. after c. 1164 66 until his last occ. after c. May 1173, so it is possible (though unlikely according to the *Fasti*) that H.

Hearing that they were named as witnesses to the archdeacon's charter, they came forwards and cast no little doubt on the authenticity of the document, being prepared to swear on the Gospels that they had never seen or known about this presentation, nor had they been present at John's institution as the charter claimed. John, asserting that verbal testimony would alone suffice for his case, sought to have the testimony of his witnesses admitted in court, and that the church and whatever else had been seized be restored to him in accordance with your command. William de Lanvally responded that, as the documents had been found untrustworthy, so too should John's witnesses, claiming that John's father Ralph had received the parsonage of the church of Walkern from Robert Bloet, late bishop of Lincoln⁸, ministering thereafter as parson there until the day of his death, without, in William's understanding, in any way renouncing or resigning the church's cure or parsonage into the hands of the bishop or any of his officers. Many witnesses, men of proven reputation, supported William here, priests and laymen, asserting that John's father had continued in the aforesaid church through to the time of his death, discharging the priestly office as parson there either in person or via others acting in his name.

Furthermore William called John to account for serious transgression in the procuring of your rescript, since John had in fraudulent silence concealed the fact that he was the son of a priest, seeking to succeed his father in a church in which that father had ministered, and to insinuate himself there in contradiction of widely received holy canons and decretal letters⁹. Protesting that your rescript was thus elicited by fraud, William asserted that it should in no way profit John, since the law decrees that whatever suppliant produces a holy oracle of this sort should lose whatever he seeks. John, answering that such things were irrelevant to the enquiry entrusted to us, instead repeatedly referring to and insisting upon your mandate, requested with much urgency that his proofs be accepted and that what had been taken from him be restored to him.

We were inclined to proceed with the examination of John's witnesses in this case, but William, seizing on a peremptory objection, complained that John should in no way be heard in this, since he had sworn a bodily oath of his own free will before many people, undertaking for his lifetime never to move any dispute over the aforesaid church against William, nor to plot to plead anything there against William's will. Many came forwards to testify that they had gone to Walkern at John's request, so that John might bind himself by oath as was said and in their presence abjure the aforesaid church on pledge of his soul. With many of them ready to prove this abjuration by oath, John was brought within the castle at Walkern through the contrivance of various of those who had witnessed against him, and there immediately and firmly bound at the feet by William's men, and compelled under fear of death or injury to swear fealty to William for himself and all his rightful possessions under religious oath, however maintaining that he had at no time abjured the church in dispute. When, however, we wished that he produce witnesses of the oath taken in this way, and that we might examine the witnesses of both parties, John launched an appeal to your hearing,

and William officiated in Adelelm's absence. This would explain why there were two deans mentioned here. See *Fasti*, iii, 5-12.

⁸ Bishop 22 Feb 1094-10 Jan. 1123, *Fasti*, 1, 7. There is no record of Robert granting the church to John but he did confirm possession of tithes and a mill in Walkern to the monks of St John's, Colchester 19 Dec 1148 x Sept. 1156, see *EEA*, i, no.99.

⁹ Gratian, *Decretum* C. 8, q. 1, c. 7 (ed. Friedburg, cols.591-2); D. 56, c. 1 (ed. Freidburg, cols. 219-20); and especially *Council of Westminster* 1175, c. I (Wilkins, I, 477) repeating a decretal of Alexander III. (see *GFL*, no.86 and fn.1). The decretal is *Meminimus* and refers to rulings against sons of priests, see Chapter Three.

setting the octave of St John the Baptist as the term for this action¹⁰, claiming to have been injured by us, in so far as we, before his restitution, had permitted a peremptory objection to be raised. We, in truth, noting that the appeal had been made over an incidental question, determined to defer to that appeal, taking care by the present writing to inform your holiness of proceedings and of what occurred, in due order. May your highness, beloved father, fare well in Christ.

¹⁰ John the Baptist *decollatio* or *natalis* was 29 August and *nativitas* 24 June, so the octave was either 6 September or 2 July.

V fo.147(b) r-v = L 761-2

Reuerendo patri et domino Alex(andro) Dei gratia summo pontifici T(homas) prior ecclesie de Dunestapl' humile^a deuote subiectionis obsequium. Cause illi que vertebatur inter moniales de Ikelinton'^b et Will(elmum) clericum de Writel' super possessionem ecclesie de Fuhelmar'^c, abbati Sancti Albani et priori de Keninghewrd'^d a sanctitate vestra delegate, ab eisdem^e rogatus iudicibus apud ecclesiam nostram cum quibusdam fratrum nostri conuentus bis interfui. De his autem que in presentia nostra ibi acta fuerunt, iuxta quod vidimus et audiuius, ad preces Will(elm)i clerici de^f Writel' vobis domine veritatem significamus.

Cum procurator monialium de auctoritate rescripti vestri mandatum vestrum instanter peteret executioni mandari, paratus ut dicebat que sanctitati vestre suggererat legitima probatione docere, pars aduersa Will(elm)i^g licet^h ut et ille dicebat ad arguendas preces tam per veri suppressionem quam per falsi suggestionem a vestra religione admissasⁱ, probatione^j suo loco et tempore sufficeret^k, dictorum tamen iudicum declinare preeleg(it) exam(en), asserens speciale presertim domini pape mandatum, sicut nec aliud ullum siue ad rerum administrationem siue ad personarum coercionem^l directum nequaquam ulterius porrigendum quam quousque fuisset indultum. Predictorum siquidem iudicum iurisdictionem ad certas personas dicebat artatam, monialium scilicet et cuiusdam clerici cuius nomen ut^m aiebat in fraude vobis tacitum fuit, qui predicte ecclesie possessionem a quodam Will(elm)o undeⁿ euicerat, qui eam deducendi in iudicium potestatem non habebat sine assensu monialium, velut^o qui ut dicebant earum nomine possidebat. Unde quia res inter alios acta aliis preiudicio esse non debet, recte eum tamen qui minus idonee possessionem euicit, ad eiusdem restitutionem dominus papa illo suo mandato artari^p iussit, si tamen prius de precum veritate^q constaret.

Quod utique mandatum dicebat Will(elmus) de Writel' in nullo suam contingere personam, cum in eo de se nich(il) esset expressum, nec per aliquam interpretationem iuri consentaneam aliquid intimatum. Licet enim tam possessio quam proprietas ad quam moniales solum possessorium intendebant, penes eum esset constituta, non tamen ab eo restituenda, eo quod apud eum esset iustissima, cum ab eo qui eam euicerat causam non traheret, nec eius uteretur accessione, sed de non improbata consuetudine regni^r et canonici iuris niteretur auctoritate,

^a humilem L

^b Jhelinton' L

^c Tuhelmay L

^d Keninghewrtd L

^e iisdem L

^f om. L

^g Willelmus L

^h scilicet L

ⁱ add. quia cancelled V

^j add. legitima underdotted for cancellation V, add. legitima L

^k sufficiens L

^l coercionem L

^m om. L

ⁿ add. clericus L

^o veluti L

^p arctari L

^q veritate L

^r regii L

velut^s a domino fundi diocesiano presentatus episcopo, per eius manum^t in eadem ecclesia institutus, et per eius officialem in possessionem missus, utriusque quorum, aduocati scilicet et episcopi, autenticum instrumentum pre manibus habebat^u, pariter etiam^v et tertium^w matris domini fundi, que presentationi filii sui tandem consensit, eo quod eius presentatio supradictis^x monialibus prius facta^y, in curia regis, rege presente, cassata fuit, sicque diocesianus episcopus post hanc cassationem ad presentationem filii sui, ante istum Will(elmum) plures^z instituit^{aa}. Unde cum^{bb} quod legitime factum^{cc} est penam non mereatur^{dd}, nec ob alienum odium alius fuerit^{ee} pregrauandus, cum pecc(at)a suos tantum tenere iubeantur auctores, alienum inquit Will(elmum) de Writel a mente discretionis vestre ut, ob^{ff} alterius minus legitimam licet etiam precessisset euictio sua, que penes eum fuit iustissima turbaretur possessio, presertim occasione mandati quod eum non contingebat et quod non in rem actionem cui possessio parit^{gg} aduersarium coram ordinario, sed solum possessorium contra eum suscitabat coram delegato.

Instrumentum quoddam beati Thome archipresulis, cuius auctoritate sanctimoniales transactionem quondam^{hh} inter eas et Will(elmum), undeⁱⁱ initam roborare nitebantur, ut annuam eis xl. solidorum soluendo pensionem earum nomine possideret, Will(elmus) de Writel' non ad aliquam sopiendam controuersiam sed mag(is) ad tegendam collusionem a beato martyre arguebat ignoranter emissum. Ignorauit enim quid inter partes ageretur, cum tunc temporis neque possessio neque proprietas penes moniales esset constituta, nisi quia ecclesia de Fuhelmar^{jj} vacante, mortua persona loci, archid(iacon)o Will(elm)o de Lauenton, cuius Will(elm)i^{kk} unde^{ll} firmarius extiterat, rei naturaliter quoquomodo incumbebat, et iam auctoritate vestri rescripti a^{mmm} quondam archid(iacon)o Pictau(ensi) qui hodie Winton(iensis) sedet episcopus, coram bone memorie mag(istri)ⁿⁿ Rob(erti)^{oo} de Melun^{pp}, Herford(ensi) episcopo, tractus in causam coram eo ab omni iure cecidit personam, h(ec)^{qq} et huiusmodi plura sine preiudicio tamen future litis ingressus, nec^{rr} ad causam suam agendam sed ad^{ss} ius suum et aduerse partis iniuriam manifestandam, sepedictus Will(elmus) de Writel' allegauit.

^s veluti L

^t manus L

^u habebant L

^v om. L

^w reium L

^x supradictas L

^y add. et L

^z pluries L

^{aa} institit L

^{bb} eum L

^{cc} foeminae L

^{dd} timeat L

^{ee} fuit L

^{ff} ab L

^{gg} paret L

^{hh} quamdam L

ⁱⁱ inde L

^{jj} Fuchelmayr L

^{kk} Willelmus L

^{ll} inde L

^{mmm} om. L

ⁿⁿ magistro L

^{oo} Roberto L

^{pp} Meln' L

^{qq} H. L

^{rr} non L

^{ss} om. L

Nam inter initia supradictorum iudicum iurisdictionem per appellationem ad vos factam suspendit quam et postea creb(r)o innouauit, ne occasione predicti mandati manum suam in eum vel possessiones suas aggrauarent, et ne contra mentem domini pape aliquid statuerent cuius erat in ambiguis sua interpretari^{tt} rescripta. Suam autem appellationem auctoritate cuiusdam vestre decretal(is) epistole ad dominum Wigorn(iensem)^{uu} directe admittendam docuit, qua ^{uu}decretali^{vv} exprimitur ut ubi appellatio super incidenti questione interponitur, principali cognitioni supersedeatur.

^{tt} interpretare L

^{uu} Wigoriensem L

^{vv} *add. epistola underlined for omission V, decretalis epistolae L*

Letter 48

Prior T(homas) of Dunstable to Pope Alexander III¹

[1170 X 1181, ?1174 X 1181]²

To his reverend father and lord Alexander by the grace of God highest pontiff, T(homas) prior of the church of Dunstable³ offers humbly and devotedly the obedience of subjection. In the case that was raised between the nuns of Ickleton⁴ and William the clerk of Writtle over possession of the church of Fowlmere⁵, delegated by your holiness to the abbot of St Albans⁶ and the prior of Kenilworth⁷, at the invitation of the judges, I twice attended hearings in our church with certain brothers of our convent. We hereby notify you, my lord, according to the prayers of William clerk of Writtle, the truth of those things that were done there and in our presence according to what we heard and saw.

When the proctor of the nuns, by the authority of your rescript, sought to have your mandate immediately implemented, being prepared, as he said, to demonstrate with lawful proof what he had previously suggested to your holiness, with proof sufficient to its time and place, even though William's party, as he said, had not only suppressed the truth but made false allegations in advancing the petitions received by your holiness, he nonetheless preferred to decline examination by the judges, asserting in particular that the mandate of the lord Pope, being in no way directed either to the administration of property or to the coercion of persons, should be stretched to no further use beyond what had so far been allowed. Indeed, he said that the jurisdiction of the aforesaid judges had been limited to specific persons, namely the nuns and a certain clerk whose name, he said, was fraudulently concealed from you, who had won possession of the aforesaid church from a certain William, and who himself had no authority to bring this case before the power of the judges without the nuns' assent, as one who the nuns said possessed the church in their name. Whence, because matters undertaken between others should not be to the prejudice of third parties, rightly the lord Pope had decreed that his mandate should be limited to him who had won possession from another unsuited to hold it, provided that it was previously agreed to establish the truth of the petitions.

¹ Briefly discussed by Cheney, 'Roger', 215-16. Without knowing any more of the background to this particular case, the letter, and its narrative of events apparently stretching back to the 1150s, remains extremely difficult to construe. We seem here to be confronted with a case in which patronage and possession were both disputed, and in which allegations flew hither and thither, of the fraudulent soliciting of papal letters, of collusive actions intended to smooth over successive disputes, and of a resignation of right by William of Writtle intended not to abandon his claims but rather to emphasise the unlawful actions of his opponents. Beyond its nod to English legal custom, the letter itself refers to a range of Roman and canon law terms, including 'possessio soli' (i.e. the argument that, 'ratione soli', all things pertaining to a piece of land be considered as chattels of the possessor), 'accessio' (a device for deciding ownership of property (the 'accessory') merged or acceded to another piece of property), and 'actio in rem' (a general claim intended to prove right against any party that might dispute it).

² Before the death of Alexander III. Refers to Becket as the 'blessed' Thomas, archpriest, and hence after his martyrdom, probably after his canonization in 1173.

³ Thomas, occs. 1163 X 1202: *Heads*, 163.

⁴ Cambridgeshire, Benedictine priory, founded before 1154. This is one of the earliest references to the priory, for which, see N. Vincent, 'New Charters of King Stephen', *English Historical Review*, 114 (1999), 903-5; *Heads*, 213.

⁵ In the diocese of Ely, archdeaconry of Ely, and rural deanery of Barton.

⁶ Which abbot depends on when the case was delegated, though the hearing seems to have taken place not long before the writing of this letter, suggesting abbot Simon, 1167-83, for whom see *Heads*, 67.

⁷ Kenilworth, Warwickshire, Augustinian, founded c.1125, and most likely prior Robert, who occ. 1158 X 9-1188 X 98: *Heads*, 167.

Replying to which, William of Writtle said that that mandate in no way affected him, since he had not been mentioned in it in any way, and nor was he implicated here through any interpretation consonant with law. Even allowing that both the possession and proprietorship, of which the nuns sought ‘*possessio soli*’, were vested in him (William), it was not for him to make restitution, since he had not sought to withdraw them from him who had won the case, nor was his ‘*accessio*’ at issue here, but he was pleading according to the custom of the realm, itself not unproved, and by authority of canon law, as one presented to the diocesan bishop by the lord of the fee, instituted to that church by the bishop’s own hand, and granted possession by the bishop’s official, having authentic written proof of the same in the name of the patron and the bishop, and having, as a third proof, written approval from the mother of the lord of the fee, who had eventually consented to the presentation made by her son, given that his earlier presentation to the aforesaid nuns had been quashed in the King’s court with the King himself in attendance, so that the diocesan bishop, after this quashing, had instituted several others, before William, at the presentation of her son. Whence, since what is legitimately done deserves no punishment, nor should the enmity of others be to the injury of a third party, since the authors of sin are judged to merit punishment for the same, William of Writtle claims that it was never your intention that that most lawful possession vested in him should be disturbed by the less lawful dispossession of another, even though that dispossession occurred earlier, and that above all this should not occur as a result of a mandate that in no way touched him and that brought him before the delegate on a charge of ‘*possessio soli*’, not as an adversary before the ordinary as an ‘*actio in rem*’ to which possession gave rise.

The writing of the blessed Thomas the archpriest⁸, on whose authority the nuns had relied to strengthen the agreement initiated between them, namely that by which in their name William was to have possessed an annual pension of 40 shillings payable to the nuns, William of Writtle claims was granted in ignorance by the blessed martyr⁹, not to quiet controversy but more to enhance collusion. The martyr did not know what was at stake between the parties, since at that time neither the possession nor proprietorship had been vested in the nuns, save that the church of Fowlmere being vacant following the death of its parson, naturally and by whatever means fell back upon the archdeacon (of Cambridge), William of Lavington¹⁰, in effect as farmer to William, so that by authority of your rescript William was then brought into litigation by the late archdeacon of Poitiers, now bishop of Winchester,¹¹ before the late Master Robert of Melun, bishop of Hereford¹² and before him resigned all right as parson, doing this and other things without prejudice to any future litigation, so the aforesaid William of Writtle claims, not to advance (Richard’s) case but to make plain his own right and the injury done by his opponents. For, by the appeal made to you that he has since frequently renewed, he has from the start suspended the jurisdiction of the aforesaid judges, lest on account of the aforesaid mandate they should move against him or his possessions, and lest these judges should rule in any way contrary to the intentions of the lord Pope whose task it is to interpret any ambiguities via papal letters. And he declares that his appeal should be

⁸ Becket, who presumably determined this 1162 X 64, after his accession as archbishop but before his exile from England. Hence a previously unnoticed addition to the collection of Becket’s *acta* in *EEA*, ii.

⁹ Demonstrating that the present letter was written after Becket’s murder in December 1170.

¹⁰ For William of Lavington, archdeacon of Ely (also called archdeacon of Cambridge) from before 1151, last occ. 1156 and *c.*1158, possibly d. 1158, see *Fasti*, ii, 50-2.

¹¹ For Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers from 1162/3, elected bishop of Winchester 1 May 1173, consecrated 6 October 1174, enthroned 13 October 1174, see Hudson, ‘Ilchester, Richard of’, *ODNB*, and *Fasti*, ii, 85-87.

¹² Robert of Melun, who as bishop of Hereford (1163-d.1167) himself held land at Writtle: J. Blair, ‘Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book’, *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer, 126-7.

allowed in accordance with a certain decretal letter of yours directed to the bishop of Worcester¹³ in which decretal it is pronounced that where an appeal is launched on an incidental question, this should take precedence over the hearing of the principal matter at stake.

¹³ Probably the decretal 'Memimus', for which see Chapter Three.

V fos.147(b) verso -148r = L 600-2

G(ilbertus) prior ecclesie beati Petri de Turgaton' et eiusdem loci conuentus dilectis sibi^a in Domino Rog(ero)^b, fratri R. archid(iacono), et^c Will(elm)o Fulconis filio salutem.

Quanto sincerius personas vestras diligimus, tanto securius vestre familiaritati preces porrigimus, confidentes quod sicut ad ea que honori et comodo^d vestro expedire cognoscimus in omnibus parati et prompti erimus, ita quoque et vos non minori sollicitudine preces nostras studeatis effectui mancipare. Nunc itaque non pro aliquibus extraneis sed pro nobismetipsis et pro ecclesia nostra cuius^e et vos etiam filiali amore debetis gerere vices, cum^f omni affectione et attentione^g vestre dilectionis rogamus discretionem quatinus^h inspecto et cognito tenore et forma negotii quod inter nos et dominum archiepiscopum Eboracensem vertitur super iure ecclesie de Grenesbi, ita iuxta datam vobis a Domino sapientiam, nostris curetisⁱ mederi laboribus et sumptibus et aduersariorum occurrere calliditatibus ut et hoc aput nos vobis sit memoriale perpetuum et in diem illum tremendum atque timendum in tuto repositum. Quod a multis retroactis temporibus ecclesia de Grenesbi iuste nobis collata et auctoritate episcopali et plurium etiam Romanorum pontificum priuilegiis confirmata fuisset, et eam quidam clericus noster, Ric(ardus) dictus, noster in ea factus pensionarius, multis nostro nomine^j possedisset temporibus, imminente mortis eius articulo, aput nos factus canonicus, clauis eiusdem nobis quasi^k nostras, resignauit. Cum autem ei humanitus accidisset, dominus Eborac(ensis) clauis predicte^l ecclesie cum^m instantia a nobis cepit vindicareⁿ, allegans ipsam^o penitus^p ad eius dispositionem et iurisdictionem pertinere, et nos nichil in ea iuris umquam^q per ipsum habuisse. Cuius rei occasione timentes pregrauari, ad appellationis remedium conuolauimus, prima dominica Aduentus proximo^r preteriti appellationis nostre terminum prefigentes, quem dominus Eborac(ensis) volens nos callide preuenire, ad festum beati Luce coartauit^s, et nobis adhuc in prosecutione appellationis nostre moram facientibus, suggestit summo pontifici nos violenta occupatione clauis illius ecclesie detinuisse, et ita sanctuarium Dei per violentiam ingressos fuisse, et litteras impetrauit et iudices, abbates Rieuallensem et Legacestresem, qui si ita eis esse constaret, illarum^t auctoritate clauis predictas compellerent nos illi restituere.

^a om. sibi L

^b Rogerio L

^c om. L

^d commodo L

^e cui L

^f tum L

^g intentione *interlined with correction to* attentione V, intentione L

^h quatenus L

ⁱ cunctis L

^j tempore *interlined with correction to* nomine V

^k quia L

^l eiusdem L

^m ocum *corrected to* cum V

ⁿ vindicare L

^o ipsam *interlined* V

^p om. penitus L

^q unquam L

^r proxime L

^s coarctavit L

^t illorum L

Quos quia suspectos habuimus, tum quia preuenti fuimus nulla facta in eis mentione coartationis nostre appellationis, tum quia amicum sibi precordialem et ei ex toto fauentem abbatem Legr(acestresem) et suffraganeum suum et sibi penitus subiectum abbatem Rieuall(ensem) contra nos impetrauit iudices, ad primam ipsorum vocationem non venimus. Cum autem diem nobis secundo et peremptorium prefigerent apud Eboracum, duos canonicos nostros ut nuntios^u non responsales cum litteris nostris illuc transmisimus, quibus absentie nostre causas pretendimus, causantes et locum et tempus. Locum ut cameram et sedem maiestatis prefati archiepiscopi. Tempus quia increbrescente et inualescente undique ipsius malitia et metu hostilitatis insurgente, illuc instructi non potuimus accedere nec testes nostros nobiscum perducere, auocatis his qui maxime nobis^v erant tunc^w necessarii in expeditione illius cause causa reipublice, allegantes etiam nos appellasse, et ante citationem iter adeundi sedem apostolicam^x arripuisse, et adhuc tunc^y in prosecutione ipsius appellationis moram fecisse, quod unum visum fuit nobis potuisse sufficere. Hec cum eis optulissent, et ex parte summi pontificis eis prohibuissent ne aliquo modo in cognoscendo in nostrum preiudicium quid facerent, et tanquam nuntii recederent iniunxerunt eis ut iudicium suum expectarent, quod quia facere noluerunt, in nos uti in contumaces sententiam dederunt, et clauas nostras archiepiscopo adiudicauerunt sub tal(i) interminatione ut incontinenti^z eas illi non redderemus, ecclesia nostra de Turgaton' in qua diuinis mancipati sumus obsequiis, et omnes etiam ecclesie nobis collate interdicto subicerentur^{aa}, et si nec hanc timeremus penam durius in nos animaduernerent^{bb}. Nos autem videntes enorme^{cc} dampnum nostre ecclesie si hoc faceremus, quia ecclesiam illam cuidam officiali suo iam promiserat archiepiscopus, clauas non reddidimus, sed extremam sententie illorum timentes clausulam, et ex reuersione nuntiorum nostrorum summi pontificis exspectantes misericordiam, interdicti illorum per nostras ecclesias cum planctu et eiulatu multis temporibus sustinuimus sententiam.

Interim reuersi sunt nuntii nostri cum litteris quibus expressim reuocata fuit in irritum illa commissio que facta fuit premissis abbatibus, et de beneplacito et conuentione utriusque nuntii, i(dest) et domini archiepiscopi et nostri^{dd}, commissa fuit istius eiusdem^{ee} cause cognitio domino London(iensi) et domino abbati Sancti Albani, cum adiectione huiusmodi clausule 'null(is)^{ff} litteris impediens prius alterutri partium a nobis indultis'. Nos autem timentes cum eo confluere, quia potens est aduersarius et potentiori pares esse non possumus, in primis^{gg} preces affectuosas nostrorum iudicum non semel sed sepius et cum instantia, cum litteris etiam summi pontificis pro nobis sua^{hh} gratiaⁱⁱ deuote supplicantes, sibi porreximus, magis quod gratie, quod misericordie, quod pietatis erat cupientes per ipsum

^u novitios L

^v nobis maxime L

^w om. tunc L

^x apostolicam *interlined* V

^y tamen L

^z si continenti L

^{aa} subiicerentur L

^{bb} aliter aduerterent L

^{cc} enormem L

^{dd} add. et L

^{ee} quidem L

^{ff} nullius L

^{gg} prius L

^{hh} suam L

ⁱⁱ gratiam L

optinere quam contentiosum^{jj} funem^{kk} ducendo in iudicio^{ll} cum ipso conflagere. Quibus neglectis, ipsum in ius cum timore et tremore vocari fecimus. Die autem iudicii adueniente, accesserunt quidam ex suis, asserentes questionem clauium terminatam fuisse per sententiam, et archiepiscopum nullatenus in ea iuri apud ipsos pariturum, sed tamen super principali questione in iure, s(cilicet) proprietatis, si ad hoc procedere vellemus, et id ipsum litteris suis prius eisdem significauerat, nos autem allegantes in contrarium questionem adhuc superesse clauium, quia prima commissio fuit reuocata in irritum, et ita quicquid^{mm} ob eam velⁿⁿ ex ea secutum^{oo} fuit, et ita sententiam occasione ipsius latam. Post multas et magnas varietates eo processimus, quod penitus ab obseruatione illius iudicii voluit nos absolueri dominus London(iensis), sed collega suus plurimum fauens archiepiscopo propter ecclesias suas quas apud ipsum habet plurimas, nullatenus ei consentire sustinuit.

Unde auxilio et consilio destituti, et nullum apud ipsos huiusmodi cohibitionis remedium inuenientes, ad principalem conuoluimus questionem, et alium ad ipsius discussionem impetrauerunt aduersarii nostri diem, ad oct(abas)^{pp} scilicet sancti Hilarii, quem terminum et nos volumus aliquantulum esse diffusum, ut interim super his summi pontificis iniremus consilium. De cuius gratia et misericordia nos ad plenum confidentes, diuina per ecclesias nostras exinde celebrauimus, et nos ita cum plenitudine officii nostri et nostras ecclesias omnes et possessiones Dei et Domini omnipotentis et ipsius supposuimus protectioni, et contra omnia que potuerunt nobis aliquomodo imminere pericula occasione illius sententie sic contra nos late, sedem appellauimus apostolicam ad diem qua cantatur ‘Spiritus Domini’. Cum autem audiret archiepiscopus quod diuina celebraremus, appellauit similiter. Cum itaque frequentes et multos apud^{qq} curiam semper^{rr} habeat nuntios, timemus vehementer ne aliquibus falsis suggestionibus ius^{ss} nostrum conuertat in^{tt} iniuriam, cum multos etiam^{uu} apud curiam habeat complices.

Priuileg(ium) Turgaton’ ecclesie:

Sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, statuente ut ecclesias rationabiliter donatas et episcopali auctoritate confirmatas liceat vobis cum vacauerint in manu vestra retinere^{vv}, ordinatis in ea^{ww} cappellanis et episcopo presentatis, qui de episcopalibus et plebis cura episcopo, de temporalibus vero vobis debeant respondere. Presentium itaque auctoritate prohibemus ne quis archiepiscopus, episcopus, archidiaconus vel ulla ecclesiastica superior inferiorue persona vos vel possessiones vobis commissas vel earum custodes vel administratores ob h(is) suspendere vel sub interdicto ponere vel a vobis vel a possessionibus vestris quicquam^{xx} exigere quod indebitum sit vel extraordinarium vel priscis et canonicis consuetudinibus contrarium, nisi ex rationabili causa ordine iuditiario specialiter examinata et

^{jj} contentionesum *underlined for correction* V

^{kk} finem L

^{ll} iudicium L

^{mm} quidquid L

ⁿⁿ tum L

^{oo} sequutum L

^{pp} octavam L

^{qq} apud L

^{rr} sepe L

^{ss} in L

^{tt} om. L

^{uu} et L

^{vv} tenere L

^{ww} eas L

^{xx} quidquam L

cognita ullo ausu presumant^{yy}. Et si presumpum fuerit, viribus careat, et ipso iure penitus euanescat. Quod utique firmum illibatumque volumus et precipimus obseruari, ne hii qui ecclesiarum presunt regimini occasione licite potestatis ad illicitum trahant(ur)^{zz} et iniquum compendium, saluo in omnibus et per omnia apostolice sedis priuilegio.

^{yy} presumat L

^{zz} trahantur L

Letter 49

Prior Gilbert of Thurgarton and the convent of Thurgarton to Roger, brother R. the archdeacon, and William son of Fulk¹

[?1173 X 1174]²

G(ilbert) prior of the church of St Peter Thurgarton³ and the convent of the same send greeting to his beloved friends in the Lord, the lord Roger⁴, brother R. the archdeacon⁵, and William fitz Fulk⁶. In so far as we the more sincerely esteem your persons, so we the more firmly extend to you our prayers, trusting that just as we shall be ready and prompt to act in such things as we know pertain to your honour and comfort, you will endeavour with no less care to answer our requests. Not for any strangers do we ask, but for ourselves and our church, which you should treat with filial love, asking with all affection and attentiveness for your regard that, having examined and understood the tenor and form of the business pending between us and the lord archbishop of York⁷ over right to the church of Granby⁸, you take care to relieve our efforts and expenses and to respond to the cunning tricks of our adversaries, using such wisdom as is given to you by the Lord, so that your earn our perpetual commemoration to be treasured up as security against that day of fear and trembling. It is confirmed by episcopal authority and by many papal privileges that the church of Granby has long been rightfully assigned to us. A certain clerk of ours named Richard⁹, having been made a pensioner in that church, held it for a long time in our name until, with death approaching, he was made a canon in our monastery and resigned the keys of the church to us as if they were ours. At his death, however, the archbishop began insistently to demand these keys, alleging that the church stood entirely at his disposal and jurisdiction, we having no right from him in the same. Fearing lest this situation deteriorate, we flew to the remedy of an appeal, setting the first Sunday of the coming Advent as the term for our appeal, which the

¹ This letter was discussed by Foulds. He suggests the three recipients were the prior's proctors and that Gilbert was writing here to ensure they were fully cognisant of the dispute and so able to defend the priory's interests. See *Thurgarton Cartulary*, 350-2.

² Though Foulds believed this letter dated from 1173: *Thurgarton Cartulary* ed. Foulds, nos.998-9.

³ Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire: Augustinian canons, founded 1119 X 1139. Gilbert was prior probably in c.1173 (this date Knowles originally suggested was 1181 based on this letter, but, presumably on the advice of Christopher Brooke, later amended to c.1173), appearing thereafter c.1188 X 91, and 1197 X 1205: *Heads*, 187, 286

⁴ Identity unclear, but what would otherwise be the most likely candidate, Roger archbishop of York, is ruled out by his appearance subsequently as the canons' chief opponent.

⁵ As a 'brother' this must be a monastic archdeacon. Given this and the dating, the possibilities are Master Robert de Inglesham, archdeacon of Surrey 1155 X 9- c.1187, when he became archdeacon of Gloucester, though he may have continued to hold both offices in plurality (*Fasti*, ii, 94-5, 107-9); Ralph archdeacon of Winchester from 1143 X 54 who d. before Sept 1180 (*Idem*, 92-3). Richard FitzNeal was archdeacon of Ely c.1158-1184 but was certainly not in monastic orders. Given the absence of any title as 'master', Ralph of Winchester seems most likely here.

⁶ A William son of Fulk occs. as canon of Lincoln c.1150 and last occ. 1179/80 and c.1175 X c.1184. A different Master William son of Fulk was a clerk of bishops Hugh of Avallon (1186-1200) and William of Blois (1203-6), received a prebend at Lincoln 1205 x 1206, and became archdeacon of Stow from 1222. The former is perhaps more likely, though the latter's title as *magister* would have made him a more qualified proctor: see *Fasti*, iii, 46, 65-6, 147. A William son of Fulk also appears in the Pipe Rolls owing money in various counties in *PR 2-4 Henry II*, 5, 101, 115; *5 Henry II*, 5; *6 Henry II*, 13; *12 Henry II*, 49; *13 Henry II*, 91; *14 Henry II*, 76; *15 Henry II*, 17; *16 Henry II*, 154; *17 Henry II*, 118; *18 Henry II*, 95; *19 Henry II*, 140.

⁷ Roger of Pont l'Evêque, consecrated archbishop 10 Oct 1154, d. probably 22 Nov. 1181: *Fasti*, vi, 1-7.

⁸ Granby, in the diocese of York and the archdeaconry of Nottingham. The church of Granby was appropriated to the monastery of Thurgarton, and in the *Taxatio* this was assessed at £16 13s 4d or 25 marks.

⁹ Perhaps Richard (rural) dean of Granby, for whom see *Thurgarton Cartulary*, 351.

lord of York shortened to the feast of St Luke¹⁰, wishing thereby cunningly to pre-empt us. And with us already engaged in the prosecution of our appeal, he suggested to his holiness the Pope that we had detained the church's keys through violent occupation, entering God's sanctuary by force, to which end he obtained letters and judges, namely the abbots of Rievaulx¹¹ and Leicester¹², who should, if they agreed, compel us to restore these keys to the archbishop.

Because we considered these judges suspect, both because we should be stayed by the fact that there was no mention in their commission of the shortening of the term of our appeal, and because the archbishop had sought as judges against us the abbot of Leicester, who was his particular friend, favouring him entirely, and the abbot of Rievaulx, his suffragan entirely subject to him, we failed to appear at their first summons. When, however, they fixed the day for a second and peremptory hearing at York, we sent there two of our canons as messengers rather than as proctors, with our letters explaining our absence on account of both the time and place. The place, because it was the chamber and seat of majesty of the aforesaid archbishop¹³. The time, because with the archbishop's malice increasing and spreading far and wide, and in fear of hostile action, we were unable to attend there properly prepared nor lead our witnesses there¹⁴, because those we considered most necessary to the prosecution of the case had been summoned to public affairs, pointing out moreover that we had already made appeal and set out for the apostolic see before being cited, being still engaged in the prosecution of this appeal, any one of which arguments, in our view, should have sufficed. But when these were presented to the judges by our messengers, who prohibited them by papal authority from in any way acting in this hearing to our prejudice, as our messengers were leaving, the judges enjoined them to await their judgement. Because the messengers would not do this, the judges pronounced sentence against us, as if we were contumacious, decreeing under severe threat that unless we immediately restored the keys of the church to the archbishop, our own church of Thurgarton, in which we conduct divine service, together with all other churches collated to us, should be subject to interdict, and that if even this failed to frighten us, that they would pronounce an even more severe punishment. We, seeing the great harm that would arise to our church if we acted as they commanded, since the archbishop had promised the church (of Granby) to a certain official of his, did not give back the keys, but in fear of the final phrase of their sentence, and expecting mercy from the Pope with the return of our messengers, with lamentation and wailing, for a long time endured their sentence of interdict imposed upon our churches.

Meanwhile, our messengers returned with letters by which the commission appointing the aforesaid abbots was expressly revoked as invalid, so that at the pleasure and convenience of each party, that is to say of the archbishop and ourselves, the hearing of this same case was entrusted to the lord (bishop) of London¹⁵ and the lord abbot of St Albans¹⁶, with the following clause added, 'allowing no letters previously granted by us to impede the interest of either party'. Fearing to contend with the archbishop, who is a powerful foe, and we are no match for the powerful, we began, not once but often and urgently, to request the

¹⁰ 18 October.

¹¹ North Yorkshire, Cistercian, founded 5 Mar. 1132. Silvanus was abbot 1167-1188: *Heads*, 140.

¹² St Mary de Prato Leicester, Austinian, founded 1143. William de Broke was abbot 1179-1187: *ibid.*, 170.

¹³ Foulds translates this more loosely but evocatively as 'because it was the chamber and sovereign court of the aforesaid archbishop': *Thurgarton Cartulary*, 350.

¹⁴ Foulds translates this as 'those (witnesses) who were most necessary to us had been called away on his (the archbishop's) expedition for reasons of state': *Ibid.*, 350.

¹⁵ This must be Gilbert Foliot.

¹⁶ Simon, Benedictine, abbot 1167-83: *Heads*, 67.

affectionate prayers of our judges, using our papal letters devotedly to beseech their grace, hoping to obtain from them that which was graceful, merciful and pious, rather than to contend with our adversary by bringing the bone of contention to judgement. Passing over such things, with fear and trembling we summoned the archbishop to justice. With the day of judgement now nearing, however, we were approached by various of the judges' representatives, announcing that sentence had been pronounced over the question of the keys and that the archbishop, in their opinion, appeared to have no right in this but only in the principal question at law, namely ownership, should we wish to proceed in this, as the archbishop's letters had previously informed them. We ourselves argued, to the contrary, that the principal question remained that of the keys, because the previous commission had been revoked as invalid and likewise whatever had been done by it or concerning it, and hence by extension any sentence pronounced on account of it. After many and various discussions, we proceeded thus, that the bishop of London wished entirely to absolve us from the present judgement, but that his colleague, being more inclined towards the archbishop on account of the several churches that he held from him, would not agree to this.

Whence, deprived of both help and counsel, and find no remedy from them over this restriction, sped back to the principal question, for the discussion of which our adversaries obtained another hearing, set for the octaves of St Hilary¹⁷, which day we wished be postponed for a short while so that meanwhile we might seek counsel from the Pope. Trusting in the fullness of whose grace and mercy, we from then onwards resumed services in our churches, supposing ourselves and the fulness of our office, and all our churches and possessions to be placed under the protection of God and the Lord almighty, appealing to the apostolic see on the day when 'Spiritus Domini' is sung¹⁸, against all things that might in any way pose us danger on account of that sentence now passed against us. However, when the archbishop heard that we had resumed our services, he appealed likewise. Since there are thus many and frequent messengers to the papal court, we greatly fear lest by any false suggestions our right be changed to injury, since the archbishop has many accomplices in the curia.

The privilege of the church of Thurgarton¹⁹

We receive (you) under our protection and that of St Peter, decreeing that you are to appoint chaplains, presented to the bishop, for any churches reasonably given and confirmed (to you) by episcopal authority²⁰, albeit that you may have custody of such churches when they fall vacant, their incumbents answering for their cure to the bishop in matters episcopal or concerning the people, but to you for temporalities. Thus by authority of the present letters, in respect to your person and the possessions committed to you, or their keepers or administrators, we forbid any archbishop, bishop, archdeacon or any other cleric, be he of higher or lower rank, daring for any reason to suspend you or place you under interdict or in any way demanding from you or your possessions that which is undeserved or unprecedented or contrary to ancient or canonical custom, save from reasonable cause specifically investigated and made known to judicial authority. And if it any such thing is attempted, it

¹⁷ 20 January.

¹⁸ Pentecost.

¹⁹ The status of what follows is not clear. No such clause occurs in any of Thurgarton's papal privileges, at least as preserved in the canons' cartulary. Nor do various of the clauses here correspond to what was by this time (i.e. c.1170) the standard phraseology of the papal chancery. Perhaps what we have here is a draft of what the prior and canons hoped that the papacy might deliver in response to their appeal.

²⁰ Suggesting this is part of an archiepiscopal charter, presumably reflecting the outcome of the case.

shall lack all force and be entirely voided of right. We wish and command this to be observed by all parties, firmly and unimpaired, lest those who undertake the rule of churches through legitimate authority be dragged into illicit and iniquitous gain, saving in and through all things the privilege of the apostolic see.

[END OF GROUP]

Letter 50

V fo.149r = L 763-6; P ii, no.432; J-L 14443; AD no.5022

Victor episcopus s(eruus) s(eruorum) Dei venerabilibus fratribus in Cristo archiepiscopis, episcopis et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prepositis, archid(iaconis) et aliis personis ecclesiasticis, ducibus, baronibus, comitibus et uniuersis Cristi fidelibus ad quos littere iste peruenerint salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Scismaticorum sectas a tramite iusticie prorsus alienatas, in tanta iam cognoscimus temeritate versari, quod de suis dignitatibus et ordinibus merito desperantes, ad cause sue comodum et nephande heresis horribile firmamentum dicta sibi prospera sermonesque optabiles commissa^a veritate confingunt, et ad inconsutilem Cristi Ihesu tunicam¹ et unitatem ecclesie rescindend(as)^b noua scelera^c noua mandatorum allegatione confirmant, et animas simplitiu falsa predicatione seducunt. Ecclesiarum destructores et operarii simonie, de quorum sacrilegiis et conspirationibus famosus fetor emissus totius iniquitatis mundo prebet exemplum, mundi climata vagabundi percurrunt, dicunt se Romane ecclesie perturbationibus compati, et pro eius libertate sudare.

Sed quis ancillauit sponsam Cristi ecclesiam que fuerat absque^d macula et sine ruga?² Profecto illi propter quorum scelera mente confusa est et rubore^e conspersa, qui tanquam filii diffidentie proiecta verecundia nec mendatia fingere nec scelera committere erubescunt. Nonne ipsi sunt qui de domo orationis fecerunt speluncam latronum³, ipsi cruces et altaria decrustabant, ipsi turribula^f et calices in cuppas aureas et argenteas et alia voluptatis vasa conflabant. Cancellarie officium quod olim a sanctis patribus ad hoc cognoscitur inuentum vel institutum ut Romanus pontifex per ipsum quasi per cancellum cuncta perspiceret^g et necessitatibus aduentantium iuste ac canonice prouideret, ex re mutato nomine per^h Roll(andum) scismaticum suosque sequaces merito carceraria vocata est, eo quod suo tempore priuilegia vel litteras inibi requirentes tanquam e carcere nudi et expoliati frequenter exissent. Episcopatus, legationes et singulas dignitates, diuino timore postposito, quasi iumenta vel pecora vendebant. Has autem venditiones si per singula vellemus ostendere, in dandis palliis et aliis dignitatibus simoniace comparatis, et aliis modis innumerabilibus quod gementes dicimus manifeste describere et comprobare possemus. Sed ad eius comprobationem non multum laborandum credimus, quod per omnes mundi cardines patenter est diuulgatum. Quisⁱ auditorum^j in carcere Rollandi aliquando se meminit et cum suis sequacibus aliqua^k pertractauit^l conuertatur et si vera sunt que dicimus conscientia teste confirmet. Postponantur^m in hac parte carnalis amor et odium quoniam h(ec) duo sunt que hominem a veritate seducunt, et solius amor Dei et honestas sponse sue ecclesie pura mente considereturⁿ quoniam de salute agitur.

^a omissa L

^b rescindendam L

^c secula P, AD

^d sine L

^e robore *underdotted for correction to rubore* V

^f thuribula L

^g prospiceret L

^h pro V, per *suppl.* L, P, AD

ⁱ quisquis L

^j autem L

^k aliquid L

^l pertractasse L

^m postponatur AD

ⁿ considerentur L

Quomodo erit ecclesia Dei libera quamdiu conspirationibus et simoniis et periuriis maculatur? Quomodo munda et immaculata existimabitur dum iusticie venditio et supradicte sordes in eius corpore perpetrantur? Nos autem imitantes Paulum apostolum delicta propria confitentem, confitemur^o et nos ipsos aliquando eorum numero et voluntatibus participasse^p, et quamdiu ab eorum tramite non discessimus, chorus malignantium karissimos^q nos habuit ac pre^r aliis honorauit. At ubi debitum conditionis nostre respeximus^s, et his^t que Dei sunt curauimus cogitare, sacrorum canonum et legum statuta cernentes, et religiosorum consiliis plurimumque^u suffulti, paulatim pedes ab eorum via retraximus, et opera eorum quibus antea fuimus inuoluti iam longo tempore post cepimus omnimodo execrari, simoniacas, hereses et importunas exactiones totis viribus et tota voluntate reprimere, et^v eosdem sceleratos ab iniquo opere iugiter dehortari, atque ad semitas iusticie tanto diligentius prouocare quanto principalis sancta Romana ecclesia forma et caput est omnium ecclesiarum, metuentes illud propheticum : ‘Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens a planta^w p(edis) u(sque) ad v(erticem) c(apitis)^x non est in e(o) s(anitas)’⁴. Lex etiam humana idem^y detestatur, et dicit Iustinianus ‘Magistratus omnes sine pecunia creari decernimus, ut nec impure aliquid detur, nec sine puritate aliquid a subditis exigatur’⁵, et beatus Clemens : ‘Certissimum’, inquit^z, ‘est quod nec amicitia nec propinquitas generis nec sullimitas homini debet esse preciosior veritate, utique veritas ratione non caret’⁶. Obseruandum quoque decernimus ne quis sacerdotum vel clericorum more secularium iudicum audeat pro impensis patrociniis munera recipere, nisi gratuito sumant^{aa} quandoque^{bb} in ecclesia oblata, que non fauore muneris videantur accepta sed collatione deuotionis illata. Quod si ita probantur accipere velut exactores fenoris aut usurarum possessores, secundum statuta patrum se nouerint degradandos. Et dominus in euangelio : ‘Gratis accepistis, gratis date’⁷. Moysi autem dicit Dominus ‘Non accipias munera que excecant corda sapientum et mutant verba iustorum’⁸. H(ec) et his similia dum nostris quondam fratribus proponeremus,^{cc} eorum conspirationes et scelera nobis modis omnibus displicerent, ipsorum in nos furor et iniquitas vehementer exarsit, et tanquam peccatores a suo nos consilio sequestrauit, et sepe nobis est^{dd} ab^{ee} eis iniquus sermo ille propositus qui olim ad Ysaiam dictus^{ff} esse monstratur : ‘Dic, inquam^{gg}, que volumus et nobis placentia, alioquin morieris’⁹, sede^{hh} et ‘Non predicabis populo verbum ne te occidat’¹⁰. Tunc impletum est in eis quod apostolus ait : ‘Inimicus factus sum vobis predicans verbum’¹¹.

^o confitemus L

^p partecipasse L

^q charissimos L

^r pro P

^s perpeximus L

^t hiis L

^u plurimum L, plerumque P, AD

^v om. L

^w plancta L

^x om. AD

^y id L, idem P, AD

^z inquam P, inquam est AD

^{aa} om. L

^{bb} quecumque L

^{cc} add. et L

^{dd} est nobis L

^{ee} ad L

^{ff} dictum L

^{gg} inquit L

^{hh} sed L

Sepe ad eos locuti sumus dicentes imitemurⁱⁱ Danielelem contempnentur^{jj} munera regis, qui absque pretio protulit veritatem. Ait enim ad Baltassar : ‘Munera tua tibi sint et dona domus tue ; scripturam hanc tibi legam rex et inscriptionem^{kk} eius ostendam’¹². Ad maiorem quoque perpetrande iniquitatis pertinatiam^{ll} et concepti scismatis firmamentum, viuento adhuc papa Adr(iano), quod est auditu horribile, coniurauerunt et unum de coniuratis futuram^{mmm} sibi papam constituerunt, fedus et societatem cum Siculo et Mediolanesibus contrahentes, quemadmodum per intrusionem ipsius Rollandi euidenter apparuit, et hodie per ipsos coniuratores et per scripta ab eis de eadem coniuratione confecta, manifestissime perclarescit. Nos etiamⁿⁿ teste D(e)o dicimus quod ad eorum coniurationem multoties^{oo} ab ipsis fuimus inuitati et sollicitati, et precipue a Will(elm)o Papiensi quondam cardinali.

Quis aput Cristianos unquam vidit simile? Quis crimina tam nepharia primitus perpetravit? Insurgant leges, attimentur iura, et deleatur iniquitas eorum de terra. Propter eorum rapacitates et manifestissimas simonias ordo ecclesiasticus factus est in derisum, et in prouerbium omnium regionum. Composuerunt de eis cantilenam et diuersa carmina, plurimi stulti, que^{pp} in choreis et locis forensibus quod sine dolore non dicimus, per Gallias et per Italiam decantantur^{qq}, et sacerdotale officium factum est materia histrionum. Quis tantam Cristi ignominiam non defleat? Quis Cristianus dolore et tristitia non affligitur dum videt caput omnis religionis per illorum crimina dehonestatum? Quis non properet ad eorum confusionem qui tante ruine ma(ter)ia et causa esse noscuntur? Ecce tales sunt hii^{rr} qui ad salutem et liberationem sedis apostolice tanquam re bene gesta alios^{ss} inuitare presumunt, tanquam ad eos pertineat, quasi ipsi caput ecclesiarum esse debeant vel meruerint permanere. Absit quod umquam tales amodo^{tt} in ecclesia catholica locum habeant, qui iam digni sunt tanquam chore et socii^{uu} eius igne consumi et Dathan et Abiron a corpore terre deglutiri, de quibus cum Ysaia dicitur: ‘Quomodo facta est meretrix ciuitas fidelis plena iudicii’¹³, ‘repleta est auro et argento, et thesaurorum eius non est finis’¹⁴. Multiplicauit igitur equos et innumerabiles quadriges eius, participes eius facti sunt infideles, ‘socii furum, omnes diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones, ideo pupillo non iudicant et causa vidue non ingreditur ad eos’¹⁵ qui iustificant impium pro muneribus, et iusticiam iusti auferunt ab eo. Ideo ‘indignabitur furor meus’¹⁶ in eos et vindicabor de inimicis meis dicit: ‘Dominus Deus exercituum, fortis Israel’¹⁷.

O fratres venerabiles et filii in Cristo karissimi, nouit vestra caritas quod furor et indignatio altissimi in filios perditionis per viros catholicos et diuine legi subiectos precipue exercetur in terris. Attendite quia verax Deus vindictam huiuscemodi et impiorum desolationem tempore vestro reseruauit quod nostro tempore statuit Dei prouidentia sordes simoniacas et nephandas enormitates ab ecclesia sua misericorditer emendare. Nouit D(eu)s quem nullum latet secretum, qui et corda inspicit et cogitationes hominum perscrutatur, quod origo et principalis

ⁱⁱ imitemini L

^{jj} contempnentem L

^{kk} interpretationem *underlined for correction* to inscriptionem V, interpretationem P, AD

^{ll} pertinatiti V, pertinatia suppl. P, AD

^{mmm} factum L, futurum AD

ⁿⁿ et L

^{oo} multoties L

^{pp} qui L

^{qq} decantant L

^{rr} hactenus L

^{ss} illos P, AD

^{tt} amici L

^{uu} socium L

causa nostrarum persecutionum exinde precipue euidenter emersit, et hodie propterea contra nos feruesc(it)^{vv}, quod ad emendandas omnes quas supradiximus sordes ecclesie Romane iam longo tempore laborauimus, et in eodem proposito duximus in finem vite perseuerandum. Intentionis et enim nostre est et presentes neccessitates^{ww} insinuare compell(un)t^{xx} ut sacrosancta ecclesia Romana cum Dei adiutorio ab omni sordido munere et exactione amodo sit aliena, et tocius honestatis ac^{yy} religionis effectibus innouata, atque tam nostri beneficii quam imperiali largitione singule ecclesie cardinalium tantis possessionibus ac redditibus amplientur, quod unicuique sua sufficiant. Innocentem vitam conuersationemque retineant, et nec dignitates aut ecclesiastica beneficia vendere nec subditos exactionibus opprimere occasione penurie^{zz} rerum temporalium, vel de prisco more vel consuetudine compellantur. Sed sponsa Cristi commissa nobis ecclesia ad omni spurcicia et impietate purgata, tanquam speculum et caput omnium Cristianorum tota sit lucida^{aaa}, munda et immaculata.

Illud etiam uniuersitati vestre duximus intimandum quod memoratus filius noster Freder(icus)^{bbb} Romanorum Cristianissimus imperator, magnifice pro ecclesie libertate laborat, possessiones et dignitates antiquas et moderanas beato Petro, tanquam legitimus^{ccc} defensor institutus, recuperare intendit, et super omnes suos predecessores reges et imperatores matrem suam sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, sicut pro certo^{ddd} cognoscimus, desiderat exaltare, diligere et multipliciter honorare. Erusbescant igitur scismatici, honestatis et iusticie incorrigibiles detractores, et ab omni vestro consortio vel^{eee} colloquio tanquam lepra turpissima sequestrentur.

D(eu)s autem pacis et unitatis det vobis recta sapere et intelligere et in beati Petri ac nostra vos dignetur obedientia secundum veritatem et iusticiam misericorditer solidare.
Dat'^{fff} Papie, iii. Non(as) Decembr(is).

1. John 19:23. 2. Ephesians 5:27. 3. Matthew 21:13, Mark 11:17 and Luke 19:46. 4. Isaiah 1:5-6.
5. Justinian, *Constitutiones*, XV kp.51 : 'Ut magistratus sine pecunia fiant'.
6. Pope Clement, *De officio sacerdotii et clericorum* (PL, 130, col.46) : 'Certissimum namque est quod neque amicitia, neque propinquitas generis, neque regni sublimitas, homini debet esse pretiosior veritate, quia nihil est pretiosius anima.
7. Matthew 10:8. 8. Exodus 23:8. 9. Isaiah 30:10. 10. ?Unidentified. 11. Galatians 4:16. 12. Daniel 5:17. 13. Isaiah 1:21. 14. Isaiah 2:7. 15. Isaiah 1:23. 16. Exodus 22 :24. 17. Isaiah 1:24.

^{vv} fervere L

^{ww} necessitates L

^{xx} compellit P, AD

^{yy} et L

^{zz} penuria L

^{aaa} add. et L

^{bbb} Federicus L

^{ccc} legitimus L

^{ddd} pro certo V, profecto L

^{eee} et L

^{fff} Datum L

Letter 50
Victor, Anti-Pope, to all his Faithful in Christ

3 December 1159

Victor writes to all the faithful to inform them of his version of events surrounding the schism.

Letter 51

V fos.149v-150r; T fos.72r-74v = P ii, no.415 (J-L 10589), AD, no.5003

Alex(ander) episcopus s(eruus) s(eruorum) Dei venerabili fratri P(etro) Parisiensi episcopo et dilectis filiis <canonicis>^a maioris ecclesie et uniuerso clero Parisiensi salutem et a(postolicam) b(enedictionem). Eterna et incommutabilis prouidentia creatoris^b sanctam et immaculatam ecclesiam a sue foundationis exordio ea ratione et ordine voluit gubernari ut unus ei^c pastor et institutor existeret, cui uniuersarum^d ecclesiarum prelati absque repugnantia subiacerent et membra tanquam suo capiti coherentia ei se mirabili quadam <unitate>^e coniungerent, et ab eo^f nullatenus dissiderent. Qui vero apostolis suis pro eorum fidei firmitate promisit dicens^g: ‘Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad c(onsummationem) se(culi)’¹, ille proculdubio ecclesiam suam cuius apostoli ipsi magisterium ausumpserunt, sua promissione^h fraudari nullo modo patietur, sed eam in suo statu et ordine, licet ad instar nauicule Petri aliquando fluctuareⁱ videatur, perpetuo faciet permanere.

Unde et quamuis hoc tempore tres falsi fratres qui a nobis exierunt, sed^j de nobis non fuerunt^j, transfigurantes^k se in angelos lucis cum sint ipsi Sathane, inconsutilem Cristi tunicam quam ipse idem^l ex persona psalmographi a leonibus petit et a framea erui et de manu canis orat ac postulat liberari², scindere et laniare^m laborantⁿ, Cristus tamen auctor et caput ecclesie eam velut unicam sponsam suam prouida gubernatione tuetur, et nauem egregii piscatoris, licet^o quatiatur a fluctibus, non permittit naufragium sustinere. Porro cum antecessor noster bone memorie Adr(ianus) papa, kal(endas) Semptemb(ris), dum essemus Anagnie^p, debitum nature soluisset, et e terris^q ad celum ab imis migrasset ad superna, eo Romam adducto, et ii.^o Non(as) Septemb(ris) in ecclesia beati Petri presentibus fere omnibus fratribus satis honorifice sicut mos^r est intumulato^s, ceperunt fratres et nos cum eis secundum ecclesie consuetudinem de substituendo pontifice^t studiosius cogitare, et tribus^u inter se diebus^u de ipsa electione tractantes, tandem in personam nostram insufficientem huic honori^v et tante dignitatis fastigio minime congruentem omnes fratres quotquot fuerunt, tribus tamen exceptis,

^a canonicis *suppl.* T

^b conditoris T

^c eius T

^d uniuersi T

^e unitate *suppl.* T, P

^f ipso T

^g *add.* ecce T

^h *add.* ne T

ⁱ fluctuare aliquando T

^j non fuerunt de nobis T

^k transigantes P

^l quidem P

^m lamare T

ⁿ laborent T

^o *add.* sepius T

^p Aganine T

^q de terris T

^r moris T

^s tumulato T

^t *add.* in eadem ecclesia T

^u diebus inter se T

^v oneri T

Octauiano s(cilicet), et Iuone^w de Sancto Martino, et Guidone Cremensi, Deo teste quod^x non mendatum fingimus, sed ^ysicut est meram^y loquimur veritatem, concorditer atque unanimiter conuenerunt, et nos assentiente clero et populo in Romanum pontificem elegerunt. Duo vero, Iuo^z scilicet^{aa} et Guido quos prenotauimus, tertium, scilicet^{bb} Octauianum^{cc} nominantes ad eius electionem pertinaciter intendebant. Unde et ipse Oct(auianus) in tantam audatiam vesaniamque prorupit quod mantum quo nos reluctantes et renitentes quia nostram insufficientiam videbamus, ^{dd}Odo prior diaconorum iuxta morem ecclesie induerat^{dd}, tanquam arrepticus^{ee}, collo nostro propriis manibus violenter excussit, et secum inter tumultuosos fremitus asportauit.

Ceterum cum quidam ex^{ff} senatoribus tantum facinus inspexissent, ^{gg}ex eis unus diuino spiritu^{gg} succensus, mantum ipsum de manibus^{hh} eripuit seuiantis. Ipse vero ad quendam capellanum suum qui ad hoc instructus venerat et paratus, ilico flameos oculos fremebundus inflexit, clamans et innuensⁱⁱ ut mantum quem secum portauerat, festinanter afferret, quo utique sine mora delato <Octauianus>^{jj} abstracto pilleo et capite inclinato, cunctis fratribus aut loco <inde>^{kk} aut voluntate remotis, mantum per manus eiusdem capellani et cuiusdam clerici sui ambitiosus <assumpsit>^{ll} et ipse^{mmm} quia non erat alius in hoc opere capellano et clerico extitit coadiutor.

Verum ex diuino iudicio credimus contigisse quod ea pars manti que tegere anteriora debuerat, multis videntibus et ridentibus, posteriora tegebat, et cum ipse idem hoc studiosius emendareⁿⁿ voluisset, quia capitium^{oo} manti extra se raptus inuenire non poterat^{pp}, collo fimbrias circumduxit, ut saltem mantus ipse ^{qq}quomodolibet appositus ei^{qq} videretur. Sicque factum^{rr} est ut sicut torte mentis erat et oblique intentionis^{ss}, ita ex transuerso et obliquo mantum fuerat in testimonium sue dampnationis indutus. Quo facto porte ecclesie que firmate fuerant reserantur, et armatorum cunei quos sicut ex re apparuit pecunie largitione conduxerat, euaginatibus gladiis cum immenso strepitu cucurrerunt, et pestis illa mortifera, quia cardinales et episcopos non habebat, armatorum caterua militum vallabatur.

^w Ivo V

^x quia T

^y meram sicut est T

^z Iohannes P

^{aa} videlicet T

^{bb} om. T

^{cc} add. videlicet T

^{dd} iuxta morem ecclesie Odd' prior diaconorum induerat T

^{ee} add. a T, P

^{ff} de T

^{gg-gg} unus ex eis spiritu diuino T

^{hh} manu T

ⁱⁱ innuens T, concrepans P

^{jj} Octauianus *suppl.* T, idem Octauianus P

^{kk} inde *suppl.* T, P

^{ll} add. assumpsit T, P

^{mmm} add. idem P

ⁿⁿ emendare studiosius T

^{oo} capitium T

^{pp} non poterat inuenire T

^{qq-qq} appensus ei quomodolibet T

^{rr} factrum T

^{ss} intentionis oblique T

Considerate itaque ^{tt}fratres in Christo venerabiles^{tt}, tam piaculare flagitium, tam execrabile sacrilegium diligenter attendite, et videte si est dolor sicut dolor iste, et si ab exordio nascentis ecclesie tanta vesania fuerit umquam^{uu} a quolibet scismatico et^{vv} heretico attemptata. Fratres vero facinus tam immensum et a seculis inauditum ex insperato videntes et formidantes, ne a conducticiis militibus truncarentur, sese inmunitiones^{ww} ecclesie nobiscum pariter receperunt ibique ix. diebus continuis, ne exinde libere exiremus, fecit nos quorumdam senatorum assensu quos pecunia oblata corruperat, die noctuque armata manu cum omni diligentia custodiri.

Sane, omni populo incessanter acclamante et in senatores pro tanta impietate multa inmanitate fremente, de custodia sumus^{xx} illius munitiois erepti, sed in artiori^{yy} loco^{zz} Transtiberim nos idem senatores recepta inde pecunia posuerunt. Cumque ^{eee}ibidem moram^{aaa} ferme ^{bbb}per triduum fecissemus^{bbb}, uniuerso populo tantam proditionem atque malitiam^{ccc} nullatenus sustinente, senatores cum nobilibus et populo venientes, nos et fratres nostros per urbem magnifice et honorifice <cum>^{ddd} immensis laudibus et preconiiis, campanis etiam ^{eee}ubique in transitu nostro^{eee} pulsantibus conduxerunt, et sic tandem a violentia perse(quentis)^{fff} erepti et nostre redditi libertati, sequenti die dominico venerabilibus fratribus^{ggg} G(regorio) Sabin(ensi), Hub(aldo) Hostiensi, B(ernardo) Portuensi, Galt(ero) Alb(anensi), I(ohanne) Sign(ensi), et B(ernardo)^{hhh} Terracine(nsi) episcopis cardinalibus quoque abbatibus, prioribus, iudicibus, aduocatis, scriniariis, primicerio, et scoleⁱⁱⁱ cantoribus^{jjj}, nobilibus etiam et quadam parte de populo urbis, aput Nimpham non longe ab urbe^{kkk} simul congregatis, munus consecrationis accepimus, et sicut in Romana ecclesia consuetudinis est ibidem pontificali regno magnifice sumus^{lll} coronati.

Ceteram predictus Oct(auianus) cum pro consecratione immo execratione sua dum et in urbe esset et postquam latenter urbem exiuit multos episcopos conuocasset, nullum prosus preter unum, Ferentin(um)^{mmmm} videlicet, habere potuit pro sua temeritate et vesania confirmanda. Quosdam tamen episcopos imperialibus minis, quosdam violentia laicali, quosdam vero pecuniis et blanditiis allicere voluit, sed nilⁿⁿⁿ Domino impediante profecit. Unde nec adhuc inuenire potest, licet modis omnibus enitatur, qui ei manus execrationis imponat, et se tante

^{tt-tt} venerabiles in Christo fratres T

^{uu} unquam fuerit T

^{vv} et V, vel T

^{ww} inmunitioem T

^{xx} fuimus T

^{yy} *add.* et tutiori T

^{zz} *add.* apud T

^{aaa} moram ibidem T

^{bbb} fecissimus per triduum T

^{ccc} *add.* decetero T

^{ddd} cum *suppl.* T, P

^{eee-eee} in transitu nostro ubique T

^{fff} Perse V, persequentis *suppl.* T, persecutionis P

^{ggg} *add.* nostris T

^{hhh} Berardo P

ⁱⁱⁱ scola V, T, scola *suppl.* P

^{jjj} sauatorum V, cantoribus *suppl.* T, P

^{kkk} *add.* in T

^{lll} sumus V, fuimus ac sollemniter T

^{mmmm} Ferentinatum T

ⁿⁿⁿ nichil T, P

faciat presumptionis et impietatis auctorem. Verum^{ooo} ^{uuu}Guido et I(ohannes)^{ppp} cecitatis tenebris obuoluti, quoniam scriptum est peccator cum venerit in profundo^{qqq} vitiorum contempnet, nec sic a sua presumptione dampnabili resipiscunt', sed eundem Oct(auiantum) quem sibi in statuam erexerunt obstinata perfidia venerantur, et eum relicta unitate ecclesie presumunt usque adhuc tanquam idolum aut simulacrum adorare. Ipse autem Anticristi tempora prefigurans usque adeo erectus^{rrr} supra se, ut etiam in templo Dei sederit, ostendens se tanquam sit Deus, et multi abhominaciones^{sss} desolationis stantem in loco sancto non sine lacrimarum multa^{ttt} effusione corp(ore) eis^{uuu} oculis inspexerunt. Sane nos infirmitatem nostram et virtutum indigentias^{vvv} cognoscentes, nostrum iactamus in Domino cogitatum, sperantes et de Cristi misericordia^{www} confidentes, quod ecclesiam suam sanctam pro qua ipse idem in substantia nostre mortalitatis apparuit, ut eam sibi non habentem rugam aut maculam exhiberet, optata faciet tranquillitate letari, et, omnium procellarum inundatione^{xxx} sedata, ^{yyy} nubiliosa queque et noxia propulsare.

Nunc igitur quia nos de meritorum <nostrorum>^{zzz} qualitate diffidimus, ac de honestate et^{aaaa} religione vestra plenam fidutiam optinemus, vestris ac uniuersalis ecclesie precibus infirmitatem nostram petimus adiuuari, caritatem vestram per apostolica scripta rogantes et admonentes^{bbbb} intentius^{cccc} ut sicut viri catholici vos pro domo Domini muros inexpugnabiles opponatis, et in deuotione^{dddd} matris nostre^{eeee} sacrosancte Romane ecclesie immobiliter persistentes, ab eius unitate nullatenus recedatis. Quod si predictus^{ffff} vir iniquitatis^{gggg} ad partes vestras aliqua dampnationis sue scripta transmiserit, ea sicut respuenda sunt respuatis, et tanquam vana et sacrilega contempnere studeatis. Nouit^{hhhh} insuper discretio vestra quod nos supradictumⁱⁱⁱⁱ Oct(auiantum) apostaticum et scismaticum in octauo die a consecratione nostra tunc enim ei terminum^{jjjj} resipiscendi et ad unitatem matris ecclesie redeundi prefiximus, tanquam inobedientem et contumacem, et illos qui ei manus presumpserunt non dico^{kkkk} consecrationis sed execrationis imponere, de communi fratrum nostrorum et^{llll} episcoporum et cardinalium voluntate et^{mmmm} consilio, accensis candelis et cetu clericorum in

^{ooo} *add.* memorati T

^{ppp} I. et G. T

^{qqq} profundum T, P

^{rrr} *add.* est T, P

^{sss} abhominacionem T, P

^{ttt} multa lacrimarum T

^{uuu} *om.* T

^{vvv} indigentiam T

^{www} *add.* plenius T, P

^{xxx} procellarum omnium mundatione T

^{yyy} *add.* nihil erit, quod ei iam possit resistere, ubi unicus sponsus eius voluerit T, *add.* quod ei iam possit obsistere, ubi unicus sponsus eius voluerit P

^{zzz} nostrorum *suppl.* T

^{aaaa} ac T

^{bbbb} componentes T

^{cccc} attentius T

^{dddd} *add.* ac fidelitate T

^{eeee} vestre T, P

^{ffff} prefatus T

^{gggg} impietatis T

^{hhhh} nouerit T

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ supranominatum T

^{jjjj} terminum ei T

^{kkkk} dicimus T

^{llll} *om.* et T

^{mmmm} ac T

ecclesia congregato, vinculo anathematis et excommunicationis astrinximus et eos cum suo auctore diabolo condempnauimus. Duos veroⁿⁿⁿⁿ iam dictos fautores eius, videlicet^{oooo} I(ohannem) de Sancto Martino et G(uidonem) Cremensem, et Ferent(inum)^{pppp} episcopum, qui ei presumunt^{qqqq} pertinaciter adherere, aliosque^{rrrr} complices et principales coadiutores eius et omnes qui^{ssss} scienter eis^{tttt} communicauerint eidem excommunicationi et condemptationi decreuimus subiacerere.

1. Matthew 28:20. 2. Ps 21:21.

ⁿⁿⁿⁿ quo T

^{oooo} *om.* T

^{pppp} Ferentinatim T

^{qqqq} presumit T

^{rrrr} alios T

^{ssss} *ad. ei* T

^{tttt} *om. et* T

Letter 51

Pope Alexander III to Bishop Peter [Lombard] and canons of Notre-Dame Paris
Terracina, 5 October 1159

Alexander wrote similar letters to various recipients around Western Christendom, detailing his own version of the schism.

V fo.150r = L 546-7 (J-L 12179)

Alex(ander) episcopus s(eruus) s(eruorum) Dei venerabilibus fratribus B(artholomeo) Exon(iensi) et R(ogero) Wigorn(iensi) episcopis et dilecto filio abbati de Fauresh(am) salutem et apostolicam b(enedictionem). Cum ex suscepti regiminis officio circa ecclesias Dei curam et sollicitudinem^a adhibere debeamus ut in statu integro et honesto sicut decet conseruentur, dolemus plurimum et turbamur cum aliqua illarum contingit ex insufficienti custodia prouisoris aut indiscreto regimine dilapidationem bonorum suorum et enormem sustinere iacturam. Peruenit autem ad audientiam nostram quod monasterium Sancti Aug(ustini) Cant(uariensis) quod ad dispositionem et ordinationem nostram et ecclesie Romane nullo mediante spectare dinoscitur^b, ad tam miserabilem statum deuenerit quod non solum in temporalibus sed etiam^c in spiritualibus videtur ad ultimum venisse defectum, et nisi remedium celerius adhibeatur, timeri poterit^d ne lapsum irreparabilem, quod Deus auertat, non posset^e aliquatenus euitare.

Quia igitur nolumus nec debemus hec incorrecta relinquere, vobis de quorum prudentia et honestate plurimum confidimus, veritatem super his committimus^f inquirendam, discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandantes, quatenus ad predictum monasterium pariter accedatis, et de statu ipsius sollicite inuestigantes, monachis eiusdem loci auctoritate nostra firmiter iniungatis ut, omni gratia et timore postposito, vobis exinde nudam et simplicem veritatem aperiant, nec eam in animarum suarum periculum reticere presumant. Verum si ad predictum monasterium accedere non poteritis, electum et monachos quos magis ad hoc noueritis expedire, congruo loco ad^g presentiam vestram conuocetis, et horum veritate inquisita plenius et cognita que corrigenda fuerint commissa vobis auctoritate sine omni personarum acceptione^h, appellatione remota, corrigatis scelerius et emendetis, et monasterium ipsum in pristinum statum studeatis modis omnibus reformare, et ibidem antiquas et rationabiles patrum institutiones et honestas ipsius loci consuetudines faciatis inuiolabiliter obseruari. Porro si cognoueritis quod idem monasterium absque amotione electi et quorundam monachorum reformari non possit, tam ipsum electum quam monachos quos iud(icauer)itis amouendos, omni occasione et appellatione remota amouere non differatis, et aliunde personas idoneas eiusdem ordinis et honestatis ibidem substituere, ita ut idem monasterium per studium et sollicitudinem vestram in suo statu reformatum leta possit tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus incrementa percipere, et vestre discrecionisⁱ prudentia debeat ex hoc tam aput Deum quam aput homines non immerito commendabilis apparere. Dat' Tuscu'.

^a sollicitudinem L

^b dignoscitur L

^c et L

^d potest L

^e possit L

^f comittimus L

^g V *add.* monasterium *underdotted for omission*

^h acceptatione L

ⁱ V *add.* iusticia *undotted for omission*

Letter 52¹

Pope Alexander III to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop Roger of Worcester, and Abbot [Clarembald] of Faversham

[Oct 1170 X 26 Jan 1173]²

Alexander, bishop and servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers Bartholomew bishop of Exeter and Roger bishop of Worcester and to his beloved son the abbot of Faversham³ sends greeting and apostolic blessing. Since by virtue of the office that we have taken up we should ensure care and forethought for the churches of God, so that they may be kept as they ought in a pristine and honourable state, we greatly grieve and are disturbed that any one of them should sustain grave injury in the dilapidation of its goods through the inadequate keeping of its custodian or through careless government. It has nonetheless come to our hearing that the monastery of St Augustine's Canterbury, known to pertain directly and without mediation to our wish and command and that of the Roman church, has come to so grievous a state that, both in temporalities and in spiritualities, it seems to approach ultimate failure, so that, unless remedy is speedily applied, it is to be feared that, God forbid, an irreparable collapse can by no means be averted.

Therefore, because we neither wish nor ought to leave such things uncorrected, we appoint you, in whose prudence and honesty we place great trust, to establish the truth in these matters, commanding you by apostolic writing that you go together to that monastery and, enquiring carefully into its condition, you enjoin the monks of that place, by our authority that, putting aside all favour and fear, they reveal to you the bare and simple truth, not holding back from such truth on pain of their souls. In truth, should you be unable to visit that monastery, you should call the abbot-elect and the monks whom you know to be suitable, to meet you at a suitable place, and with the truth of these things full investigated and known, you should as soon as possible correct and emend whatever there is to correct by the authority committed to you, without any consideration for persons, and excluding appeal, taking care to restore this monastery to its pristine state and to have invariably observed there the ancient and reasonable dispositions of the fathers and the honourable customs of that place. Thereafter, if you recognize that this monastery cannot be reformed save by the removal of the abbot-elect and certain of the monks, do not delay the removal both of the elect and of the monks whom you decide to remove, without delay or appeal, substituting there suitable persons from another place of the same order and honour, so that through your care and solicitude this same monastery, thus reformed, may enjoy happy increase both in spiritual and temporal affairs, and so that the wisdom of your discernment should not unworthily appear the more commendable both with God and amongst men. Given at Tusculum.

¹ Calendared in Cheney, *Roger*, app.II no.33. For the judges report to the Pope of c. June 1173 idem see app.I no.8, and the letter is edited and translated in *LJS* ii, no.322.

² These are the dates of the Pope's residence at Tusculum, and the abbot of St Augustine's was deposed in 1173.

³ Faversham (Kent) St Saviour, f.1148. Probably Abbot Clarembald, abbot 1148-1177. The next abbot was Guericc 1178-1188(?). See *Heads*, 49-50.

Letter 53

V fo.150r = L 548-9

De promotione vestra gauisi sumus, sed ex litteris dilecti filii nostri I. nuper acceptis et ampliatum est gaudium nobis et accumulata letitia. Intelleximus namque ex eis quod optauimus promotioni accepisse^a pacem, prelationi concordiam, dominationi mutuam caritatem, et ab uniuersis fratribus honorem et reuerentiam priori debitam unanimiter vobis exhiberi. Facti sunt ut audiui hostes vestri in capite. Sed benedictus Deus qui procellam si qua fuit in ingressu, et serenauit in auram, et solidauit ad gratiam et sustinuit ad probationem. Sapiens ait ‘Quoniam amara principia iocundos solent exitus promereri’, et poeta : ‘Cereat successibus, opto quisquis ab e(uentu) f(acta) n(otanda) p(utat)’², et alibi : ‘Debile^b principium me(lior)^c f(ortuna) s(equitur)’³. Portus^d iocundius intratur^e et vigilantius peragratur postquam nauis fuit in introitu et periculosius agitata fluctibus et vehementius concussa procellis. Porro frater unum tibi credo necessarium, quatenus in illo soliloquio ubi mens deuotior et conscientia purior confabulantur^f cum Domino, crebris precibus et lacrimis studeas optinere ut ille qui cepit in te opus bonum perficiat, ut in via qua gradieris firmet Dominus super te oculos suos⁴ et dirigat gressus tuos, ne labatur pes tuus⁵, ne quod absit rediuiui inimici iuxta iter scandalum ponant tibi⁶. Ne demum antiquus ille aduersarius insidietur calcaneo tuo⁷, qui in principio temptat^g, in medio luctatur, in fine vincit vel vincitur, quem quidem impossibile est cauere vel fugare, vincere vel eicere nisi in illo qui ait: ‘Ego vici mundum’⁸, et iterum, ‘Nunc iudicium est mundi, nunc prin(ceps) huius m(undi) e(iicietur) f(oras)’⁹. Expedit itaque astutiam serpentis ita columbina simplicitate temperare et commiscere¹⁰, et quasi vicissim inclinando ex hoc, in hoc velut mutua lance alternatim transfundere, ut peruerse mentes apud^h te reperiant quod timeatⁱ, et quietiores animi quod mulceat, quatenus et hii^j in patre iudicem teneant^k, et illi in censura misericordiam venerentur. Sicque fortes discas tolerare per patientiam, ut et infirmos non dediscas supportare per mansuetudinem. Iuxta poetam: ‘Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci’¹¹.

1. Proverbial 2. Ovid, *Heroides* II 85-6 3. Proverbial 4. Psalm 31:8 5. Cf. Deuteronomy 32:35
6. Psalm 139:6 7. Cf. Genesis 3:15 8. John 16:33 9. John 12:31 10. Cf. Matthew 10:16
11. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 343: ‘Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utili dulci’.

^a accessisse L

^b debilem L

^c me L

^d prorsus L

^e om. L

^f confabulatur L

^g tentat L

^h apud L

ⁱ timeant L

^j hi L

^k timeant L

Letter 53

To one elected as prior of a monastery¹

[Date uncertain]

We rejoiced at your promotion, but lately having received the letters of our beloved son I., our joy increased and our happiness multiplied. For we understood from them that, as we desired, peace has followed promotion, concord follows ecclesiastical election, mutual love after lordship, and that the honour and respect due to a prior are unanimously shown to you by all the brothers. They had become, so I had heard, your chief enemies. But blessed be God who soothes the tempest to gentle breeze, stills it in grace or sustains it as trial. A wise man says: 'Bitter beginnings lead to joyful endings'². And a poet: 'Let him come to nought, I pray, who thinks that the deed should be condemned from its result'³, and elsewhere 'The worse the beginning, the better the fortune that follows'⁴. The harbour is entered all the more happily and is the more cautiously traversed after the ship has stood at its entrance tossed the more dangerously by the waves and shaken the more furiously by the tides. Hereafter brother I believe one thing suffices for you, that with frequent prayers and tears, in that private dialogue in which the mind can the more devoutly, and conscience the more purely converse with the Lord, you endeavour to ensure that He who has begun good work in you completes the task, that in the path you climb the Lord may fix his gaze upon you⁵ and so direct your steps that your foot does not slip⁶, lest, woe betide, your enemies, revived, set snares for you along the way⁷. Indeed at last may that ancient foe be bruised by your heel⁸, who in the beginning tempts, in the middle wrestles, and at the end either overthrows or is himself overthrown, who cannot be avoided or fled, conquered or cast out save through Him who declares 'I have overcome the world'⁹, and again 'Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the ruler of this world be cast out'¹⁰. Thus it is expedient to mix and temper the cunning of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove¹¹, and again turning aside from this, to flow alternatively from one fixed pole to another, so that perverse minds find in you that which is to be feared, and those calm of spirit that which soothes, so that the perverse cleave to the Father as judge, and the calm revere mercy in judgment. Thus may you learn to withstand the strong through patience, just as you shall not neglect to strengthen the weak through gentleness. As the poet tells us: 'He who mixes pleasure with utility wins the approval of all'¹².

¹ Liverani attributed this to 'a certain Alexander, though not certainly Alexander III, though he flourished in Alexander's time' ['Data autem est a quoddam Alexandro, non quidem Romano pontifice, licet ea tempestate floruerit Alexander papa III']. But no *salutatio* is preserved in the manuscript so that the reasons for Liverani's attribution remain obscure.

² Walther, no.5210.

³ Ovid, *Heroides* II ll.85-6.

⁴ Proverbial, unidentified.

⁵ Psalm 31:8

⁶ Cf. Deuteronomy 32:35

⁷ Psalm 139:6

⁸ Cf. Genesis 3:15

⁹ John 16:33.

¹⁰ John 12:31.

¹¹ Cf. Matthew 10:16

¹² Horace, *Poetic Art*, 343.

Letter 54

V fo.150r = L 746

Reuerendo patri et domino S(tephano)^a Dei gratia abbati Cluniac(ensi) frater^b Laur(entius) seruus Sancti Petri Westmon(asterii) modicum munus se ipsum. Infortunium meum crebris suspiriis deploro quod anno preterito cum in Anglia moram aliquam faceretis dilectam et desideratam michi faciem vestram peccatis meis impediens videre non merui. Detinebant me illis diebus longius a London' negotia quedam ecclesie nostre, que et ad honorem Dei consummare et ad vos ante transfretationem vestram posse redire confidebam, sed fefellit me opinio mea. In reditu namque meo cognoui auris prospere flantibus presentiam vestram nobis sublatam fuisse. O quotiens^c cum dolore et gemitu recolo quod ceteris concurrentibus et ad seruitium vestrum se et sua offerentibus vel afferentibus, ego fortasse non minus honoris vestri et ordinis emulator, non affui, non vidi, obsequium nullum impendi, officium dilectionis nullum impertiui, familiaritatem aliquam noticie vestre quemadmodum optaueram, michi non conciliaui.

O quam grauis iactura cum tanto viro participasse prouintiam et non presentiam, eodem includi regno et non frui colloquio, paruis terrarum spatiis disiungi et mutuis fraterne dileccionis amplexibus non coniungi. Utinam cause alique accidentes me saltem in Norm(anniam)^d transportassent, proculdubio Cluniac(i) presentiam vestram adirem, non de contemptu qui reuera nullus fuit, sed forsitan de negligentia et de fatuitate mea ad pedes clementie vestre pro voto satisfactorus. Parcat interim queso pius^e pater penitenti filio, et donec diuinitas propitiam^f maiorem sanctitatis vestre copiam nobis prestet, michi tanquam monacho vestro et deuoto filio quod placuerit iniungite, voluntati vestre et imperio pro posse parituro^g. Valete et in orationibus vestris et ecclesie vestre, si placet, paruitatis mee memores estote.

^a N. L

^b fratres L

^c quoties L

^d Normandiam L

^e om. L

^f propitia L

^g placituro L

Letter 54

Abbot Laurence of Westminster to Abbot Stephen of Cluny

[1163 x 1173, ?1163]¹

To his reverend father and lord Stephen² by the grace of God abbot of Cluny, brother Laurence servant of Saint Peter at Westminster, sends aid in so far as his modest capacity allows. Deploring my misfortune with abundant sighs, I regret that last year, when you spent time in England³, prevented by misdeeds, I failed to set eyes on your beloved and much desired face. Certain affairs of our church⁴, that I was confident would be completed to the honour of God, allowing me to return to you before your crossing overseas, kept me far from London at that time. But my confidence betrayed me. For returning, I learned from the prosperous gusting of the wind that your person had been taken from us. Oh, how often do I recall with pain and sorrow that, whilst others hurried to meet you and to offer you their service, I, perhaps not the least admirer of your honour and rank, was not there, did not see, offered no obedience, undertook no office of love. Despite whatever acquaintance I have achieved with you, to this I cannot reconcile myself.

How great a blow, for such a man to have visited our parts without our being there; to have entered the realm and for us not to have spoken; to have been near to one another, yet not to have to have embraced in fraternal love! If for any reason causes should arise that would carry me to Normandy, without doubt I shall go to you at Cluny, not because of previous contempt which was nothing, but rather by vow to expunge my negligence and my folly at the feet of your clemency. Meanwhile I ask that a pious father spare a penitent son, and until such time as God supplies us with a more propitious copy of yourself, command me as you see fit that, as your monk and devoted son, I be prompt according to my ability to obey your will and decree. Fare thee well and, if it please you, remember my littleness in your prayers and those of your church.

¹ In the letter Laurence notes that Stephen has been in England but he was not able to meet him. The Annals of Lewes Priory claim that Stephen visited England in 1163. Although not entirely reliable on dates, these were produced by a Cluniac house which we can expect to have taken an interest in the arrival of the abbot of Cluny. If Stephen did come in this year it is plausible that Laurence was detained at London by the preparations for the translation of Edward the Confessor. For the annals, see Liebermann, 'Annals of Lewes Priory', 87-8,

² Elected abbot of Cluny 1161 but not established there until 1163, died 12 August 1173, previously abbot of Saint-Michel-l'Ecluse, for whom see *GFL*, 532. Laurence was abbot of Westminster c.1158-1173, so the letter must have been written 1163 X 10/11 April 1173, when Laurence died.

³ Above fn.1.

⁴ Above fn.1.

Letter 55

V fo.150r-v = L 745-6

Amantissimo patri et domino Alex(andro) summo pont(ifici) frater Laur(entius) seruus sancti Petri Westm(onasterii) modicum munus se ipsum. Egressi sunt ab ecclesia Norwic(ensi) duo filii neq(uitatis)^a A. et R., persecutores pacis et perturbatores ordinis, sicut vicinia tota et plerique etiam religiosi viri de aliis episcopatibus certissimis comprobarunt inditiis. Hii^b ut dicitur per falsas suggestiones litteris quibusdam a sanctitate vestra quondam impetratis, episcopum suum, virum sicut noscitur senem et sanctum, grauibus vexationibus concusserunt et pluribus citationibus fatigare presumpserunt, cum tamen ex his que aduersus eum proponebant sicut presentes audiuimus, nichil possent comprobare. Tandem vero^c interuenientibus iudicibus a vobis delegatis, viris venerabilibus Wigorn(iensi) et Herford(ensi) episcopis, proprio episcopo reconciliati sunt, et in conuentu fratrum suscepti, promittentes pacem, execrantes scandala, omnemque reuerentiam et obedientiam prelati suis profitentes. Sed facta sunt nouissima eorum peiora priori^d. Homines enim ab initio exosi pacem et ad malum assueti, in caritate ficti et ad iurgia promptissimi, mox simpliciores animos corrumpere et peruersas mentes fouere conati sunt, adeo ut iam plurimos de fratribus in partem sue factionis inclinassent, h(oc) unum cause pretendentes quod dominus episcopus viro religioso et industrio Ioh(ann)i eiusdem loci prioratum contulisset, cuius consilio et prudentia pacem firmare, antiquum religionis statum reformare, et graues tam honoris quam ordinis scissuras resarcire disponebat. Nec illud silendum quod predicti fratres in tantam tandem vesaniam prouerunt, ut in priorem suum nepharias violenter manus in capitulo inicerent^e, episcopo quidem presente tante religionis et auctoritatis viro. Sed apud sceleris auctores nullius auctoritatis fuit auctoritas¹.

Postmodum vero in ecclesia eundem priorem pugnans et pedibus aggressi sunt, adeo ut si clientes domus quos clamor adduxerat vim vi non reppulissent, manus eorum absque periculo corporis vel vite sicut a religiosis fratribus accepimus vix posset euadere. Ne ergo tantum scelus in oculis apostolice maiestatis transeat impunitum, precatur deuotissime paruitas mea sed et omnium fere religiosorum terre nostre idipsum vota exposcunt, ut si forte predicti fratres siue alteruter eorum presentiam apostolicam adierit, iam tercio fugitiuum iam modo a proprio episcopo excommunicatum^f non dubitetis. Inueniatque pro meritis suis in parte iudicem, in pietate^g censuram, ne se secundo Romanam presentiam circumuenisse gaudeat, et de cetero maiorem malignandi materiam^h et audatiam assumat. Non enimⁱ absque dolore possumⁱ vel scribere vel cogitare quod paucorum hominum machinatione et malignitate facta est quasi vidua domina gentium² et honestissima domus Norwicensis, nisi prudentia vestra huiusmodi hominibus omnem nocendi libertatem ademerit, irreparabiliter conculcabitur. Satis enim perpendit sancta discretio vestra quantum sit dispendium ordinis, quam dampnosum in omnibus Anglorum monasteriis exemplum, si monachus cui beatus Benedictus non solum lingue sed et corporis sui et quippiam^j operis faciendi tollit potestatem, nisi quantum abbas permiserit, occasione appellationis vel cuiuslibet subterfugii debeat discipline regulari contraire, mandata obedientie contempnere, institutis sanctorum patrum

^a nequam L

^b hi L

^c vero V, si L

^d prioribus L

^e mitterent L

^f excommunicatus L

^g impietate L

^h materiam V, malitiam L

ⁱ⁻ⁱ possum absque dolore L

^j quidquam L

resistere. Absit, absit, ut pius dominus meus, episcopi iam centenarii cuius vita a pueritia in senium virtutibus clara refulsit, presertim in tali et talium personarum causa confundat faciem, quod quidem absque communi regis et regni confusione facile fieri non potest.

1. Hildebert of Le Mans, *Epistolae*, no.8: 'Sed aput sceleris auctores nullius auctoritatis fuit auctoritas.'
2. Lamentations 1:1

Letter 55

Abbot Laurence of Westminster to Pope Alexander

[Sept 1164 x 1173]¹

To his most beloved father and lord Alexander, high pontiff, brother Laurence, servant of Saint Peter of Westminster, offers himself in use albeit middling. Two sons of iniquity, A. and R., persecutors of peace and disturbers of order, departed from the church of Norwich, as the whole neighbourhood and many religious men from other dioceses have confirmed by most certain proofs. These two, it is said, having obtained various letters from your holiness by false suggestions, with grave vexations assaulted their bishop, an elderly and holy man², as is known, presuming to plague him with numerous summonses, even though, as we heard when present, they were unable to prove any of the charges laid against him. At length, through the intervention of your judges delegate, the venerable bishops of Worcester and Hereford³, these two were reconciled to their own bishop, received back into the monastic convent, promising peace, repudiating scandal, showing all outward signs of reverence and obedience to their superiors. But their new deeds were now worse than their old⁴. As men from the outset hating peace and accustomed to malice, false in charity and most prompt to quarrels, they soon set out to corrupt the more simple souls and to favour those of perverse mind, so much so that many of the monks inclined to their faction, claiming as an excuse for this that the lord bishop had conferred the office of prior there upon John⁵, a religious and industrious man, through whose counsel and prudence the bishop sought to strengthen peace, reform the religious life to its pristine state, and patch up the serious divisions in discipline and honour. Nor should it go unrecorded that the aforesaid monks were eventually so far gone in such madness that the violently laid hands on their prior in the chapter house, in the presence of the bishop, a man of such religion and authority. But amongst the authors of wickedness, no-one's authority was considered authoritative⁶.

Indeed afterwards, in the church, they assaulted the same prior with punches and kicks, so badly that if the monastery's dependents, whom the noise had drawn, had not met force with force, as we understand from the monks, he could hardly have escaped from their hands without risk to life or limb. Therefore, lest such wickedness should pass unpunished in the sight of the apostolic majesty, I in my smallness pray most devotedly, and the wish is expressed by virtually all the clergy of our land, that should one or both of these monks beset the apostolic presence, be in no doubt that he is now for a third time excommunicated by his bishop as a fugitive. And may he find judgment in this as he deserves, and in piety censure, lest he rejoice at for a second time wandering off to Rome and moreover acquire further matter for wrongdoing and audacity. It is not without sadness that I can write or reflect that through the machination and malice of a few men, that most honourable monastery of

¹ According to Cheney: 'The two bishops arranged a settlement, so the commission must have been issued in time for action before Robert's death on 27 Feb 1167', so between Sept 1164 and late 1166. See *Roger*, app.II no.100. Christopher Harper-Bill suggested this letter was written in the late 1160s, though Hereford was vacant between 26 Feb 1167 and after Easter 1173, see *Fasti*, viii, 1-7 and Harper-Bill, 'William Turbe', 142 and 152 for a brief discussion of the events with which the letter is concerned. Laurence was abbot of Westminster c.1158-1173 and William Turbe was bishop of Norwich 1146/7-1174

² William was consecrated 1146 or early 1147 and died 16 January 1174, *Fasti*, ii, 56.

³ This must be Roger of Worcester and Robert of Melun, for these see above.

⁴ Cf. Matthew 12:45.

⁵ John occurs as prior at Norwich, first occ. 1153 x 1168, last certain occ. c.1168, though he was still in office at some time 1161 X Jan 1174, see *Fasti*, ii, 58-61, though he was prior 1161 X 1174 according to *Heads*, 57.

⁶ Hildebert of Le Mans, *Epistolae*, no.8 in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 15, ed. M. Brial (Paris 1808).

Norwich is rendered as a widow amongst the nations⁷, to be irreparably trampled under foot unless your prudence deprives such men of all freedom to do harm. Your discretion will sufficiently estimate what a loss of order it would represent, what a damnable precedent for all English monasteries, if a monk whom St Benedict had raised to the power not only of speech but of his body's whole working, unlicensed by any abbot, could so challenge the discipline of the rule by the use of appeal or whatever subterfuge, disregard the command to obey, and defy the decrees of the holy fathers. God forbid, I repeat God forbid, that my pious lord should so disappoint a bishop, now one hundred years old, whose life from boyhood to old age has shone bright with virtues, above all in the cause of such a person or persons, which surely cannot be done without common confusion to King and realm.

⁷ Lamentations 1:1, a verse sung in the office Tenebrae.

Letter 56

V fo.150v = L 631; *Edward*, 310; *LCH*, i, no.38

Domino pape rex Anglorum H(enricus)^a. Gratum michi est et Deo gratias refero quod summi pontificatus honore sullimatus, suscepistis regimen uniuersalis ecclesie salubriter, annuente Domino, vestra discretione dispensandum, et michi quidem cordi est matrem nostram sanctam Romanam ecclesiam sincera semper^b affectione diligere, offitiis colere ac personam vestram pura indesinenter amplecti deuotione. Uniuersos quoque^c quos diuina dignata est gratia mee potestati subicere, volo apostolicam sedem ad instar diuini numinis honorare^d ac debitam ei obedientiam mecum pariter exhibere. Inde est quod apostolatui vestro confidentius preces offero^e, obnixè deprecans sicut tota deposcit Anglorum ecclesia, ut gloriosum regem Eduardum in cathalogo sanctorum iubeatis ascribi^f et in ecclesia sanctorum canonizari. De cuius sanguine propagatum, me licet indignum dignatus est Dominus sua dispositione in solio regni eiusdem regis sullimare, sicut datum fuerit desuper pro tempore regnaturum. Nec in hac re oportet experientiam vestram, ut estimo, hesitare, cum multi religiosi ac discreti viri, sicut litteris illorum vobis intimatur, attestentur huius sancti sanctitatem signis ac virtutibus sepenumero fuisse declaratam. Quorum spes est quod adiciet misereri Deus, statuens ut complacitior sit adhuc populo suo^g per merita confessoris sui, vestra si placet auctoritate glorificandi.

^a *om.* H(enricus) L

^b saepe L

^c uniuersosque L

^d Adorare V, *underdotted for omission with honorare interlined above*

^e effero L

^f adscribi L

^g *om.* L

Letter 56¹

King Henry II of England to Pope Alexander III

[July 1160 X 1162]

To the Lord Pope, H(enry) King of the English. It pleases me and I give thanks to God that you have safely taken up rule of the universal church, raised to the honour of supreme pontiff, so that with the Lord's approval it is my intention, governed by your discretion, always to labour to hold our mother, the holy Roman church dear to me in heart, honouring the Church with favours and with pure devotion cherishing your own person. I wish all those whom it has pleased God to subject to my power at God's behest to honour the apostolic see, and together with me to render it due obedience. Hence it is that I confidently offer my prayers to your apostleship, earnestly praying, as the whole church of the English has prayed, that you command that the glorious King Edward be enrolled in the catalogue of the saints, to be canonized amongst the saints of the church. Sprung from his bloodline as I am, although unworthy, God has seen fit to raise me to the throne of this same king's realm, to reign there for whatever time has been appointed. Nor in my opinion should you hesitate in this business, when many religious and discerning men testify to the holiness of this saint, declared through many virtues and signs, as they have informed you in their letters. Their hope is that God will increase his mercy, establishing that it shall be more pleasing still for his people, if it please you, by your authority to be glorified through the merits of his confessor.

¹ For this and what follows concerning the canonization of Edward the Confessor, see Chapter Three.

Letter 57

V fo.150v = L 733; *Edward*, 311-12

Sanctissimo patri et domino Alex(andro) Dei gratia summo et uniuersali pontifici H. et O(tto)^a eadem gratia sancte Romane card(inales) obedientiam tam debitam quam deuotam. ‘Gloria nostra hec est, pater, testimonium conscientie nostre’¹ quo iudice confidenter quod scimus loquimur, et quod indubitanter verum esse credimus constantissime nuntiamus. Credimus quidem propter^b et loquimur, et testimonium nostrum per gratiam Dei recipitur quoniam verum esse creditur et speratur. Negotium ecclesie, faciente Domino, prosperatur et recurritur ad sacrosanctam matrem nostram Rom(anam) ecclesiam et ad vos^c, atque^d illorum testimonio sanctitatis vestre fauor postulatur et gratia, qui creduntur^e vobis non nisi vera debere aliqua ratione intimare.

Venit ad nos karissimus frater noster Laur(entius) Westm(onasterii)^f ecclesie abbas Parisius^g, et de sancta et laudabili vita, de obitu etiam^h et miraculis gloriosi regis Eduardi Angl(ie)ⁱ, qui beate^j memorie Nicholao predecessori vestro et per eum beato Petro et Romane ecclesie regnum quod optinebat pia deuotione contradidit, multa nobis et magnifica enarravit^k. Inter que unum nobis miraculum oculata fide de supradicto viro ostendit, quod tanto sp(eci)alius paternitati vestre intimare decreuimus quanto et que oculorum fidei sunt subiecta melius credimus, et a pluribus archiepiscopis et episcopis Anglie attestantur confidentius enarramus. Ostendit siquidem nobis pallii casulam in quo^l, cum iamdicti regis corpus iuxta supradictorum testimonium per annorum multa remansisset curricula inuolutum, nullam tamen lesionem inuenimus vel etiam^m coloris obfuscationem potuimus denotare. Fulget enim eiusdem casule pannus ita specie acⁿ colore ut merito diuina virtute credatur seruatum illesum, quod humani corporis membra^o nisi adesset miraculum debuerant penitus consumpsisse.

Qua de re, pater sanctissime, supplicamus et nos cum iamdicto abbate, qui ad pedes vestros nisi vie difficultas obstitisset utique corruisset, supplicamus inquam ut preces iustas ipsius et illustris regis Anglorum atque archiepiscoporum et episcoporum qui super hoc vobis scribunt exaudire dignemini et remittere nuntios eius ad propria cum gaudio et fine debito negotii^p quod apportant. Exaudiendus est quippe memoratus filius vester abb(as) in iustis postulationibus suis, quoniam honestate ac prudentia est, prout nouit fere uniuersa ecclesia, redimitus et contra scismaticos tanquam^q vir catholicus exstitit^r feruentissimus decertator.

^a Hyacinthus et Otho L

^b quod L

^c nos L

^d utique L

^e credunt L

^f Westmmonasterium L

^g pariter L

^h *om.* L

ⁱ Angl’ Eduardi L, *Edward*

^j bonae L

^k narravit L

^l qua L

^m *om.* L

ⁿ et L

^o membra L

^p negotium L

^q tamquam L

^r extitit L

1. 2 Corinthians 1:12

Letter 57

Cardinals H(eny) and Otto to Pope Alexander III.

[?Late November 1160 X January 1161]¹

To their most holy father and lord Alexander, by the grace of God highest and universal pontiff, H(eny) and O(tto), by the same grace cardinals of the holy Roman (church), offer obedience both owed and devout. ‘This is our glory’, father, ‘the testimony of our conscience’² by which judge we confidently speak that which we know and most constantly proclaim that which we undoubtedly believe to be true. We believe indeed, wherefore we speak, and whereby by God’s grace our testimony is received so that it may be believed and supposed to be the truth. By God’s doing, the business of the Church is prospered and referred to you and our most holy mother, the church of Rome, and your holiness’ favour and praise is sought together with testimony of those who it is believed ought to report nothing to you save the truth.

There came to us at Paris³ our most beloved brother Laurence, abbot of the church of Westminster, telling us many splendid things of the holy and laudable life, of the death moreover and miracles of the glorious king Edward of England who by pious devotion delivered the kingdom that he possessed to your predecessor Nicholas of blessed memory, and through him to St Peter and the Roman church. Amongst such things, he disclosed with the eye of faith one particular miracle of this aforesaid man, so great that we proclaim it to your paternity all the more so in that we better believe such things subjected to eye witness, the more confidently recounting those things confirmed by many archbishops and bishops of England. Indeed he showed us a cloth pall⁴ in which, according to the aforesaid testimony, the body of this king had been wrapped for many years, in which we could discern no damage or observe any fading in colour. For the cloth of the same pall shines with such colour and in such a way that it is deservedly believed to have been preserved by divine virtue, since without a miracle occurring it should entirely have perished through contact with parts of the human corpse.

On account of which matter, most holy father, we beseech you in company with the aforesaid abbot who would assuredly have appeared before you, had it not been for hazards of the road; we beseech you, I repeat, that you deign to listen to the abbot’s just requests and to those of the illustrious king of the English, and of the archbishops and bishops who have written to you over this, sending back the abbot’s messengers with rejoicing and successful fulfilment of the business that they bring. Your son, the aforesaid abbot, richly deserves a hearing for his requests, garlanded as he is with honesty and prudence, having stood, as almost the entire church is aware, as a most fervent catholic champion against the schismatics.

¹ Lawrence called on the two cardinals in Paris between November 1160 and January 1161. For their legations, see W. Oshnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159-1169)* (Berlin 1928), 15n. In 1163, Henry also wrote a letter at Laurence’s request to the bishop of Chichester, Lincoln, and Ely, urging them to appear at Edward’s translation, see Scholz, ‘Canonization’, 52, 54 and fn.68.

² 2 Corinthians 1:12.

³ Frank Barlow suggested that the occasion for this was 13 November 1160 when Louis VII’s new wife, Ada, was crowned queen at Paris by Hugh, archbishop of Sens, in the presence of the papal legates Henry, Otto, and William, cardinal priest of St Peter ad Vincula.

⁴ Edward was possibly laid to rest in a bishop’s chasuble.

Letter 58

V fo.150v = L 755; *Edward*, 312-13

Domino pape Eborac(ensus) archiepiscopus. Quotiens^a amicorum precibus pulsatus, pater sancte, vobis scribere presumo, aggrauatur dolor meus et^b exitus aquarum deducunt oculi mei¹, quoniam non datur videre quem diligit anima mea². Interim, donec conteratur draco iste qui sibilat in Italia, formatus a Domino ut illudatur ei, muti litterarum apices viue vocis vicem apud^c discretionem vestram in his^d que ad me vel amicos meos spectant optineant, nec honestis petitionibus derogat absentia mea, quam excusare facile potest necessitas. Ecce prostratus ad pedes sanctitatis vestre deuotus filius vester, Laur(entius) abbas Westm(onasterii)^e consupplicat cum fratribus suis quatenus auctoritate vestra rex Eduardus, eiusdem monasterii fundator, inter sanctos conscribatur, ad ecclesie Romane honorem quam^f, dum erat in terris pre cunctis temporis sui regibus dilexit, et populi regni^g Anglorum deuotionem. Hic in regni sullimatus fastigio iuxta diuinarum legum sanctionem regni administravit negotia, sed regni nequaquam secutus delitias, in carne viuens, carnis vehementer^h persecutus est voluptates. Predicti abbatis petitioni cleri principis totius regni commune votum accedit. Inter quos saltem ultimum locum Dominus meus seruo suo reseruet, ut facilius interuentu meo possit impetrariⁱ quod apostolica mansuetudo publico non negabit desiderio.

1. Ps 118:136 2. Cf. Song of Solomon 3:3

^a quoties L

^b *om.* L

^c apud L

^d hiis L

^e Westmonasterium L

^f *sic* V, *recte* quem?

^g *om.* L

^h vehementes L

ⁱ impertiri L

Letter 58

Archbishop [Roger] of York to Pope [Alexander III]

[c.November 1160]

To the Lord Pope, the archbishop of York. How often, Holy Father, impelled by the prayers of friends, do I presume to write to you, and my suffering is multiplied and my eyes drip tears¹ because my soul is denied the sight of him in whom it delights.² Meanwhile, however, until that serpent that hisses in Italy³ is destroyed, as one formed by the Lord to offer him praise, the mute scratchings of my letters must serve you, your discreteness, in place of the spoken word in those things that concern myself and my friends. Nor should my absence hinder honest requests that circumstance can easily excuse. Behold, prostrate at the feet of your holiness, your loyal son, Laurence abbot of Westminster, begs⁴ in company with his brothers that King Edward, by your authority, the founder of that monastery, be recorded amongst the saints, to the honour of the church of Rome, in which whilst living he took more delight than other kings, and to strengthen the devotion of the people of the English realm. Behold a man who, raised to the throne of his kingdom, governed its affairs in accordance with God's law, but in no way pursued the realm's delights, whilst living in flesh firmly rejecting fleshly pleasures. The aforesaid abbot thus joins his voice to the petition of the clergy and prince of the entire kingdom. Amongst whom, albeit last in line, the Lord has appointed me his servant, that the more easily by my intervention may be sought that which the clemency of the apostolic see cannot publicly deny.

¹ Ps. 118:136.

² Cf. Song of Solomon 3:3.

³ i.e. the Anti-Pope.

⁴ This suggests the original plan was for Laurence to go to the Curia himself, though he did not, blaming illness.

Letter 59

V fo.150v = L 629; *Edward*, 313

Domino pape episcopus^a Winton(iensis)^b. Deuotus filius vester Laur(entius) ad vos ire siue^c mittere disposuit. Eapropter humiles preces paternitati vestre porrigimus quatenus ipsum et suos benigne suscipere et in iustis petitionibus suis exaudire dignemini. Valeat sanctitas vestra in Domino.

^a *om.* L

^b Wintoniensis L

^c seu L

Letter 59

[Henry of Blois] bishop of Winchester to Pope [Alexander III]

[c. November 1160]

To the Lord Pope, the bishop of Winchester. Your devoted son Laurence has arranged to travel or report to you. Hence we offer humble prayers to your fatherly care in so far as you deign kindly to receive him and to listen to his just petitions. May your holiness fare well in the Lord.

Letter 60

V fo.150v = *Edward*, 313-14. A much longer version of this letter is found in C fos.45v-47r (pp.89-92) no.139, whence Giles, i, 195-8 no.148; *MTB*, v, no.11; *GFL*, no.133

Domino pape Hereford(ensis) episcopus. Qui nube tristicie nuper obducti, matre nostra sancta Romana ecclesia graui scismatis errore concussa altius ingemendo doluimus, luce veritatis bonorum cordibus illucescente tota gaudii plenitudine in Cristo, dilecte pater, exultauimus, cum munere diuino procella nobis in auram statuta est, et post noctem dies nobis tam profecto gratia^a quam serena resplenduit. Celitus itaque collato vobis honori, pater, ut Anglorum plenius applaudat ecclesia, in uno deuotissime beatis auspitiis vestris postulat exaudiri, ut beati regis Eduardi corpus liceat fidelissimo filio vestro Westm(onasterio) abbati L(aurentio) prout eius expetit sanctitas honorare, et a terra leuatam et condigna theca^b repositum in publicas tocius populi gratulationes in ecclesia sullimare quam a fundamentis erectam construxit et amplissime dotatam omnibus que ad honorem domus Dei sunt, in honorem Dei et beati Petri nobilitatem beatissime consummauit. Hoc quidem corpus, ut ab his quibus ut credimus fides habenda est, frequenter audiuius a xxxv. annis usque nunc integrum incorruptumque cum visitaretur inuentum est, et qui, licet in coniugio positus, animi tamen summa^c toto vite sue curriculo, ut predicatur^d ab omnibus, virgo permansit, post mortem etiam beata sui incorruptione donatus est. Hunc prophetie spiritum habuisse, et in carne degentem futura, Domino reuelante, predixisse constanter affirmant. Mitem, misericordem, mansuetum super omnes et beato Petro tam deuotum fuisse commemorant, ut diem qua ipsius ecclesie nichil contulerat, se prorsus amisisse deploraret. Eius adhuc leges aput nos iuditia temperant et regni sui pauperes usque hodie in multis illesos prouida ipsius circumspeccione conseruant. Honore^e vero qui sanctis exhibetur quia Domino placere non ambigimus, in hoc communi voto serenitati vestre supplicamus ut regnum Anglie, apostolice semper sullimitati deuotissimum, honoretis, et fidelem populum regi suo, quem ob multa que epistolaris breuitatis non capit angustia vere sanctum existimant, debitum sanctis honorem et reuerentiam exhibere concedatis.

^a grata L, *Edward*

^b theia V, theca *suppl.* L

^c V *add. virtut(e) underdotted for omission*

^d predicator L

^e honore[m] L, *Edward*

Letter 60¹

Bishop [Gilbert Foliot] of Hereford to Pope [Alexander III]

[c. November 1160]

To the Lord Pope, the bishop of Hereford. We who, enveloped in the cloud of misery, have with groans the more lamented that our mother, the holy Roman church, was stricken with the grave error of schism, now rejoice, beloved father, in the fullness of exultation, that with the light of truth now lightening the hearts of the worthy, the tempest is now stilled by divine favour, and after night-time the day now shines forth to us in grace and serenity. With that heaven-born honour now achieved, oh father, as the English church fully applauds, may you hear most devotedly with your blessed intuition the request of your most faithful son, abbot Laurence of Westminster who asks that the body of the blessed King Edward be honoured and raised from the ground to be placed in a fitting shrine amidst public celebrations by the entire populace, raised up in that church that he himself both raised from its foundations and most copiously endowed with all things that honour a house of God, most blessedly brought to completion by him in honour of God and the nobility of St Peter. This body, that as we have frequently and trustworthily been informed, has been viewed and found to have remained intact and uncorrupted for the past thirty-five years, is that of one who though married, remained a virgin in spirit his entire lifetime, destined for his blessed incorruption after death, as is proclaimed by all. They reliably affirm moreover that he possessed the gift of prophecy so that, still clothed in flesh, through the Lord's inspiration, he could predict future events. They celebrate him as moderate, merciful and mild above all others, and as so devoted to St Peter that he considered any day lost to him on which he could not make gifts to St Peter's church. His laws still temper justice amongst us, and the poor of his realm remain sheltered in many respects due to his generous circumspection. Truly we petition your serenity with common voice by that honour owing to the saints that we doubt not pleases the Lord, that you honour the realm of England and its faithful people, always most devout in obedience to the apostolic highness, granting their king, whom they esteem a true saint for many reasons not to be encompassed in this brief letter, such honour and reverence as is shown to the saints.

¹ Contrary to Barlow's assertion that 'No stray pieces from the [Edward the Confessor] dossier have as yet been noticed', a fuller version of this letter is preserved in one of the manuscripts of Gilbert Foliot's letters: C fos.45v-47r, whence *G* no.148 (*PL*, cxc, cols.852-4); *MTB*, v, no.11, and *GFL*, no.133, with textual differences not collated here.

Letter 61

V fo.151r = L 677; *Edward*, 315

Domino pape episcopus Cicestr(ensis). Ut ecclesiarum salus salua consistat omnino, domine, nos viros venerari expedit, quos tormentorum cruciatibus aut triumphis confessionis sue mirabilibus examinatos, Dominus tulit de area et in horreo taxari^a sua miseratione donauit. Quorum collegio associatum, et angelorum cetibus admixtum, gloriosum regem Eduardum multa religiosorum turba probabiliter asseuerat. Aiunt enim quod in carne viuens, carnis illecebras cauere satagebat, abduci blandiciis, seduci fallatiis, trahi delitiis, iniuriisue frangi vel aduersis fatigari, semper attendens 'Principem te constituerunt, esto in illis quasi unus ex illis'¹. Spiritu quoque prophetie claruit signisque choruscans^b, in usus pietatis opes regias indesinenter erogare inuigilauit. Multo quidem tempore coniugatus, virgo senex obiit et sine lesionis inditio^c, post vii. lustra, caro eius de tumulo incorrupta apparuisse memoratur. Quia ergo non minus pium quam iustum esse videtur^d, ut magnus magnificetur adhuc, cum venerabili viro, deuoto filio vestro, abbate Westm(onasterii) L(aurentio) eiusque fratribus, discretionis vestre mansuetudinem deosco quatenus virum a Domino mirificatum, regem iamdictum in cathalogo sanctorum conscribi iubeatis et canonizari, ut sicut apud^e nos celo et terra teste sanctus asseritur, ita et in ecclesia sanctorum auctoritate vestra celebris habeatur. Sic, sic, pater, sic ecclesie, sic regi et regno, nuper ut semper ecclesie Romane fideliter obsequenti celeberrima gaudia suscitabitis, et in memoria eterna erit cum iusto opus apostolice consumationis^f.

1. Ecclesiasticus 31:1

^a laxari L

^b choruscauit L

^c iudicio L

^d videtur *Edward*

^e apud L

^f consummationis L

Letter 61

[Hilary] Bishop of Chichester to Pope [Alexander III]

[?c. November 1160]

To the lord Pope, the bishop of Chichester. That the health of the Church remain unharmed in all things, oh lord, it behoves us to venerate such men as those who, tested by torments and sufferings or the miraculous triumphs of confession, the Lord sees fit to bear from the arena that they may be measured in the barn of his mercy. Of whose company, joined to the angelic host, the glorious King Edward is almost certainly proclaimed a member by the great outcry of the clergy. For they say that living in the flesh, he sought to shun all fleshly temptations, not to be misled by flattery, seduced by falsity, led astray by luxury, not to harbour grudges nor be wearied by his enemies, always attending to the words: 'They have appointed you their prince, so stand amongst them as one of their own'¹. Refulgent with wonders he shone forth with the gift of prophecy, taking care unceasingly to fit his royal undertakings to pious use. For a long time married, he died a virgin in old age, without mark or stain, his flesh emerging from the tomb uncorrupted after seven times five (i.e. thirty-five) years², as is reported. Since therefore he is seen to be no less pious than righteous, that he may be exalted as one of the great, we petition the clemency of your discretion in company with that venerable man, your devoted son, Laurence abbot of Westminster, and his brothers, that you command that the aforesaid King, a man made marvellous by the Lord, be inscribed amidst the catalogue of the saints, and canonized, so that just as he is proclaimed a saint amongst us by heaven and earth, he may thus, by your authority, achieve fame in the church of the saints. Thus and thus, oh father, thus to the church, thus to the king and realm, stir up the highest rejoicing over one faithfully obedient to the Roman church now and forever, that this labour of apostolic fulfilment reside with the just in memory eternal.

¹ Ecclesiasticus 31:1

² 'lustra' from 'lustrum': i.e. a period of five years.

Letter 62

V fo.151r = L 675; *Edward*, 316

Domino pape Norwic(ensis) episcopus. Quam gratus quamque Deo acceptus existat gloriosissimus rex Eduardus et vite meritis et celestibus declaratur oraculis^a. Quippe dum in tabernaculo carnis rex regi, adleta^b imperatori victoriosissime^c militaret, tam de mundi periculis quam de blandientis regni lenociniis semper gloriosum reportavit triumphum. Et licet in etatis lubrico et splendidissime regine capistratus esset coniugio, perpetuam tamen virginitatem virgo virginis filio creditur consecrasset, et infructu centesimo Domino plurimum placuisse. Cuius tota intentio, actus et opus^d solus semper^e erat Christus. Sed ne de stola glorificationis ipsius mentibus Anglorum aliquis scrupulus dubitationis possit occurrere, tam mira quam magnifica que circa corpus ipsius cotidie^f coruscant miracula manifeste declarant regem regio cursu ad brauium eterne beatitudinis gloriosissime peruenire^g. Fauore igitur et gratia tanti regis vestre sanctitatis genibus prouoluti, cum venerabili fratre nostro Laur(entio) Westm(onasterii) abbate preces propensiores prosternimus, constantissima deuotione obsecrantes quatenus regem mirificum in sanctorum cathalogo conscribi et consignari faciatis.

^a miraculis L

^b athleta L

^c gloriosissime L

^d operis L

^e *om.* L

^f quotidie L

^g peruenisse L

Letter 62

[William de Turbe] bishop of Norwich, to Pope [Alexander III]

[?c. November 1160]

To the lord Pope, the bishop of Norwich. How pleasing and acceptable the most glorious King Edward is to God is declared by the merits of his life and by heavenly signs. For reigning in his tent of flesh, he fought as an athlete for the most victorious emperor, always snatching glorious triumph from the snares and flatterers of the world. And although harnessed at a hazardous age in marriage to a most splendid queen, he is believed to have vowed himself to perpetual virginity, a virgin to the Virgin's son, and thus to have pleased the Lord one hundredfold although childless. Christ alone was always his entire intent, inclination and labour. But lest any hint of a doubt might arise in the minds of the English to sully the stole of his glorification, the many remarkable and magnificent miracles shining forth daily around his body declare this king to have run a royal course most gloriously to the prize of eternal beatitude. In favour and praise of such a king, kneeling before your holiness, together with our venerable brother Laurence abbot of Westminster, we pray the more earnestly, begging with the firmest devotion that you enrol and inscribe this marvellous king in the catalogue of the saints.

Letter 63

V fo.151r = L 749; *Edward*, 316-7; *EEA*, xxxi, 122-3 no.89

Alex(andro) Dei gratia summo pontifici, domino et patri spirituali, Nigellus Elyensis ecclesie humilis minister salutem et debitam in omnibus cum omni deuotione subiunctionem. Conditori ac redemptori omnium, licet insufficientes, gratiarum referimus actiones, qui, mundi principe potenter^a adacto, membra^b ipsius in ipso dampnauit capite, et ecclesie unitatem, quam suo redemit sanguine, seruauit illesam. Prebuit immaculate sponse sue, quasi parturienti, post^c lamenta^d letitiam, et pro votis omnium te pastore suscepto, pressure preterite^e fecit immemorem. Eiecta est iterum de domo patris ancilla cum filio suo, et ipsum auctorem scelerum caput sibi^f constituit ecclesia malignantium. Verum libera in patris hereditate sponso suo fetus producit multiplices, et egregii piscatoris nauicula, tanto rectore segura, nec minas equoris nec fluctus pertimescit inuidie. Valeat igitur in multo tempore rector iste cum nauis cui presidet, et in eternitatis littore videre mereatur appulsam. Te, sanctissime pater, omnium tam cleri quam populi vota susceperunt, et precipue sedi Romane deuotissima Anglorum ecclesia, cui tempore administrationis tue et pax pristina restauratur et diu sopita iura restituuntur, ut etiam^g apostolatus tui tempore, cui hoc diuino nutu seruatum est, eidem ecclesie spiritualis iocunditas prestetur uberior^h, pretiosam margaritam in ecclesia beati Petri apostolorum principis reconditam, corpus scilicet beati Eduardi quondam Anglorum regis ibidem humatum, de terra leuare et condigna theca collocare fidelis deuotio disposuit. Hic, ut scripturarum testimonio et veridicorum relatione didicimus, ab ineunte etate sanctissime degens, et regni tempora, quod iure hereditario adeptus est, inoffense legibus quas ipse condiderat permoderans, mente et corpore virgo permanens, deesseⁱ functus est et in ecclesia beati Petri aput^j Westmon(asterium) quam a primis fundamentis construxerat magnifice collocatus^k, ubi eius interuenientibus meritis multis innumera prestari creduntur beneficia. Tibi igitur, pater sanctissime, una cum patre nostro spirituali T(eobaldo)^l Cant(uariensi) archiepiscopo et aliis coepiscopis nostris cum omni precum instantia supplicamus ut quod de glorioso et incorrupto eius corpore leuando fideles in Cristo fratres nostri eiusdem loci abbas et monachi fideliter conceperunt annuatis, et beati Petri apostolorum principis, cuius sedem tenetis, patrimonium sic sullimari concedatis.

^a *om.* potenter L

^b membra L

^c prius L

^d *add.* deinde L

^e pristinae L

^f suum L

^g et L

^h *add.* et L

ⁱ de'e V, denique L, *Edward*

^j apostoli L

^k collocatur L

^l Thoma L

Letter 63¹

Nigel, bishop of Ely, to Pope Alexander III

[?c. November 1160]

To his lord and spiritual father Alexander by the grace of God highest pontiff, Nigel humble minister of the church of Ely sends greeting and with complete devotion due submission in all things. We offer thanks, albeit inadequate, to the builder and redeemer of all things who, when the world's commander was violently hurled down, condemned the limbs of the same via the head, preserving in safety the unity of the church redeemed through his blood. He it was who after lamentation brought rejoicing to his immaculate bride, as if to one about to give birth, allowing her to forget past sufferings through your unanimous election as pastor. The maiden is now once more expelled, together with her son, from her father's house, and the church of the wicked appoints for her head that same author of evils. But in truth, now free in her father's inheritance, the maiden brings forth many offspring from her bridegroom, so that the little ship of that illustrious fisherman, secure under such captaincy, dreads neither the menaces of calm nor the waves of envy. Therefore may both that captain and the ship he commands prosper for long to come, and be seen to merit landfall on the shores of eternity. All are vowed to you, most holy father, both clergy and people, and especially that church most devoted to the Roman see, the church of the English to which, during your time in government, pristine peace is restored and long dormant rights are re-established. Moreover so that under your apostleship spiritual rejoicing may be the better supplied to this same church, by divine dispensation, faithful devotion has arranged that a precious pearl concealed in the church of St Peter prince of the apostles, namely the body of the blessed Edward buried there, lately king of the English, should be raised from the ground and gathered into a fitting shrine. As we have learnt from writings and trustworthy report, this man, most holy from his youth, throughout his reign, to which he was advanced by rightful inheritance, served his time in harmless reform of the laws that he had established, remaining a virgin in thought and flesh, and at length died and was magnificently buried in the church of St Peter at Westminster built by him from its first foundations, where through the intervention of his many merits, innumerable benefits are believed to have accrued. To you, therefore, most holy father, in company with our spiritual father T(heobald) archbishop of Canterbury and others of our fellow bishops, we address our beseeching with all the urgency of prayer, that you assent to what our faithful brothers in Christ, the abbot and monks of that place, have faithfully proposed for the translation of his body glorious and incorrupt, and thus grant exaltation to the patrimony of St Peter, prince of the apostles, whose seat you occupy.

¹ 'This act is one item from a dossier of letters obtained from English notables in favour of the canonisation of Edward the Confessor...the letters were obtained to demonstrate widespread support for Westminster's petition for the canonization of the Confessor, for a shortage of such submissions had laid behind the rejection of Westminster's earlier petition. On the petition and its content see B. W. Scholz, 'The canonisation of Edward the Confessor' *Speculum* 36 (1961) 38-60...This letter must be dated at about the same time as the rest, after the recognition of Alexander III as Pope by Henry II (about the end of July 1160: M. G. Cheney, 'The Recognition of Pope Alexander III: some Neglected Evidence', *HER*, 84 (1969), and before the bulls approving the request were issued (7 February 1161). A date no later than Christmas 1160 is indicated by the need for these letters to have reached the Pope by messenger before February 1161. It has been suggested that Abbot Laurence of Westminster lobbied the legates in Paris c.13 November 1160, and this letter might have been ready by then': *EEA*, xxxi, no.89n.

Letter 64

V fo.151r = L 743-4; *Edward*, 318

Domino pape Saresb(eriensis) episcopus. Celebris fame testimonio et miraculorum manifestatione didicimus gloriosum regem Eduardum huius mundi caduca respuisse et summo regi fideliter ministrasse. Preces itaque deuotas vestre facimus sanctitati quatinus^a regi regum dum vixit seruientem in sanctorum cathalogo consignari faciatis, et stolam glorificationis ipsius, multis declaratam miraculis, Anglorum mentibus cum omni deuotione recolendam, per apostolica suggeratis rescripta, ut tota Anglorum ecclesia de meritis gloriosi regis gaudeat, et de eius implorato patrocinio gratia Dei et vestre^b sanctitatis assensu et exhortatione confidere valeat.

^a quatenus L

^b *add. sto underlined for omission V, add. sancto Edward*

Letter 64

Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, to Pope Alexander III

[?c. November 1160]

To the Lord Pope, the bishop of Salisbury. By testimony of his great renown and the display of his miracles we have learned that the glorious King Edward, spurning the mortality of this world, has faithfully served the highest king. We therefore address your holiness in devout prayer that you inscribe in the catalogue of this saints this man, in life a servant to the king of kings, and so that with all devotion, recalling to the minds of the English the stole of his glorification, revealed through many miracles, you recommend by apostolic letters that the whole church of the English rejoice in the merits of this glorious king, and through the grace of God and with the approval and command of your holiness, trust to the invocation of his protection.

Letter 65

V fo.151r = L 599; *Edward*, 318-9

Domino pape abbas et conuentus Rading(ensis). Benedictus Dominus qui iuxta proprie promissionis tenorem suorum tristitiam conuertit in gaudium, cum post noctis tetre caliginem lucem splendidam ecclesie sue restituit, auctoresque scismatis et fautores de nauicula Petri tam potenter quam et^a clementer exturbans, vestis sue integram conseruare studuit unitatem. Hinc demum^b in veritate querentibus nouum gaudium, honor, tripudium oriri visum est¹, magnorumque^c de reliquo certior et solidior spes gaudiorum. Anglorum proinde ecclesia sancte sedi apostolice speciali quadam deuotione ab ipsis fidei rudimentis semper obnixa, speciali nichilominus exultatione indulto vobis celitus^d applaudit honori, sperans et obsecrans suam quoque gloriam in huius^e sancti gaudii plenitudine per vos, pie pater, dilatari. In qua et cum qua nostra quoque apostolice maiestati vestre supplicare presumit humilitas, ut viri religiosi fidelis filii vestri L(aurentii) abb(at)is^f Westm(onasterii) et fratrum sub ipso pastore agentium preces dignanter exaudiatis, desiderium compleatis, liceatque eis ad honorem Dei et sanctorum eius tociusque regni gloriam et exultationem beati regis Eduardi corpus condigno et debito sanctis honore in ecclesia sullimare. Ipsius siquidem regis et vitam laudabilem et mortem in conspectu Domini preciosam, sicut a multis et fide ut arbitramur dignis relatoribus, predicatoribus insuper et scriptis traditum reperitur, tam pia virtutum opera quam miracula crebra testantur. Conseruet sanctitatem vestram ad honorem et pacem unice sponse sue omnipotens Dominus.

1. Esther 8:16

^a *om.* L

^b d'm V, dum L, Deum *Edward*

^c magnorum quoque *Edward*

^d celeriter L

^e hac L

^f abbatis L, abbas *Edward*

Letter 65

Abbot [Roger]¹ and the convent of Reading to Pope Alexander III
[?c. November 1160]

To the Lord Pope, the abbot and convent of Reading. Blessed be the Lord, who has turned weeping into joy in accordance with his especial promise, when after the gloom of ugly night he restored splendid light to his church, and, endeavouring to preserve the unity of his robe, both powerfully and calmly rooted out the authors and promoters of schism from the little ship of Peter. Henceforth, in truth, to those seeking new rejoicing, honour and gladness are seen to arise², and from the rest more surely and certainly the hope for greater joy. Thus the church of the English, from its rudest awakenings of faith always obedient with especial devotion to the holy and apostolic see, nonetheless applauds with especial exultation the honour from heaven rendered to you, trusting and entreating that by you, pious father, its glory may be amplified in the fullness of holy rejoicing. In which, and with which rejoicing, our humility presumes to petition your apostolic majesty that you deign to listen to the prayers of that religious and faithful man, your son Laurence abbot of Westminster and the monks under his care, and fulfil what is requested, allowing them to raise up within the church the body of the blessed King Edward with the honour due to the saints, in honour of God and his saints and to the glory and exultation of the entire realm. Indeed, as we judge from many trustworthy accounts, and as is recorded in preaching and writings, not only his pious works but his frequent miracles proclaim that the life of this king was praiseworthy and his death treasured in the sight of the Lord. May almighty God preserve your holiness to the honour and peace of his one true bride.

¹ Scholz, 'Canonization', 49 identifies the abbot as William. In reality, he was Roger (1158-65): *Heads*, 63; *Edward*, 218 fn.1.

² 1 Esther 8:16.

Letter 66

V fo.151r = L 679; *Edward*, 319-20

Reuerendo domino suo et omnium ecclesiarum Cristi patri et pastori Alex(andro), H. beati N(eoti) minister humilis salutem et omnem cum reuerentia obedientiam. Exultat celsitudinis vestre seruus humilis, exultat et Anglorum omnis ecclesia, quod mater nostra^a post tantos sudores respirat, post tenebras erroris refulget, post scismata redintegratur, et inexpleta prauorum cupiditate sautiata, cotidie proficiendo iam conualescit. Pastor ille bonus lacrimosa gregis suscepit suspiria, et vota deuorum misericorditer impleuit, a lupi faucibus potenter nos eruit, et secundum cor suum pastorem nobis prebuit qui nouit compati infirmitatibus nostris et salutem querit animarum nostrarum. Regi summo gratias, in cuius manu corda sunt regum¹, qui pridie ad idolatriam trahi verebamur, iam vestre ditioni obedire precipimur. Iugum istud suaue nobis est et onus leue². Misericordiam enim vestram alias audiuius, et quicquid postulare ausi fuimus^b a pietate vestra leti suscepimus. Caritatis illius vestre copia fidutiam prestat sperandi maiora. Imploramus igitur^c maiestatem vestram, pater sancte, quatenus virum venerabilem et vere religiosum Westm(onasterii) abbatem L(aurentium) semper vestrum, in tam honestis petitionibus misericorditer^d exaudiatis, et beatum regem E(duardum) honorando uniuersam Anglorum ecclesiam magno gaudio letificetis. Placeat serenitati vestre quatenus rex tante sanctitatis auctoritate vestra honoretur in terris, quem inter eos qui secuntur^e agnum quocumque ierit⁴, indubitanter credimus honoratum in celis. Ego sanctitatis vestre seruus, in prefato monasterio ubi tanti regis corpus iacet incorruptum, a cunabulis usque ad hec fere tempora sum educatus, perfecteque didici ex virtutum frequentia quantum refulgeat in Cristi presentia. Felicitatis eius argumentum est et^f spiritus prophetie quo magnifice claruit et iuncti coniugio, vera virginitas quam carnis integritas adhuc ostendit. Protestantur eius deuotionem fere omnia Anglie loca religiosa que largitionibus suis habunde ditauit, dignitatibus honorauit, sacris^g legibus communiuit. Honorate igitur quem honorat Dominus^h, et supplicum vestrorum preces admittite, qui sola que Dei sunt a sanctitate vestra querimus impetrare. Valeat semper dominus meus. Sit Dominusⁱ inimicus inimicis vestris. Qui autem diligunt vos, sicut sol in ortu suo splendet, ita rutilent³. Litteras reuerentie vestre^j cum omni reuerentia suscepimus, imperiumque vestrum effectui mancipantes, proprios nuntios vobis mittere maturabimus.

1. Proverbs 21:1 2. Matthew 11:30 3. Judges 5:31 4. Revelations 14:4

^a noster L

^b Sumus L, *Edward*

^c ergo L

^d *om.* L

^e sequuntur L

^f *om.* L

^g sanctis L

^h Deus L

ⁱ Deus L

^j tue L

Letter 66

H(herbert) minister of St Neots¹ to Pope Alexander III

[?c. November 1160]

To his reverent lord Alexander, father and shepherd of all Christ's churches, H(herbert) humble minister of St Neots sends greeting and all obedience with reverence. The humble servant of your highness exults, and the whole church of all the English exults that after such sweated labourings our mother breathes again, refulgent after the gloom of error, re-united after schism, and although wounded by the unsatisfied cupidity of the wicked, now recovers health day by day. That good shepherd receives the tearful sighs of the flock and mercifully receives the requests of the devout, powerfully snatching us from the jaws of the wolf, and from the prompting of his heart appoints for us a shepherd who knows how to salve our infirmities and seek salvation for our souls. Thanks be to the highest king, in whose hand the hearts of kings reside², that where previously we feared to be dragged to the worship of idols, we are now commanded to obey your rule. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light³. We have otherwise learned of your mercy, and whatever we dared request, we have happily received from your piety. The abundance of your charity gives cause to hope for more. We therefore implore your majesty, holy father, that in his so honest petitions you mercifully attend to that venerable and truly religious man, always yours, Laurence abbot of Westminster, and delight the whole church of the English with great joy in honouring the blessed King Edward. For it should please your serenity that a king of such sanctity be honoured on earth by your authority, whom we unswervingly believe to be honoured in heaven amongst those who follow the lamb wherever he goes⁴. I myself, your holiness's servant, was trained from the cradle until very recently in that aforesaid monastery where the body of such a king lies incorrupt, and I have thus learned full well from the multitude of his virtues quite how he shines in Christ's presence. The true virginity still displayed by the completeness of his body serves as proof of his happy state, of the spirit of prophecy with which he so magnificently shone, and of his union in marriage. His devotion is advertised by almost all the religious sites of England that he abundantly endowed with gifts, honoured with dignities, and strengthened with holy laws. Honour therefore he who the Lord honours, and accept the prayers of your supplicants who only seek to obtain from your holiness those things that are of God. Fare thee well, my Lord, for always. May the Lord be an enemy to your enemies. However, may those who care for you thus redden as the sun when it shines in rising⁵. We have received your reverence's letters with all respect, handing on your command to its effect, and we shall hasten to send you our own messengers.

¹ Brooke suggested Herbert, prior of St Neots (Hunts), a cell of Bec, see 'Register', 232. Herbert appears c.1159-1189, *Heads*, 108.

² Proverbs 21:1

³ Matthew 11:30

⁴ Revelation 14:4

⁵ Judges 5:31

V fo.151v = L 673; *Edward*, 321-2

Amantissimo patri et domino Alex(andro) Dei gratia summo pontifici frater G(regorius)^a humilis minister Malmesb(uriensis) ecclesie deuotam ut patri reuerentiam humilem ut domino subiectionem. Religiosis desideriis et piis affectibus apostolica clementia benigne consuevit occurrere, precipue in his que magis solent sancte matris ecclesie decus et gloriam augmentare^b. Que nimirum, licet in capite suo superhabundanter habeat unde proficiat, solet tamen et de suorum membrorum glorificatione profectum acquirere et in magni decoris celsitudinem expensa eisdem reuerentia excrescere. Cum igitur corporibus sanctorum, de quorum frequenti patrociniis regio nostra letatur, debitus passim honor impenditur^c, aptissimum valde esset si apostolica excellentia vestra dignum duceret ut eiusdem honoris reuerentia bono et glorioso regi Eduardo exhiberetur^d, cuius gloriosissimum corpus in monasterio Westm(onasterio) requiescere^e dinoscitur. Cuius profecto mirabilis^f sanctitatis eminentiam, cum ante et post obitum numerosa et preclara miracula oculatis testimoniis efferant, integritas tamen illibati^g et virginei etiam post coniugium corporis, post tricesimum sextum^h sepulture annum cum omni vestimentorum integritate inuenti, etiamⁱ si^j cetera sileant, sufficienter poterit commendare. Concurrunt preterea in huius veritatis assertionem copiose virtutis inditia^k etiam sub nostris temporibus exhibita, que vel oculis nostris utpote peculiaris huius gloriosissimi alumpnus vidi vel^l ab his qui viderunt audiui, tam in frequenti languentum curatione quam in febricitantium refocillatione, que epistolaris breuitas comprehendere non poterit. Securus igitur de tanti viri preclaris meritis, pietati vestre humiles preces offero quatinus^m inter eos qui pro huius sancti veneratione maiestati vestre supplicantⁿ me quoque, licet minimum et abiectum vestre sanctitatis seruum, exaudire dignemini, ut videlicet auctoritatis vestre precepto et assensu natalicius transitus eius dies cathalogo sanctorum insertus, ecclesiastica deuotione in terris decetero celebretur cuius nomen in libro vite scriptum multimoda miracula contestantur. Ex quo profecto excellentie vestre plurimum gratie accedet si videlicet sub apostolatus vestri temporibus quod hactenus latuit, in multorum proeuctum prodeat, unde et sancte matris ecclesie gaudia cumulentur, integritas fidei roboretur, patrociniis accrescat deuotioni fidelium. Sanam et incolumem sanctitatem vestram longis temporibus Deus^o omnipotens custodiat.

^a *E. Edward*

^b augumentare L

^c impendatur L

^d exhibeatur L

^e quiescere L

^f mirabilem L

^g illibata L

^h septimum L

ⁱ etsi L

^j *om.* L

^k iudicia L

^l et L

^m quatenus L

ⁿ supplicantur L

^o dominus L

Letter 67

Abbot G(regory) of Malmesbury to Pope Alexander III

[?c. November 1160]

To his most beloved father and lord Alexander by the grace of God highest pontiff, brother G(regory)¹ humble minister of the church of Malmesbury sends devoted reverence as to a father, and as to a lord humble subjection. Apostolic mercy was accustomed to respond kindly to religious longings and pious desires, especially in those things that the more greatly tend to further the distinction and honour of holy mother church. Which without doubt, although it benefits from possessing a superabundance of such things at its head, was nonetheless accustomed to acquire increase from the glorification of its members and, in reverencing them, to grow to the height of greater beauty. Therefore, since due honour should everywhere be shown to the bodies of the saints, in whose frequent protection our own province rejoices, it would be truly most fitting if your apostolic excellency should decree it appropriate for the reverence of such honour to be shown to the good and glorious King Edward, whose most glorious body is known to rest in the monastery of Westminster. For whose advance, and passing over other matters in silence, the eminence of his wonderful sanctity may supply sufficient recommendation, since both before and after death numerous and splendid miracles are presented to eye-witness, together with the wholeness of his undiminished and virgin body, even following marriage, found entire with all its clothing after thirty-six years² in the grave. Moreover, so many copious proofs of virtue have gathered in support of this truth, revealed in our own times, that we, as a foster-son of this singular and most glorious man, have either seen with our own eyes or have heard from those who saw, too many to be comprehended within a single brief letter, both in the frequent healing of the sick and the reinvigoration of the fevered. Confident of the pre-eminent merits of such a man I therefore offer to your piety humble prayers that, amongst those who petition your majesty for the veneration of this saint, you may deign to heed me, albeit your holiness's abject and least of servants. Thus by the command and permission of your authority the day of his birth through death may be inserted into the catalogue of the saints, so that he may be celebrated with ecclesiastical devotion on earth whose name, written in the book of life, many miracles proclaim. From which advance, much praise may accrue to your excellency should this saint make progress amongst the multitude who previously escaped notice under the apostleship of your times, whence the rejoicing of holy mother church will enjoy increase, the integrity of faith will be strengthened, and protection reward the devotion of the faithful. May God omnipotent keep your holiness safe and sound for long to come.

¹ Liverani had 'G' but Barlow prefers 'E'. Brooke suggested 'G. abbot of Malmesbury'. Gregory was abbot of Malmesbury c.1159-68, Heads, 55.

² Gilbert Foliot in his letter above refers to 35 years, if this is not a mistake in the copying into the MS this does perhaps suggest there was no one writer of the letters and that each was written by its respective author over a period of some months.

Letter 68

V fo.151v = L 753; *Edward*, 322-3

Alex(andro) Dei gratia summo pontifici, patri amantissimo et domino, frater R(eginaldus) sancti A(ndree) de R(offensi)^a presbiter licet indignus salutem et plenam cum deuotione obedientiam. Quoniam in postulatione quam facio, quamuis indignus, non solus tamen inuenior multis et magnis sociatus, apud clementiam vestram pietatis affectu confidentius ago quatenus quod celum gaudet terra testatur per meam^b quoque paruitatem excellentie vestre auctius^c innotescat. Celebre enim et notum habet^d Anglorum populus^e et ecclesia tota quod gloriosus eorum rex Eduardus, dum adhuc in carne viueret, carnem omnimode^f seruauit, et cum regiam foris suscepisset potestatem, sic regni sceptrum^g exterius gubernabat ut de sui cordis regimine nullatenus sibi quicquam^h deperiret. Unde cum de mundanis affectibus incessanter Cristo militans, victor coram Deo gloriosus habereturⁱ, sicut scriptorum declarant monita, et asserit probabiliter religiosorum turba copiosa, spiritu enituit prophetico, pietate clarus, signis admirandus, humilitate conspicuus, beneficentia largissimus, fidei et iusticie intentus cultor. Et cum per tempora multa uxori coniugatus vixisset, plenus dierum, purus, immaculatus et virgo ex hac luce decessit. Unde non immerito, ut asserunt, cum caro eius tam munda, tam sancta, annis ferme xl. in tumulto quieuisset, sana et incorrupta inuenta est. Si quid igitur aput^l tantum vestre sanctitatis iudicium paruitatis mee preces possunt, ego una pietate et eadem deuotione sed merito dissimilis, vestre supplico gloriose maiestati una cum dignissimo viro deuoto filio vestro Laur(entio) abbate^k Westm(onasterii) quatenus regem tantis meritis gloriosum, sanctorum cathalogo conscribi faciatis, ut qui aput^l nos gloriosis fulget miraculis, vestra canonizatus auctoritate glorie sanctorum ut creditur adunatus in celis, digne per vos honoretur in terris.

^a R. sancti Asaph de R. L

^b mean *Edward*

^c altius L

^d habent L

^e populi L

^f omnimodo L

^g sceptrum L

^h quidquam L

ⁱ habeatur L

^j apud L

^k abbati L

^l apud L

Letter 68

R[eginald], prior of St A[ndrew's], R[ochester]¹ to Pope Alexander III
[?c. November 1160]

To Alexander, by God's grace highest pontiff and most beloved father and lord, brother R(eginald) priest of Saint A(ndrew's) R(ochester), albeit unworthy, sends greeting and full obedience with devotion. Since in my petition I find myself, although unworthy, not alone but in fellowship with many and great men, I treat the more confidently with your clemency, with pious intent proclaiming that heaven rejoices as witnessed on earth through me, whose littleness your excellency all the better knows. For the people and whole church of the English hold it to be well known that their glorious King Edward, whilst living in flesh, keep complete watch over that flesh, and when he outwardly took up royal power, so governed with the realm's sceptre in external appearances that he might in no way lessen the discipline of his own heart. From worldly affections fighting constantly for Christ, he is held to have been a glorious victor with God, whence written teachings proclaim and the abundant tumult of the religious plausibly asserts that he burned with the spirit of prophecy, renowned in piety, admirable in miracles, conspicuous in humility, most generous in gifts, an attentive patron of faith and justice. And although he lived a long time married to a wife, from the light of this world he passed full of days, pure, immaculate, and a virgin. Whence they assert, not without merit, that when his flesh, so clean and so holy, had rested in the tomb fully forty years, it was found to be whole and incorrupt. If the prayers of my smallness can achieve anything, therefore, in the judgement of your holiness, I, being of the same piety and devotion but unlike in merit, in company with that most worthy man, your devoted son, Laurence abbot of Westminster, beseech your glorious majesty that you inscribe in the catalogue of the saints a king made glorious through such merits, so that he who shines amongst us through glorious miracles, having been canonized by your authority and as is believed united to the saints in heaven, may by you be suitably honoured on earth.

¹ Believed by Knowles to be Reginald, who occ. 8 March 1155 and here, *Heads*, 64. There does not seem to be another possible candidate.

Letter 69

V fo.151v; Westminster Abbey Muniment Book 11 fo.114v = P, iii, no.196; *Flete*, 93; *Edward*, 323-4; J-L 10654

Alex(ander) episcopus s(eruus) s(eruorum) Dei di(lectis) filiis Laur(entio) abbati et uniuerso capitulo Westm(onasterii)^a salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Illius deuotionis constantiam et fidei firmitatem quam circa matrem vestram sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam exhibetis diligentius attendentes, in id propositi et voluntatis adducimur ut vos sicut karissimos et ^cspeciales ecclesie filios^b sincera caritate in Domino diligamus, propensius honoremus, et postulationes vestras quantum cum Deo possumus libenti animo admittamus. Inde utique fuit quod super petitione quam de Eduardo glorioso quondam rege Anglorum canonizando et in sanctorum cathalogo ascribendo^c tam karissimus in Cristo filius noster H(enricus) illustris Anglorum rex quam vos ipsi nobis instantius porrexistis, sollicitam cum fratribus^d deliberationem habentes, libro miraculorum inspecto que dum in carne mortali viueret et postquam de presenti seculo est assumptus omnipotens Dominus per suam misericordiam declarauit, visis etiam litteris antecessoris nostri pie recordationis Innocentii pape, vestris quoque testimoniis inde receptis, quamuis negotium tam arduum et sullime non frequenter^e nisi in sollempnibus conciliis soleat^f de more concedi, de communi tamen^g fratrum nostrorum consilio, iuxta votum et desiderium predicti filii nostri regis ac vestrum, corpus ipsius confessoris ita glorificandum censuimus et debitis preconiiis honorandum in terris sicut eundem confessorem Dominus per suam gratiam glorificauit in celis, ut videlicet inter sanctos confessores decetero numeretur qui^h hoc ipsum aput Deum signis meruit et virtutibus optinere. Quia igitur decet honestatis vestre prudentiam eum pie colere et toto studio venerari quem auctoritate apostolica venerandum vestra postulauit deuocio et colendum, uniuersitatem vestram per apostolica scripta monemus et exhortamur in Domino quatenus ita eum deinceps studeatis debitis exequiisⁱ honorare, ut ipsius intercessionibus aput districtum iudicem mereamini veniam optinere et gloriosum in eterna beatitudine premium inuenire.^j

^a Westmonasteriensi *F*, Westminstrensi *P*

^b fratres nostros et speciales *F*

^c conscribendo *V*, *interlined for correction to ascribendo*

^d *add. nostris P, F, Edward*

^e *add. soleat F, Edward*

^f *om. F, Edward*

^g *om. F*

^h quod *P*

ⁱ exequiis *V*, obsequiis *suppl. F, Edward*

^j *add. datum Anagniae vii idus Februarii F*

Letter 69¹

Pope Alexander III to Abbot Laurence and the whole chapter of Westminster
[Anagni, 7 February 1161]

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons abbot Laurence and the whole chapter of Westminster sends greeting and apostolic blessing. Carefully considering the constancy of that devotion and the firmness of faith that you have displayed in respect your mother, the holy Roman church, we are guided by intent and will and with sincere charity to esteem you dearest and especial sons of the church, honouring you the more eagerly, and with God so far as we can receiving your petitions with a willing spirit. Thus it assuredly was in respect to the petition that both our dearest son in Christ, Henry, illustrious King of the English, and you yourselves pressing to us concerning the canonization and inscription in the catalogue of the saints of the glorious Edward late king of the English, that having taken careful counsel with our brothers, and having inspected the book of miracles that the almighty Lord declared through His mercy both when the king lived in mortal flesh and after he had been raised from this present world, having seen moreover the letters of our ancestor, Pope Innocent² of pious memory, having received your testimonials on the same, and despite the fact that business so lofty and so awe-inspiring is not customarily completed save in solemn councils; by the common counsel of our brothers, and in accordance with your will and desire and that of our aforesaid son the King, we decree that the body of that confessor should be so glorified and so honoured with due advertisement on earth just as the Lord through his grace has glorified this same confessor in heaven, so that he be numbered amongst the holy confessors, he who has deserved to obtain this before God through miracles and virtues. Because it behoves the prudence of your honesty so in piety to receive him and with all effort to venerate him who your devotedness sought to be received and venerated by apostolic authority, we admonish and exhort you all in the Lord by apostolic writing that you henceforth so strive to honour him this saint with due ceremonial that you may deserve both to obtain pardon through his intercessions with the strictest of judges and to find glorious reward in eternal blessedness.

¹ There are two versions of this letter. A second version to 'all the faithful' is printed in various copies, references to these can be found in *WA Charters*, no.168. Textual differences from this version are not collated here.

² Innocent II, pope 1130-1143.

Letter 70

V fo.151v = L 621-2; *MTB*, vi, no.388; *GFL*, app.7 no.3

Inuitant me aliqui quandoque^a ad opus michi^b meticulosum, et quod haut umquam nisi cum timore et pudore aggredior. Postulant namque nonnulli plerumque^c preces nostras ad vos, qui quod sibi merita denegant, intercessorum patrocinio facilius optinere confidunt. Verum quanto paratior est venia de presumptione, tanto maior debet esse moderatio in postulatione, ne^d si^e forte semel^f obstruatur aditus gratie erubescat uterque, et qui petiit pro repulsa^g et pro quo petiit^h pro fallatia. Precamur itaque et obnixè rogamus quatenus magistrum N.ⁱ virum nobis pernecessarium ob amorem nostrum benignius^j suscipere, et propter neccessitates nostras citius dimittere dignemini. Pro N.^k nostro rogare non audeo verumtamen ut paupertatem eius et terre^l sue multimodam insufficientiam pietas vestra respicere dignetur, deuotissime exoro. Ait quidam sapiens: ‘Quia utilius hauritur puteus ad usum quam exhauritur ad defectum’.

^a *om.* L

^b *om.* L

^c plurimumque L

^d *om.* L

^e nisi L, *MTB*

^f *om.* L

^g repulse L

^h petit L, *MTB*

ⁱ H L, *MTB*

^j benigne L

^k H L, *MTB*

^l vite L

Letter 70

[?Gilbert Foliot¹ to Master David]

[?late 1160s]²

Whenever anyone invites me to work that I consider frightful, I never embark upon it without trembling and shame. Many now press me to send my requests to you, many of them those whose own merits would deny what they trust to obtain the more easily through the protection of mediators. Truly, the more carefully prepared is that indulgence sought through presumption, so much the more moderate should be its asking, lest the approach to grace be once blocked to the embarrassment of both parties, so that he who asks is rejected and what he asks for is deemed deceitful. We therefore pray you and firmly request that from love for us you kindly receive master N., a man most useful to us, and deign to send him back to us speedily on account of our needs. On behalf of our N., however, I do not dare ask so much as devotedly beg you to look with pity upon his poverty and the manifold insufficiency of his land. For as a wise man once said: 'Better that a well be usefully drawn than that it be drained through negligence'³.

¹ Due to the preservation of this letter in David's collection, Morey and Brooke suggested it might have been written by Gilbert Foliot, with Master N. as Nicholas, archdeacon of London, but they admitted there is no clear evidence for this and that N. could simply be a cipher: *GFL*, 521. If it was sent by Foliot to David, it was surely whilst the latter was engaged in study at Bologna.

² If we presume this was sent to David when he was in Bologna.

³ Proverbial.

V fo.152r = DCAB, 113; AB, i pt.ii, 268 no.578 (whence) PL, cc, cols.737-8 no.800; LCH, vi, no.4269; J-L 11915. Not in L

Illustri Anglorum regi^a. Inter ceteros magnificentie tue nuntios qui ad nostram presenciam accesserunt, dilectus filius noster mag(ister) D(auid), scolasticis disciplinis et studiis quibus Bonon(ie) vacabat relictis, nostro se conspectui presentauit, et ad promouenda negotia tua sicut vir litteratus prouidus et discretus studium et operam quantam potuit adhibere curauit, et se excellentie tue fidelem in omnibus et deuotum existere certis inditiis comprobauit. Nos autem qui uiris ecclesiasticis et illis maxime qui inter ceteros litteratura, honestate et discretione prefulgent, ex^b nostri offitii debito subuenire debemus, et eorum comodis cura propensiori intendere, iamdicti Daud scientiam, egestatem et prudentiam ad animum sollicite reuocantes, ipsum munificentie tue duximus studiosius comendandum. Licet enim nos pro eo tua clementia sollicitare deberet, quia tamen personam eius, statum quoque et facultatem ipsius plenius nouimus tuam pro eo sullimitatem nostris precibus preuenimus. Unde quoniam in regno tuo de quo extitit oriundus natalis soli dulcedine captus potius quam in extera regione desiderat permanere, nos illi in eodem regno curauimus prouidere, credentes siquidem et sperantes quod munificentie tue non debeat displicere si eius neccessitati pro commissi^c nobis^d ministerii auctoritate prospeximus, eidem primam prebendam quam in ecclesia Lincoln(iensi) vacare contigerit pia discretione concessimus, presertim cum eum non solum canonicatu sed etiam^e episcopatu dignum esse credamus et ad h(ec) quantum nos comprehendere^f potuimus idoneum iudicemus.

Cum enim ecclesia iamdicta proprio sit hoc tempore destituta pastore, iuxta nostri officii auctoritatem vices episcopi in ea de regia deuotione ac sinceritate confisi suppleuimus et memoratum D(auid) de prima prebenda que ibidem vacabit canonicum instituimus, ne forte aliquo casu interueniente nostre prouisionis impediretur effectus, et idem desiderato gratie tue munere frustraretur. Ad regie siquidem magnificentie cumulum non est dubium pertinere viros litteratura et honestate perspicuos^g, et eos maxime qui de regno tuo oriundi existunt, ita^h beneficiis et aliis gratie muneribus retinere, ne paupertatis occasione se ad exterorum regna cogantur transferre. Inde siquidem est quod serenitatem tuam per a(postolica) s(cripta) rogamus, monemus et exhortamur in Domino ut quod a nobis super hoc factum est, quantum ad tuam celsitudinem spectat ratum velis et firmum haberi, et ita executioni mandari ut idem ab aliquo malitiose turbari nequaquam sustineas, nec occasione donationis vel promissionis in alium a quolibet facte id aliquatenus impediri permittas, sed ita nostras in hac parte preces exaudias sicut tuas a nobis cum oportunitas se optuleritⁱ quantum cum Deo poterimus volueris exaudiri, in hoc enim sicut credimus dignam a Deo mercedem recipies, et coram hominibus laudem multiplicem non immerito reportabis.

^a om. AB, PL

^b et AB, PL

^c communi PL

^d add. officii V *underlined for omission*

^e et DCAB, AB, PL

^f add. poterimus V *underlined for omission*

^g conspicuos PL

^h in DCAB, PL, AB

ⁱ Add. et DCAB, AB, PL

Letter 71

[Pope Alexander] to King Henry II of England

[c. February 1170]¹

To the illustrious king of the English. Amongst the various messengers of your magnificence who have come into our presence, our beloved son master David, leaving behind the scholarly discipline and studies he had pursued at Bologna, appeared before us as a learned, prudent, and discreet man, applying himself in so far as he was able in pursuit of your affairs, and by clear proofs showing himself faithful and devoted to you in all things. Being obliged by our office to assist all men of the Church and especially those who shine forth in learning, honesty and discretion, and solicitously recalling to mind the wisdom, poverty and prudence of the aforesaid David, we the more eagerly recommend him to your munificence. Albeit that it should be to your own clemency to petition us on his behalf, knowing thoroughly his person, his circumstances and his ability, we anticipate such requests by our own prayers to your highness. Seeing that rather than remain in foreign parts he prefers the delights of your own realm, from which he took his birth, seek to provide for him in that same realm, believing and hoping that it will not displease you if by authority of the ministry entrusted to us we seek to assist him in his need, hereby with pious discretion granting him the first prebend to fall vacant in the church of Lincoln, especially since we believe him to be worthy not just of a canonry but of a bishopric, fit in so far as we can judge for such an office.

Since the aforesaid church is at present without a pastor, by authority of our office undertaking there the duties of a bishop and confident of royal devotion and sincerity, we have instituted the said David to the first prebend that shall there fall vacant², lest for any cause our act of provision should be impeded and in its desired effect fail to achieve the support of your grace. Indeed it is an undoubted boon to royal magnificence so to cherish with benefices and the other gifts men perspicuous learning and honesty, and especially those native to your realm, lest from poverty they are encouraged to move to foreign realms. Hence it is that in the name of Lord we ask, counsel and exhort your serenity by apostolic writing that in so far as pertains to your highness to confirm and firmly establish that which has been done by us here, and command that it be enacted lest you sustain any malicious disturbance, nor permit it in any way to be frustrated on account of any gift or promise made to anyone by whomsoever, but instead hear our requests in this respect just as you may wish your own requests to be heard by us in so far as we are able through God whenever occasion arises, and moreover as we believe you will receive fitting reward for this from God and, not undeservedly, earn increased praise amongst men.

¹ Letters 71-4 must date from the same time. *AB* and *DCAB* date this letter to 1163 but Alexander III writes that David has 'left behind' his studies in Bologna, so the letter must be post 1169, when David left the schools to pursue Foliot's absolution at the Curia. The letter was clearly written after the death of Bishop Robert de Chesney of Lincoln on probably 27 December 1166, and before the confirmation of his successor Geoffrey Plantagenet (illegitimate son of Henry II) before July 1175, *Fasti*, iii, 1-5. These may well have been written after David had secured the absolution, and at the same time as nos.33 and 82, formerly one letter, informing Foliot of the absolution. Jaffé thought these were sent in December 1171, at the same time as no.87, but David was clearly reproached by Becket for attempting to gain a benefice at Lincoln, so they must have been sent before the archbishop was murdered in December 1170, see *J-L* nos.11915 and 11917-8. After his efforts for Foliot, David would be returning to England after some years away in the schools, so we need not be surprised that he sought to secure his fortunes with the Pope's aid.

² For a discussion concerning expectative provisions, see Chapter Two.

V fo.152r = *DCAB*, 114; L 544

^aDecano et capitulo sancti Pauli London(iensis). Constitutus in presentia nostra dilectus filius noster mag(ister) D(auid), canonicus vester, vir utilis, litteratus, prouidus et^b discretus, et nobis ob litteraturam et probitatem suam carus pariter et acceptus, auribus nostris diligentius intimauit quod cum in ecclesia vestra prebendam satis tenuem et modicam habeat^c, vos ei in scol(is)^d iam per triennium et eo amplius commoranti, partem de communia que parua dicitur, duas scilicet marcas et dim(idium) adminus annis singulis subtraxistis, nec ipsam ei, sepius per illum et amicos suos exinde requisiti, reddere voluistis, licet vos ipsi optentu discretionis et honestatis sue, de vestro nedum de suo deberetis, maxime dum scolasticis disciplinis intendit, nec multum habundet, non semel sed sepius liberaliter contulisse.

Unde quoniam comodis et incrementis eius tanto propensius volumus sicut tenemur intendere quanto ille litterarum studiis et alias^e honestati^f ultra vires et facultates suas noscitur feruentius aspirare, uniuersitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus atque precipimus quatenus ea que memorato D(auid) de prescripta communia ex quo hac secunda vice Bolon(iam)^g scolasticis disciplinis intendit subtraxisse noscimini, eidem vel^h alii nomine suo cui ipse mandauerit, omni mora, excusatione et appell(atione) cessante, reddatis et quod eum de cetero continget ipsi vel^h aliiⁱ nomine suo absque diminutione soluatis, et ita nostris in hac parte mandatis atque preceptis deferre curetis^j quod aduersum vos non debeamus^k merito commoueri, nec propter hoc inobedientiam vestram punire^l, potius obedientiam commendare. Si enim sicut aliquando consueuistis nobis in his presumpseritis obuiare, pro certo^m sciatis quod nos id incorrectum et impunitum nullatenus omittemus, cum vobis pro tam honesta causa et pro viro tam idoneo scripta nostra mittamus.

^a *add.* Alexander p(a)p(a) L

^b *om.* L

^c haberet L

^d schola L

^e ali *DCAB*

^f *om.* *DCAB*

^g Bononie *DCAB*

^{h-h} *om.* alii nomine...ipsi vel L

ⁱ aliis L

^j cuntis *DCAB*

^k debemus L

^l *add.* et L, *add.* sed *DCAB*

^m pro certo V, profecto L

Letter 72

[Pope Alexander III] to Dean [Hugh de Maren] and the chapter of St Paul's
[?February 1170]

To the dean and chapter of St Paul's London.¹ Established in our presence, your canon, our beloved son master David, being useful, learned, prudent and discreet, beloved and pleasing to us on account of his learning and honesty, has the more carefully informed us that whereas, for the three years or more that he was resident in the schools, he held in your church a prebend that was somewhat meagre and modest, you subtracted from it each year two and a half marks as a portion for the common fund called 'small', nor despite frequent request from him and his friends did you wish to restore this money, despite the fact the you had obtained far more through his discretion and honesty that you ought to have dealt liberally with him not once but often, especially since he was pledged to scholastic discipline and had limited means.

Hence, since we wish to act for his ease and increase, as is our duty, all the more willingly in so far as he is known, beyond all his skills and virtues, the more keenly to strive for honesty through his learned pursuits and otherwise, we order and command all of you by apostolic writing to restore that which is known to have been subtracted from the aforesaid David for the said common fund, from the time of his second residence in the schools at Bologna,² paying this in full, without demur, excuse or appeal, to David or whomever he appoints, taking such care to obey our orders and commands in this matter that we neither have just cause to take action against you nor, on account of this, to punish your disobedience, but rather to commend your obedience. However, should you, as you have previously done, presume to resist us in these things, know for certain that we shall not leave this uncorrected or unpunished, sending you this in writing on behalf of so honest a cause and for so capable a man.

¹ This letter went to the dean and chapter rather than a bishop of Lincoln, as the see was vacant from the death of Robert de Chesney c.25 Dec 1166 until the 1170s. Geoffrey Plantagenet was elected May 1173 but confirmation was refused by the Pope and by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury. Geoffrey set out for the papal court on 8 Oct 1174 and was confirmed by the Pope before July 1175, but declined to be ordained: *Fasti*, iii, 2.

² For this, see Chapter Two.

V fo.152r = DCAB, 114; L 545-6

^aDecano et capitulo Lincoln(iensi). Quoniam ad nostrum spectat officium viris honestis et litteratis in ecclesia Dei locum congruum assignare, et eorum prouisioni animo libenti intendere, dilectum filium nostrum mag(istrum) D(auid), virum utilem, litteratum, prouidum ac discretum et non solum canonicatui sed episcopali etiam^b in quantum nos comprehendere potuimus idoneum dignitati, ecclesie vestre canonicum auctoritate apostolica constituimus, et ipsi primam prebendam que^c in eadem ecclesia vacare continget, ^dipsi vel alii nomine suo^d ea qua fungimur potestate concessimus. Unde quoniam de tanti viri consortio debetis non inmerito plurimum gratulari, presertim cum per eum ecclesie vestre magis^e quam ipsi per ecclesiam videatur collatum fuisse, uniuersitati vestre per a(postolica) s(cripta) precipiendo mandamus et in virtute obedientie iniungimus ut eum cum ad vos venerit, in fratrem et concanonicum, omni contradictione, dilatione et appellatione postposita, recipiatis, et illi certum locum in choro et capitulo assignantes, ipsum de prima prebenda que^f in ecclesia vestra vacare continget, auctoritate nostra inuestiatis, et aliis si que solent in prebendarum inuestituris de ecclesie vestre consuetudine sollempnitatibus adhibitis, concessionem nostram precipiatis ab omnibus irrefragabiliter obseruari. Si autem aliquis episcopus^g vel alius quislibet^h contra hoc venire presumpserit, et prebendamⁱ cum vacauerit alii^j concedere vel assignare temptauerit, eius in hac parte factum nullas vires optinere volumus, sed irritum et vacuum prorsus haberi, neque donatio siue concessio quasi^k iam ab alio facta ei in hoc impedimentum aliquod siue nocumentum possit prestare. Interim vero vos precibus nostris volumus exoratos haberi ut prenominato D(auid) aliquod benefitium annuum, pro beati Petri et nostra reuerentia et optentu litterature et probitatis sue, liberaliter concedatis, et donec prebendam vacare contigerit assignetis, ut nos deuotioni vestre multiplices in(de)^l gratias^m teneamur exsoluere et preces ac petitiones vestras cum oportunitas se optulerit promptius et efficacius exaudire. In h(ec) enim aliquod donationis in eum facte comprobabitur inditiumⁿ et neccessitati sue qualemcumque^o subsidium conferetur.

^a *add.* Alexander episcopus seruus seruorum Dei L

^b *om.* L

^c quam V, que *suppl.* L

^{d-d} ipsi vel alii nomine suo *underlined but apparently not for cancellation* V

^e magisterium DCAB

^f quam V, que *suppl.* DCAB, L

^g episcopo V, episcopus *suppl.* DCAB, L

^h quilibet L

ⁱ prebenda DCAB

^j alteri L, aliis DCAB

^k quae L, quia DCAB

^l interim DCAB

^m grates L

ⁿ iudicium DCAB

^o qualecumque L

Letter 73

[Pope Alexander III] to Dean [Adelelm] and the chapter of Lincoln

[?February 1170]

To the dean¹ and chapter of Lincoln. Since it behoves our office to assign a suitable place in the church of God to honest and learned men and to take care for their provision with a willing spirit, we have by apostolic authority appointed as a canon of your church our beloved son, master David, being a useful, learned, prudent and discreet man, worthy in so far as we understand these matters not just of a canonry but even to a bishopric, by the power at our command granting him or anyone else acting in his name, the first prebend to fall vacant in that church. Whence you should justly and much rejoice to have the companionship of such a man, especially since greater benefit is seen to be conferred upon your church by him than upon him by your church, ordering all of you and in virtue of obedience and commanding by apostolic writing that when he comes to you, you receive him as your brother and fellow canon, putting aside all contradiction, delay or appeal, assigning to him a definite place in your choir and chapter, investing him by our authority with the first prebend in your church to fall vacant, with whatever solemnities are customary in your church for prebendal investitures, commanding that this our award be inviolably observed by all others. If, however, any bishop or other person presume to act against this and attempt to grant or assign to another a prebend that falls vacant, we wish such action to carry no authority but to be considered null and entirely empty, nor may any other person's gift or grant stand to him in this as any sort of impediment or nuisance. Meanwhile, we wish you to be persuaded in truth by these our requests, from reverence of St Peter and ourselves and in recognition of his learning and probity, generously to grant the aforesaid David any annual benefice, assigning it to him until a prebend falls vacant, that we may the more be obliged to offer thanks for your devotion and the more promptly and effectively hear your pleas and petitions as occasion arises. For this, any gift made to him or subsidy conferred upon him in his need will be acknowledged as proof.

¹ Adelelm first occ. as dean of Lincoln 1141 X 1145 and last occ. after c. May 1173. However two other individuals appear as dean during his period of office: H. before c.1165 and William before c.25 Dec 1166; possibly they officiated in Adelelm's absence, see *Fasti*, iii, 8-9.

Letter 74

V fo.152r = *DCAB*, 113; L 547

Dilecto filio magistro D(auid). Litteraturam, honestatem et prudentiam tuam diligenti consideratione pensantes, et quod in ecclesia Dei non modicum in posterum proficere poteris^a attendentes, ad comodum et profectum tuum in quantum honestas permittit pro nostri officii debito libenter intendimus, et neccessitati tue presertim cum beneficium satis paruum et tenue habeas, scilicet quod honeste sustentationi tue non sufficit, prompto studio subuenire curamus. Unde quoniam^b Lincoln(iensis) ecclesia nullum ad presens episcopum habet, nosque non in partem sollicitudinis sed in plenitudinem potestatis licet inmeriti a Domino sumus vocati, te eiusdem ecclesie auctoritate beati Petri et nostra canonicum instituimus, et primam prebendam que^c in ea vacare contigerit ea qua fungimur potestate concedimus, statuentes ut si episcopus vel alius quislibet contra hoc venire presumpserit, eius in hac parte factum nullas vires optineat sed cassum et vacuum penitus habeatur, nec concessio siue donatio que^d iam ab alio facta^e tibi in hoc aliquod possit nocumentum prestare. Decernimus ergo ut nulli hanc nostre concessionis et cetera.

^a potestis L

^b cum *DCAB*

^c quam V, quae L, que *suppl.*

^d quasi V, quia *DCAB*, quae L, que *suppl.*

^e *add.* sit L

Letter 74

[Pope Alexander III] to Master David

[?February 1170]

To his beloved son Master David. From proper consideration of your learning, honesty, and prudence, and with awareness that you will be able to advance no small way in future in God's church, we look generously for your advantage and profit, in so far as behoves the honour due to our office, and with speedy effort we toil for your needs, especially as the benefice you have is somewhat small and meagre, insufficient for your honest sustenance. Since the church of Lincoln has no bishop at present, and since we, although undeserving, were appointed by the Lord not as petitioners but in plenitude of power, we institute you as a canon of that church by the authority of St Peter and ourselves, by that same power by which we act granting you the first prebend to fall vacant there, commanding that any bishop or other person presuming to act against this shall be denied all authority in this matter, with his act considered entirely quashed and void, nor shall any harm arise to you in this from any grant or gift made to you previously by anyone else. We thus decree that to no-one <shall it be permitted to challenge the effect> of this our concession etc¹.

¹ Ending here with a truncated version of the standard papal formula 'Nulli omnino hominum liceat'

Letter 75

V fo.152r = L 759-60; *LCH*, vi, no.4321

Illustri ^aAnglorum regi^a suus R(otodus) Roth(omagensis) archiepiscopus salutem et deuotam orationum et seruicij^b plenitudinem. Cum regia negotia per prudentes et discretos viros debeant tractari, vestra quidem et ea precipue que ad ecclesiastica pertinent iura per tales debent administrari personas que prudentia et fidelitate^c, scientia quoque polleant litterarum. Hoc enim ad vestrum proprium et comunem regni spectat honorem et utilitatem. Inde est quod magistrum D(auid) virum honestum, prudentem et litteratum liberalitati vestre plurimum commendamus, quem non solum plurimum relatu^d vestrum^e etiam^f euidentissimo ipsius operis effectum cognouimus in negotiis nostris^g discrete et viriliter stetisse, excellentiam vestram humiliter rogantes et prudentie vestre fideliter consulentes quatenus erga eum quem iam cognouimus deuote vobis seruisse et scimus negotiis vestris utilem futurum esse, ita liberaliter agatis ut seruiendi vobis eius augeatur desiderium, et confidentia et spes seruicio vestro eum faciant promptiorem.

Conseruet Deus vobis et filiis vestris vitam et salutem per tempora longa.

^a regi Anglie L

^b seruitutum L

^c *add.* et L

^d relatu plurimum L

^e nostrum L

^f etiam V, sed et L

^g vestris L

Letter 75

Rotrou Archbishop of Rotrou to King [Henry II] of England

[c. April 1170]¹

To the illustrious king of the English, his Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, offers greeting, and devoted plenitude of prayers and service. Since royal affairs should be handled by prudent and discreet men, just so should your business, and especially that which pertains to ecclesiastical right, be conducted by such persons, endowed with prudence, fidelity, and knowledge of letters. This attends both to your particular honour and to the common utility of the realm. Hence it is that we strongly commend to your generosity Master David, an honest, prudent, and lettered man, who has acted manfully and discreetly in our affairs², as we know not only from the report of many of your people but from the clearest accomplishment of his works, humbly asking your excellency and faithfully counselling your prudence that you generously promote him who we now know to have served you devotedly, and who we know will be useful for your affairs in future, so that his desire to serve you shall increase, and confidence and hope render him more prompt to your service. May God preserve life and health for you and your sons for long to come.

¹ David likely received this letter from Rotrou, when the archbishop absolved Foliot from excommunication, on 5 April 1170.

² Perhaps a mistake in V for 'your affairs', as in L (above n.'g').

Letter 76

V fo.152r-v = L 751; *LCH*, vi, no.4322

H(enrico) Dei gratia illustri Anglorum regi P(etrus) de Micho licet immeritus eadem gratia sancte Rom(ane) ecclesie presbiter cardinalis salutem et felices ad vota successus. Notum facimus excellentie vestre latorem presentium, mag(istrum) D(auid), in negotio vestro quod nuper in Romana ecclesia tractatum est tam eleganter et tam prudenter egisse ut vestram uberrimam gratiam videatur promeruisse. Siquidem cum nondum animum et vultum iudicis sentiret propitium, causam nostram^a et vestrorum quantum in eo fuit, omnium assistentium iudicio mirifice peroravit. Postmodum vero cum his^b qui primo et qui secundo a vestra magnificentia missi^c fuerant ad perficiendum quod eis iniunctum fuerat, omnem sollicitudinem et diligentiam constanter et efficaciter adhibere studuit. Eapropter sullimitatem vestram commonemus et rogamus attentius quatenus memoratum virum et tante probitatis intuitu et nostrarum precum interuentu diligere et honorare dignemini, et si de alio regno litteratas et honestas personas ad obsequium vestrum conuocare vestre expedit dignitati, oriundum et indigenam regni vestri velud^d desiderabilem thesaurum retinere et confouere debetis, et nos si in hac parte exauditi fuerimus, omni tempore vobis et heredibus vestris obnoxiores erimus.

^a vestram L

^b hiis L

^c nulli L

^d veluti L

Letter 76

Peter de Mizo, cardinal priest [of S. Lorenzo in Damaso] to King Henry II of England
[c. April 1171]¹

To Henry by the grace of God illustrious king of the English, Peter de Mizo², although unworthy, by the same grace cardinal priest of the Holy Roman Church, offers greeting and happy accomplishment of vows. We make known to your sublimity the bearer of the present letters, Master David, who recently accomplished your business in the Roman church so elegantly and prudently that he appears to deserve your most abundant grace. Indeed, even though he sensed no favourable spirit or countenance from the judge, he pleaded ours and your men's cause as wonderfully as could be accomplished in the judgement of all standing by. Afterwards he strove firmly and effectively to work with those dispatched, both first and second, from your magnificence to complete what they had been instructed to accomplish. For that reason, on account of such probity and through the intercession of our requests, we petition and ask your highness the more attentively to deign to reward and honour this man. Though it may behove your dignity to summon to your service literate and honest persons from another realm, you ought to retain and favour that covetable treasure that is native and sprung from your own kingdom, and should our requests be heard in this respect we shall for all time be the more obliged to you and to your heirs.

¹ Peter here refers to David's efforts at the Curia on the King's behalf. The reference to 'those dispatched, both first and second, from your magnificence' must refer to the two groups of messengers which arrived at the Curia in the aftermath of the murder, see Chapter Two, 80-2. Therefore, this letter and those following must have been written shortly before David left the Curia in April 1171, successful once again in securing Foliot's absolution.

² Cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio 1158-c.1165 X 6, and cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo 1165 X 6-1174, dying in September 1174, see *CTB* ii, 1380.

Letter 77

V fo.152v = L 735-6; *LCH*, vi, no.4323

H(enrico) Dei gratia illustrissimo atque magnifico regi Angl(or)um Iac(inthus)^a eadem gratia sancte Rom(ane) ecclesie diaconus cardinalis salutem et continuam tranquillitatem.

Sullimitati vestre valde aggratulamur quia viris honestis et litteratis munificentie vestre gratiam exhibere consueuistis. Super quo magnificentia vestra tanto elucet clarius quanto scientie bonum vestre industrie a Deo collatum in aliis emulamini uberius. Inde est quod serenitatem tuam pro magistro D(auid) clerico vestro fidelissimo sollicitare non dubitamus. Est enim vir preclare litterature et urbane eloquentie, unde celebrem laudem in Romana curia cum honoris vestri exaltatione promeruit. Rogamus itaque serenitatem vestram attentius et monemus quatenus ipsius contemplatione et nostro interuentu carum eum habere velitis, ut ipse qui statum suum et scientiam tanto domino optulit, fructum condignum sibi a vestra munificentia suscipiens, excellentie vestre semper teneatur fideliter adherere et glorie vestre laus merito accumuletur, et nos teneamur in vestris negotiis pertractandis promptiores existere.

^a Iacobus L

Letter 77

Hyacinth, cardinal deacon [of S. Maria in Cosmedin] to King Henry II

[c. April 1171]

To Henry by the grace of God most illustrious and magnificent king of England, Hyacinth¹, by the same grace cardinal deacon of the holy Roman church, sends greeting and continued tranquillity. How strongly we congratulate your sublimity that you make a custom of extending the grace of your munificence towards honest and learned men. The more brightly shines your magnificence, so much the better do you reflect upon others the good bestowed by God upon your wisdom and industry. Hence it is that we do not hesitate to solicit your serenity upon behalf of Master David, your most faithful clerk. For he is a man of pre-eminent learning and urbane eloquence, whence he earned high praise in the Roman Curia together with the exultation of your honour. Therefore we ask the more attentively and advise your serenity that, from your observation of him and as a result of our intervention, you take care to cherish him, so that he who devotes his position and wisdom to a lord such as you, in receiving due reward from your munificence, shall always adhere faithfully to your excellence, so that, by merit, praise accumulate to your glory and we be rendered the more prompt in the discharge of your affairs.

¹ Hyacinth Bobo, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and Pope Celestine III from 1191.

Letter 78

V fo.152v = L 741-2; *LCH*, vi, no.4324

Serenissimo domino H(enrico) Dei gratia regi Angl(or)um Ioh(anne)s Neapol(itanus) indignus presbiter cardinalis salutem et votiuous semper optinere successus. Quamuis de officii nostri debito uniuersis de clero laborantibus si fieri potest debeamus subuenire, viris tamen litteratis, honestis et discretis propensiore cura tenemur ubi possumus prouidere. Inde est quod latorem presentium, mag(istrum) D(auid), vobis commendatum esse cupimus, et quanta possumus precum instantia vos pro eo rogamus, ne suum in regno vestro permittatis impedire prouectum, sed eum vestra foueatis protectione. Vir enim litteratissimus est^a, discretus et industrius et consiliis et negotiis vestris expediendis futurus perutilis. Stetit autem pro vobis fideliter et deuote in negotiis vestris coram domino papa et nobis, et totis viribus priuatim^b et publice honori vestro operam dedit. Unde tam pro vobis ipso quam pro eo eum vobis commendandum^c esse desideramus. Et utique cum^d si extraneus esset deberetis eum ad vos vocare, longe magis cum vester sit ad deuotionem vestram et ad obsequium beneficiis et gratia debetis retinere. Interest autem honoris vestri et regie maiestatis viris litteratis et honestis regni vestri oriundis in regno vestro prouidere, ne paupertatis optentu ad extera regna cogantur potius transmigrare. Et certe si eam que penes nos est modicitatem ei placeret nobiscum partiri, in nullo largitionis nostre manus pro facultate nostra ei deesset. Sic^e igitur has nostras pias et honestas preces admittite ut pro eis admissis vobis gratias uberes possimus referre et vobis honori cedat et glorie

^a et L

^b priuate L

^c commendatum L

^d etiam L

^e sicut L

Letter 78

John of Naples cardinal priest [of S. Anastasia] to King Henry II

[c. April 1171]

To his most serene lord Henry by the grace of God king of the English, John of Naples¹ undeserving cardinal priest sends greeting and in his endeavours always success.² By virtue of our office, however much we have a duty to lend all possible support to those labouring amongst the clergy, with all the greater care are we obliged, where we can, to assist men of learning, honesty and discretion. Hence it is that we wish the bearer of these present letters, Magister David, to be commended to you, in so far as we can, with the urgency of prayers asking on his behalf that you allow no hinderance to his promotion in your realm but instead favour him with your protection. For he is a most learned man, discreet, industrious and in future of the greater use in your counsels and the discharge of your affairs. He stood faithfully and with devotion on your behalf in your business before the lord Pope and ourselves, both in private and public working with all his strength to do you honour. Whence it is that we desire he be commended to you, both for his and your own sake. Assuredly, had he been a stranger you would have summoned him to your presence, and the longer he remained your man, the more you ought to retain him in devotion and obedience to you by benefits and grace. So it behoves your honour and royal majesty to provide in your realm for learned and honest men of native birth, lest from the effect of poverty they are the more readily persuaded to emigrate to foreign kingdoms. Certainly, if it pleased him to share with us what little is ours, we would not stint our hand from generosity in so far as we were able. Hence accept these our pious and honest prayers so that in their acceptance we may render you the better graces, and to the increase of your honour and glory.

¹ For John's relations with the king, see his letter to Henry II, *MTB*, vi, no.396, and the report of the King's machinations in *LJS*, ii, no.275. For the suspicions entertained in Becket's camp against both John and William of Pavia, see *CTB*, i, pp.xxxix-xl, xliv-v.

² This is almost precisely the same salutation John used when writing to the King in 1168, *MTB*, vi, no.396.

Letter 79

V fo.152v = L 671; *LCH*, vi, no.4325

H(enrico) Dei gratia gloriosissimo regi Angl(orum) Guill(elmus) tituli sancti Petri ad Vincula presbiter cardinalis salutem et felici regnare successu. Oportet serenissime regum vestre maiestatis latera prudentibus viris ornari, quoniam nichil amplius regias actiones elucidat quam merita personarum quando princeps talibus consilia regni communicat qui exercitio scientie diutius exagitati tandem examine temperato responsa pensare nouerunt. Nos igitur cum inter ceteros mundi principes vestrum precipue cupiamus honorem, et regnum Anglie perpetuo desideremus diademate choruscare, id^a circa vos fieri iugiter exoptamus ut regale fastigium alios reges luculenta familiarium eruditione^b reuerberet et virtutum potius informet exemplis. Proinde regie celsitudini diligenti suasionem consulimus et quoniam^c credimus esse decens rogamus attentius quatenus mag(istru)m D(auid) latorem presentium, quem nos intuitu litterature sue, discretionis et honestatis et quia comperimus vobis esse fidelem et circa honorem vestrum sollicitum arctius amplexamur^d habeatis propensius commendatum et inter familiares vestros ipsum curetis eligere, virum utique qui supra^e multa poterit secure constitui, et cui grande talentum audebitis sine dubietate committere, in quo non est ambiguum quin fideliter operetur. Quippe talem eum esse probauimus qui et honori vestro consiliis et negotiis vestris expediendis futurus erit perutilis. Verum ne prolixo sermonis epistola regias occupationes detineat, expedit magnifice princeps et nos attentissime suademus ut memoratum D(auid) in regno vestro taliter vestra protectione fouere et promouere curetis, ne thesaurum scientie quem vobis ratione dominii debet et Anglie lege natiuitatis, in alternos^f usus inuitus expendat, si ad alia regna fortassis defectu subsidii conuolare cogatur. Sic in hac parte nos exaudite ut quamuis ad omnia nos deuotos iam reddideritis, deuotiores si fieri potest adhuc habeatis.

^a ideo L

^b vertical line drawn in V to divide the two words eruditione and reuerberet

^c quantum L

^d amplexemini et L

^e super L

^f alteros L

Letter 79

William [of Pavia] cardinal priest of S. Pietro-ad-Vincula to King Henry II of England
[c. April 1161]

To Henry by the grace of God most glorious king of the English, William cardinal priest by title of S. Peter-ad-Vincula¹ sends greeting and happy success in reigning. It befits your majesty, most serene of kings, to embellish your company with prudent men, since nothing more abundantly enlightens royal actions than that human merit which accrues when a prince shares the counsels of the realm with such men who, long stimulated by the exercise of knowledge, at length learn to ponder their advice through temperate consideration. Therefore, we, who seek to honour you as first amongst all princes of the world, wishing the realm of England to glitter perpetually as a diadem, seek likewise that your regal fastidiousness outdo that of other kings through the splendour of your companions and your virtue the more strongly teach by example. Hence it is that by diligent persuasion we counsel your royal highness, and in so far as we deem fitting ask you the more attentively to hold in more appropriate commendation and to promote amongst your familiars the bearer of these present letters, Master David, who we know through understanding of his learning, his discretion and honesty, to be faithful to you, the more keenly we cherish him as one solicitous for your honour, a man moreover who might be safely be stationed above many others and to whom you may dare, without hesitation, commit weighty affairs; in whom there is no doubt but that matters will be faithfully discharged. In truth we have found him to be such a man who, to your honour, will be of outstanding use in future in your counsels and affairs. Truly, lest a letter of prolix discourse distract from royal concerns, it both behoves a great prince and is our most attentive desire to persuade you so to favour the aforesaid David by your protection and to secure his promotion in your realm, lest that treasury of knowledge owed to you from lordship and the law of English birth shall unwittingly be spent in other uses, if by chance, through lack of material support, it be obliged to flee to other realms. So hear us in this regard that, however much you shall have found us now devoted in all things, if such a thing be possible, the more devotedly still shall you find us.

¹ Formerly archdeacon of Pavia, then cardinal deacon of St Mary in Via Lata, cardinal priest of St Peter ad Vincula from 1160, cardinal bishop of Porto from 1170. According to Barlow, he was 'always well-disposed towards Henry', and in 1167 was appointed legate by Alexander III, apparently at the King's request. Becket found him so distasteful that he sent letters to Rome rejecting him as a judge, citing William's partiality to the King: Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 163, 170.

Letter 80

V fo.152v = L 739; *LCH*, vi, no.4326

Henrico Dei gratia gloriosissimo et illustrissimo regi Anglie I(ohannes) Anagn(inus) eadem gratia tituli sancti Marci presbiter cardinalis salutem in eo qui dat salutem regibus. Quoniam honoris vestri augumenta sincera in Domino caritate diligimus, pro his qui ad seruitium vestrum idoneos esse cognoscimus confidenter rogare presumimus. Magistrum itaque D(auid) virum siquidem prudentem, eloquentissimum et bene morigeratum, quem in presentia nostra ad negotia vestra promouenda indubitanter futurum esse credimus, regie magnitudini affectuosissime commendamus, rogantes quatenus eum carum habeatis et ei taliter prouidere dignemini ut ad ^aseruitium vestrum semper paratus existat, et ceteri eius exemplo ad^a vestre fidelitatis deuotionem magis ac magis prouocentur^b. Expedi sane tanto domino ut tales circa se habeat per quos imminetia sibi negotia per diuersas mundi partes fidutialiter valeat delegare.

^a *om.* seruitium....ad L

^b prouocetur L

Letter 80

John of Anagni cardinal priest of S. Marco to King Henry II of England

[c.April 1171]

To Henry by the grace of God most glorious and illustrious king of England¹, John of Anagni by the same grace cardinal priest by title of S. Marco sends greeting in him who supplies salvation to kings. Since in true love of the Lord we strive for the increase of your honour, we know that we may presume with confidence to petition on behalf of those known suited to your service. Thus we commend to your royal greatness with the highest affection master David, a prudent man, most eloquent and gratifying, whom we believe without doubt will advance your business before us in future, asking that you hold him dear and deign so to provide for him, both that he remain always prompt in your service, and that by his example others may be persuaded more and more to show devotion in your trust. For it is fitting for so great a lord as yourself that he have such men around him to whom his urgent business in all parts of the world may be delegated with trust.

¹ Note the address here, by contrast to most other letters in this series, in which Henry is (properly) addressed not as king 'of England' but 'of the English'.

Letter 81

V fo.152v = L 767-8; LCH, vi, no.4327

Illustrissimo atque serenissimo domino suo H(enrico) diuina gratia Anglorum regi inuictissimo Vi(uianus) utcumque dictus magister, sancte Romane curie aduocatus et illius aule regie indesinenter prolocutor deuotissimus, superborum et rebellium corda proprie ditioni subicere et in omnibus cum salute triumphaliter procedere. Ad apostolice sedis presentiam legati vestri cum venissent et in verbo eis credito satis strenue egissent, astitit inter eos^a aureum candelabrum^l tanquam^b in medio ecclesie constitutum^c vir eloquentissimus, doctor siquidem egregius, mag(ister) D(auid), vobis per omnia fidelissimus, qui magnalia de vobis in conspectu tocius curie et diuersarum nationum illic assistentium proposuit, patentissime demonstrans quanta pre aliis mundi principibus vestra sit potentia a mari^d usque ad mare et a flumine etiam^e Eufraten usque ad terminos orbis terrarum, confundensque pariter Manicheos in sermone suo qui ad curiam venerant, ut saltem in occulto aliquid^f contra excellentiam vestram agere possent, nec minus verba legatorum vestrorum eloquentia sua optime deaurauit. Et quia potentissime regum tam^g fideliter et eleganter ipsum egisse cognouimus, excellentie vestre amenissime supplicamus ut eum^h cum ad presentiam serenitatis vestre accesserit benigne recipiatis et magnificentissime exaltetis, et quantum nos diligatis, qui omni sacramento et deuocione vobis et filiis vestris preclarissimis dominis nostris affecti sumus, in eius receptione et conferendis sibi beneficiis de pinguedine diuitiarum vestrarum liquido si placet demonstratis. Et profecto vobis sicut karissimo domino nostroⁱ in veritate proponimus quod talem ad obsequium vestrum ipsum^j inuenimus quod^k si de^l Grecia aut longiore prouintia eduxisset^m originem, magnis promissionibus et immensis muneribus virum tante eloquentie et scientie ad presenciam vestram deberetis attrahere. Septiformis gratia contra singulta et stridorem dentium² inimicorum vestrorum per tempora longa vos et filios vestros conseruet, custodiat et protegat, et ab omni malo defendat. Preterea serenissime regum quod donaria vestra non accepimus, immo dimisimus, ut in conspectu totius curie et inimicorum vestrorum de magnificentia et potentia vestra quanta sit, sicut vidimus et pro certo didicimus, liberius loqui possemus, et ea siquidⁿ donaria vobis commendauius ut in decuplum recipiamus.

1. Cf. Exodus 37:24, 39:36-7, 40:22-24; Zechariah 4:2 etc etc 2. Cf. Matthew 22:13; Luke 13:28

^a *add.* tamquam L

^b *om.* tamquam L

^c constitutus L

^d mare L

^e et L

^f aliquid L

^g *vertical line drawn in V to divide the two words tam and fideliter*

^h *om.* L

ⁱ meo L

^j V *add.* proponimus *underlined for omission*

^k quem L

^l e L

^m duxisset L

ⁿ siquidem L

Letter 81

Vivian [archdeacon of Orvieto] to King Henry II of England¹

[c. April 1171]

To his most illustrious and serene lord Henry by divine grace most invincible king of the English, Vivian somehow called ‘master’, advocate of the holy Roman curia and unceasingly most devoted proctor of that royal hall², that the hearts of the proud and rebellious may be brought to proper subjection and that all things may proceed triumphantly and in safety. When your envoys approached the apostolic see and fully and strenuously recited the words assigned to them, there stood amongst them that most eloquent of men and remarkable of teachers, master David, stationed in the midst of the church like a golden candelabrum, most faithful to you through all, speaking great things of you in the hearing of the entire curia and those in attendance from many nations, proving most clearly how much your power exceeds that of all other worldly princes, extending from sea to sea and from the banks of the Euphrates³ to the very ends of the earth, at the same time in his speech confounding the Manichees⁴ who had come to the curia seeking in secret to work against your excellency, and, what is more, gilding with his finest eloquence the words of your envoys. And since we knew him to have performed so faithfully and elegantly for the most powerful of kings, we most fervently beseech your excellency that when he enters the presence of your serenity you receive him kindly, that you most magnificently exalt him, and that in so far as you esteem us, who are attached to you and your sons by oath and devotion as our most illustrious lords, in his reception and the conferring of benefits you display such reward in coin flowing from the abundance of your riches. Indeed, we propose this to you in truth as our dearest lord, that we found him to act for you in such a way that, even had he been born in Greece or more distant parts, you would have found it necessary to attract a man of such eloquence and wisdom to your service through vast promises and immense rewards. May sevenfold grace long preserve, defend, and protect you and your sons against the sighs and teeth-gnashing of your enemies⁵ and defend you from all evil. Know moreover, most serene of kings, that we entirely disowned your gifts, refusing to accept them, so that in the presence of the entire curia and your enemies we might speak the more freely of your power, as we have seen and known it, returning such gifts to you that in future we may receive them again ten times greater.⁶

¹ The obsequiousness of this letter exceeds that of others in this series, embellished here, from the salutation onwards, with many rhetorical flourishes.

² Vivian, archdeacon of Orvieto, called by Duggan a curial ‘jurisconsul’. Promoted May- September 1175 as cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, and from 1175-84 as cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Monte Celio. Together with Gratian, he served on the Pope’s third mission to settle the Becket dispute: Duggan, *Becket*, 162-3.

³ One of the longest rivers of Western Asia, flowing from eastern Turkey through Syria and Iraq into the Persian Gulf. A Biblical image, since the Bible regularly speaks of the Euphrates often as a metaphor for a far-off frontier, as in Genesis 15:18; Deuteronomy 11:24; Joshua 1:4. Vivian is here exalting Henry above all other kings, much like Solomon who ‘magnificatus est igitur...super omnes reges terre diuitiis et gloria’, and who ‘exercuit etiam potestam super cunctos reges a fluuio Eufraten usque ad terram Philistinorum id est usque ad terminus Egypti’.

⁴ Manichaeism was a religious movement that spread through Aramaic-speaking regions from the 3rd-7th centuries, later used as a synonym for heresy. Here, however, it is applied to the King’s enemies, presumably to Becket’s supporters.

⁵ Cf. Matthew 22:13 (and Luke 13:28).

⁶ Liverani (*L*, 768) appends a plangent note, citing this as an instance of Roman venality, repudiating small gifts in the expectation of greater things to come.

Letter 82

V fo.152v; V(c) fo.139r; C fo.120r (p.229) no.225; D fo.89v no.68; = L 547; *MTB*, vii, 209 no.627; J-L 11716, and cf. *Diceto*, i, 337

^aDominus papa episcopo London(iensi) post^b cetera^a. Et quoniam dilectus filius noster mag(ister) D(auid) ecclesie tue canonicus, vir utique litteratus, prouidus, et discretus, et tibi etiam^c fidelissimus aput nos pro negotio tuo tam secreto quam publice coram nobis et fratribus nostris sollicite institit, et eius executioni omnem^d quam^e potuit et etiam^f ultra quam debuit studium et diligentiam adhibere curauit, diligentiam^g tuam per apostolica s(cripta) rogamus attentius et monemus quatenus eundem pro reuerentia beati Petri et nostra et optentu sui ipsius qui^h tibi adeo fidelis et deuotus extitit habeas propensius commendatum, nec aduersus eum prauis aliquorum suggestionibus credas vel de ipsius in aliquo fidelitate diffidas, sed eius obsequium ita remuneres quod ipse tibi et tuis debeat omni tempore fidelis et deuotus existere et nos, id gratum acceptumque tenentes, affectioni tue multiplices inde gratias teneamurⁱ referre.^j

^a *om.* V(c), B, *MTB*, where this letter is presented as a continuation of no.33 above, not as a distinct item

^b post L

^c *om.* L

^d omne L

^e quod L

^f *om.* L

^g discretionem B, *MTB*

^h quod *MTB*

ⁱ teneamus L

^j *add.* Datum Beneuentii, ii. Idus Februar(ii) B, *MTB*

Letter 82

Pope Alexander III to Bishop Gilbert of London

[12 February 1170]¹

The Lord Pope to the bishop of London, following the rest (i.e. of letter 33 above). And since our beloved son, Master David, canon of your church, is a man assuredly learned, prudent, and discreet, and solicitously applied himself most faithfully in your business before us, both privately and in public, before us and our brothers, taking care to exert all the effort and diligence that he could to achieve this, even beyond that to which he was obliged, we attentively request and advise your diligence, by apostolic writing that, out of reverence for St Peter and ourselves, and through his own achievement, having proved himself both devoted to you and faithful, you consider him all the more commended, and not believe the wicked intimations of any others, nor in any way withdraw your faith from him, but so repay his obedience that he remain for all time faithful and devoted, and that we, considering this both pleasing and worthy of acceptance, are obliged to repay your love with manifold graces.

¹ As in the dating clause to B, whence *MTB* and *J-L*.

Letter 83

V fos.152v-153r; C fo.198v (p.384) no.439 = Giles, ii, 149-50 no.409; *MTB*, vi, 616-17 no.516

^aVenerabili fratri et amico speciali Dei gratia Lond(oniensi) episcopo Guill(elmus) eadem gratia tituli sancti Petri ad Vincula presbiter cardinalis salutem et intime dilectionis affectum^a. Illius siquidem dilectionis intuitus quam olim inter nos gratia societas amicali relatione contraxit, ad omnia que honori vestro consonent^b diligenti studio prosequenda nostram iugiter intentionem animat et inducit, neque^c nostrum auspice Deo poterit in hac parte mutari propositum, quin semper eam curam vestris impendamus negotiis quam in propriis adhibere^d vellemus et fere circa nos etiam malle^e desides^e inueniri. Huius igitur amoris consideratione permoti, eos quos vobis fideles cognoscimus ac deuotos, discretioni vestre cum expedit commendare tenemur, ne forte qui fideliter operantur propter silentium aut ignorantiam a suo defraudentur^f seruitio. Nouimus itaque^g quod egregius vir et quem multiplex litteratura^h magnificat, mag(ister) D(auid), occasione vestri venit ad curiam, et in vestris adeo constanter et prouide studuit perorare negotiis et pro vobis eatenus militare quod si priusⁱ sui res ageretur in medio, nequaquam posset^j extitisse fidelior. Quia vero in conspectu summi pontificis et tocius ecclesie^k et precipue coram nobis iamdicti magistri scientia pariter et honestas necnon et eruditio comprobata habundanter complacuit et gratiam meruit optinere, nos qui arcus fraternitatem vestram amplectimur epistolari mediante commertio suadem vobis audemus atque consulere quatenus^l sepe dictum D(auid) curetis sicut tam prudentem virum decet honestius venerari, et ad eius promocionem et comoda ita semper intendere ut ipse vobis fiat ex deuoto deuotior, et nos vestram merito commendare debeamus industriam cum tam utilem sibi^m personam elegerit que in multis poterit necessitatibus suffragari. Si autemⁿ, ut^o frequenti casu contingit, alicuius in eum attemptauerit emulatio nouercari et perimmunem^p dente inuido^q lacerare, nullam fidem adhibeat vestra sagacitas, quoniam ipsum vobis fidelissimum esse comperimus, ^rnec illius qualitatis homo videtur qui a vestra velit deuotione recedere^f.

^{a-a} Domino Lund(oniensi) Will(elmus) Pap(iensis) card(inalis) C, *MTB*

^b consonant C, G, *MTB*

^c nec C

^d adhiberi C, *MTB*

^e desides malle^e C, *MTB*

^f V *add.* desiderio *underlined for omission*

^g itaque V, igitur C

^h V *add.* co *underlined for omission*

ⁱ prius V, patris C, *MTB*

^j *vertical line drawn in V to divide posset from extitisse*

^k *add.* Romane C, *MTB*

^l quatinus C

^m sibi *interlined* C, *om.* *MTB*

ⁿ *om.* *MTB*

^o ut V, sicut C, *MTB*

^p Immunere C, immunem *MTB*

^q inuido V, liuido C, *MTB*

^{r-r} *om.* C, *MTB*

Letter 83

William cardinal priest of S. Pietro-ad-Vincula to Bishop Gilbert of London

[c. April 1171]¹

To his venerable brother and special friend, by the grace of God bishop of London, William by the same grace cardinal priest in title of S. Pietro-ad-Vincula sends greeting and affection from sincerest love. In consideration of that love that fellowship once established between us through grace and friendly report, in all things it is our intention and purpose studiously to promote whatever resounds to your honour, nor, by God's prophetic power, can our intention be altered, given our determination always to strive in your affairs rather than to be found idle. Moved by contemplation of such love, we are bound to commend to your discretion, whenever appropriate, those we know to be faithful and devoted, lest through silence or ignorance those who act faithfully be cheated of their just service. Know therefore that Master David, that most excellent man, variously exalted by his literate learning, came to the curia on your account and so steadfastly and providently pleaded your business, striving for you in such a way that if previously his affairs had hung in the balance, by no means could he have displayed greater fidelity. Since the learning, honesty and erudition of this master have been abundantly proved in the sight of the Pope, the whole church, and above all of ourselves, and since he proved his entitlement to praise, we dare to persuade and counsel you, bound to you in brotherhood the more closely through the exchange of letters, that you take care the more appropriately to honour the aforesaid David as a man of prudence, so working always for his advancement and comfort that he be rendered by your loyalty the more loyal to you, and that we may rightly commend the industry of one such as yourself who appoints so useful a person, so fit to discharge his affairs. If however, as is frequently the case, anyone like a stepfather should seek to tear so inviolate a target with envious tooth, may it please your wisdom to place no trust in such slander, given that we find him to be the most trustworthy of your servants, nor can any man of such quality be found who you would wish to abandon your loyal service.

¹ Presuming these letters were written for Gilbert Foliot at the same time as the recommendations above addressed to the King.

Letter 84

V fo.153r = L 741

Plurimum in Cristo dilecto G(ilberto) Dei gratia London(iensi) episcopo Ioh(annes) Neapol(itanus) card(inalis) presbiter, licet indignus, salutem et omnem^a bonum. Lator presentium mag(ister) D(avid), vir utique prouidus, discretus et honestus expediendi vestri negotii causa, ad pedes sanctitatis domini pape veniens, ita constanter, ita prudenter in negotio vestro se habuit quod in oculis domini pape et totius curie multam gratiam inuenit^b, et pro vobis non semel sed sepius publice et in priuato eleganter et mirifice perorando, omnium animos sibi conciliauit. Qualis enim qualitercumque vobis fuerit acceptus sui laboris fructus, unum scimus et super eo voce presbiteri licet indigni verum testimonium perhibemus quod ad expediendum negotium vestrum plurimum studii et opere fidelis^c impendens, plures in eo molestias, angustias^d animi et^e labores pertulit. Quoniam igitur alonginquis diebus vestrum desiderauimus et adhuc desideramus honorem, iamdictum virum vobis commendatum esse cupimus. Scimus enim certissimis rerum experimentis eum vobis et honori vestro futur(o) utilissimum. Monemus itaque, consulimus et quanta possumus precum instantia vos rogamus attentius ut eum beneficiis et gratia ad vestrum obsequium deuotum faciatis, et quod in eo bene^f incepistis, fine meliore concludatis. Vir enim industrius est et vobis fidelissimus, quem supra^g multa poteritis secure^h constituere. Si quis autem aliud de eo vobis suggesserit, nullo modo fidem adhibeatis. Sic in hac parte nos exaudire dignemini ut preces vestras si quandoque opus fuerit et debeamus suscipere et teneamur efficaciter promouere.

^a omne L

^b inuenerit L

^c operis fideliter L

^d *add.* et L

^e *om.* L

^f bonum L

^g super L

^h secure poteritis L

Letter 84

John of Naples, cardinal priest, to Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London

[c. April 1171]

To his much loved friend in Christ Gilbert by the grace of God bishop of London, John of Naples cardinal priest, although unworthy, offers greeting and everything good. The bearer of these present letters, Master David, is a man assuredly prudent, discreet and honest in the discharge of your business. Arriving at the feet of his holiness the lord Pope, he so steadfastly and so prudently conducted himself in your affairs that he earned much praise both in the sight of the lord Pope and the entire curia, elegantly and wonderfully pleading for you often both publicly and in private, so that he reconciled to himself the souls of all. We for one know how and in what ways the fruits of his labour shall please you, and in this respect allow the voice of a priest, albeit unworthy, to bear true witness that in expending such effort and faithful labour in the discharge of your many affairs, he endured many slights, strivings and distresses of soul. Therefore, since we have sought to do you honour through many days, and continue so to seek, we wish that this aforesaid man be commended to you. For we know from most certain indications that he will prove extremely useful to you and your honour in times to come. We therefore advise, counsel and in so far as we are able pressingly request that you make him loyal to your service through gifts and praise, and that what you have begun here you bring to a yet better finish. For this is an industrious man, most faithful to you, whom you might safely station above many others. Should anyone suggest to you anything otherwise than is reported here, have no faith in such things. But so deign to heed us in this that we may appropriately accept and promote your requests, whenever we are obliged to receive them.

Letter 85

V fo.153r; C fo.144r (p.275) no.282 = L 735; Giles, ii, 34 no.294 (without salutation but with potentially additional opening matter from C)

^aVenerabili fratri et amico plurimum dilecto G(ilberto) Dei gratia London(iensi) episcopo Iac(inthus)^b eadem gratia sancte Rom(ane)^c ecclesie diaconus cardinalis salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum^a. Ex quo ^dnoticiam persone vestre^d habuimus, vobis propensiori caritate adhesimus et ad vestrum honorem quotiens^e se oportunitas^f optulit attenta sollicitudine operam dedimus. Inde est quod ea que litterature et honestati vestre honorem accumulare videntur, discretioni vestre confidenter suggerimus. Rogamus itaque omnipharie et monemus ^gquatenus magistrum Daud^g diligatis et ad ipsius profectum totis viribus intendatis. Siquidem plurimum commendationis et fauoris vestra consequetur honestas, si virum^h tante honestatis et tam profunde litteratureⁱ quem eloquentie pulcritudo venustat^l, Romana ecclesia^j acceptum habet, et valde commendat, carum habueritis et studueritis exaltare, ^kpresertim cum negotium vestrum et etiam^l domini regis vestri gratia ita tractauit, quod nullus eo melius tractare potuisset^k.

Prouideatis ergo ei quam^m admodum deceat dantem et accipientem, ne forte si eius tam laudabilia merita inremunerataⁿ remanent^o, fame vestre inde merito detrahi posset^p. Et si accidet emulum vel detractorem velle in contrarium dare consilium, ei nullatenus aurem accomodetis.

1. Cf. Peter the Lombard's commentary on the Psalms: 'Et quia non sufficit pulchritudo sine sapientia et eloquentia'.

^{a-a} Moris esse solet amantium ut rei dilecte mentionem nunquam audire fastidiant, quin potius ex ipsa confabulandi frequentia humanus affectus circa rem quam diligit amplius inardescat. Que ad honorem Dei et utilitatem sancte ecclesie in usus pauperum deuotione fidelium conlata sunt, eis neququam cuiusquam temeritate sunt auferenda, sed eis pocius obseruanda sunt et augenda *C as pd by Giles. In reality, as in C, inserted at the head of a column of text itself divided into paragraphs, Giles perhaps conflating what were originally three letters, one opening Moris esse, the second Que ad honorem, and the third (as in V) Ex quo*

^b Iacobus L

^c Romanum L

^{d-d} vestre persone noticiam C

^e quoties L, quociens C

^f oportunitas L

^{g-g} diligenter quatinus D(auid) C

^h om. virum C

ⁱ add. virum C

^j Romana ecclesia V, ecclesia Lund(oniensis) C

^{k-k} om. C

^l om. L

^m quem C

ⁿ irremunerata C, L

^o remaneant L

^p C ends here

Letter 85

Hyacinth cardinal deacon [of S. Maria in Cosmedin] to Bishop Gilbert of London
[c. April 1171]

To his venerable brother and much loved friend Gilbert by the grace of God bishop of London, Hyacinth, by the same grace cardinal deacon of the holy Roman church sends greeting and the expression of sincere affection. In so far as we have come to know you we have clung to you with the more willingly in love, labouring with attentive solicitude for your honour whenever opportunity arose. Thus it is that we may confidently suggest to your discretion those things seen to bring increase of honour to your learning and honesty. Therefore we ask and advise in every way that you esteem Master David, using all your strength to attend to his profit. Indeed, your honesty will reap commendation and favour if you shall hold dear and labour to promote a man of such honesty and such profound learning, garlanded with the comeliness of eloquence¹, whom the Roman church approves and strongly commends, especially as he carried out your business and that of your lord king with such grace that no one could better. Therefore provide for him as is fitting to be given or received, lest unrewarded for his such praiseworthy merits, he may with merit detract from your own reputation. And if it should happen that a rival or disparager give contrary advice, lend him no hearing.

¹ Cf. Peter the Lombard's commentary on the Psalms.

Letter 86

V fo.153r = L 739-40

Reuerendo et plurimum in Cristo dilecto fratri G(ilberto) Dei gratia Lond(oniensi) episcopo I(ohannes) Anagn(inus) eadem gratia tituli sancti Marci presbiter card(inalis) salutem et sincere di(lectionis) af(fectum). Ignoti facie sola nobis estis fama notissimi. Unde et ea pro vobis facere concupiscimus que ad honorem vestrum vestrorumque amicorum utilitatem pertinere cognoscimus. Vestrum itaque sit nos ad imminencia vobis negotia fiducialiter inuitare, quia nostrum erit et vestram inuitationem recipere, et imminencia vobis negotia in melius auxiliante Domino studiosissime promouere. De cetero magistrum D(auid) virum utique industrium, facundissimum et moribus bonis adornatum, dilectioni vestre plurimum commendamus, rogantes attentius quatenus nostrarum precum intuitu et probitatis eius respectu taliter ei prouideatis quod ipse deuotus^a vobis deuotior existat, et ceteri eius exemplo ad vestri honoris augumentum facilius prouocentur. Plurimum et enim honori vestro expedire credimus si tales circa vos habeatis per quos imminencia vobis negotia fiducialiter^b promouere valeatis.

^a deuoto V, deuotus *suppl.* L

^b fidecialiter *interlined for correction to* fiducialiter V

Letter 86

John of Anagni cardinal priest of S. Marco to Bishop Gilbert of London

[c.April 1171]

To his reverend and much loved brother in Christ Gilbert by God's grace bishop of London, John of Anagni by the same grace cardinal priest by title of S. Marco sends greeting and the expression of sincere affection. Although we have never seen your face, you are most famous to us through reputation. Hence we long to do for you whatever we know to pertain to your honour and the utility of your friends. Therefore, it will be for you to invite us in confidence to your pressing affairs, and for us to receive your invitation and, with help from the Lord, most diligently to advance such affairs. For the rest, we especially commend to your love master David, a man assuredly industrious, most eloquent, and adorned with good habits, asking most attentively that in response to our prayers and out of respect for his probity you so provide for him both that he, though loyal, be rendered more loyal still¹, and that others, following his example, be the more easily provoked to the increase of your honour. For we believe it to be very much to the increase of such honour if you surround yourself with such men by which you may be trustworthily strengthened in the promotion of your pressing affairs.

¹ A phrase also in no.82.

Letter 87

V fo.153r = *DCAB*, 115; *AB*, i pt.ii, no.579; *L* 544-5; *MTB*, vii, 482-3 no.754; *J-L* 11916; *LCH*, vi, 339 no.4268

^aAlexander episcopus s(eruus) s(eruorum) Dei illustri Anglorum regi^a. Antequam secundi nuntii tui ad nostram presentiam accessissent, dilecti filii nostri R(eginaldus) archid(iaconus) Saresb(eriensis) et Ric(ardus) Bar et mag(ister) D(auid) nostro se conspectui presentarunt, et iniuncto sibi negotio omnem quam decuit curam et sollicitudinem adhibuerunt, et apud nos plus iusto etiam institerunt. Unde quoniam^b aliis superuenientibus et quasi^c in labores illorum intransibilibus ea que nobis proposuerant locum nequaquam habebant, prefati viri una cum aliis qui postremo venerant diligentes et studiosi fuerunt, et maxime prefatus archid(iaconus) et mag(ister) D(auid) postquam R(icardus) socius illorum^d a nostra curia recesserat, non solum sicut et ceteri ad promotionem negotii tui cum aliis, sed etiam^e sine illis discrete^f ac sollicite laborarunt. Verum si de illis in aliis litteris nostris mentionem non fecimus, mirari non debes, nec id alia credas ratione omissum nisi quia secundi nuntii tui pro eo quod cum illis non venerant, ipsos in litteris suis nolebant apponi, sed sicut verbum gratius et magis acceptum attulerant, sic responsum regie sublimitati soli reportare volebant, licet constanter proponerent quod eos post aduentum suum de mandato regio^g detinebant. Quare nos fidei et sollicitudini qua(s)^h circa iniunctum sibi et sociis eorum negotium habuerunt, significatione presentium testimonium duximus perhibendum, presertim cum indignum esset ut qui in his non minus efficaciter aliis laborarunt, sed cum eis potius in toto negotio usque ad consumationem steterunt, minorem a regia munificentia gratiam optinere deberent.

^{a-a} *om. DCAB, illustri Anglorum regi AB*

^b *cum DCAB, AB*

^c *quia DCAB, AB*

^d *eorum L*

^e *et L*

^f *diserte DCAB, AB*

^g *regis L*

^h *quam DCAB, AB, MTB*

Letter 87

Pope Alexander III to King [Henry II] of England

[c. April 1171]¹

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious King of the English. Before your second messengers entered our presence, our beloved sons R(eginald) archdeacon of Salisbury², Richard Barre³, and Master David appeared before us, applying themselves with all due care and solicitude to the business entrusted to them which they pursued before us with greater justice. Although they have now been replaced in such labours by the others who came after them, both they and their successors have proved diligent and studious, especially the aforesaid archdeacon (Reginald) and master David, following the departure from our court of R(ichard) their companion, labouring not only like the others for the promotion of your business, but on their own initiative with discretion and solicitude. Truly, if we made no mention of these men in our other letters, you should not wonder, nor suppose that this was omitted for any other reason than that your second messengers, who arrived apart from their predecessors, did not wish such predecessors mentioned in their letters, but just as they had brought forth a more graceful and pleasing response, so they wished this to be reported this to your royal sublimity as by them alone, even though they engaged in the same business that the others had pursued, by royal command, since their arrival. For which reason, by means of these our present writings we bear witness to the faith and solicitude that they displayed in the business entrusted to them and their companions, especially since it is unfitting that those who laboured in this no less effectively than the others, standing in the whole business more strongly through to its completion, should obtain less reward from your royal munificence.

[END OF GROUP: FOLLOWED IN A NEW HAND BY:]

¹ *AB* incorrectly dates this to 1163. It is clearly written after Becket's murder, as the Pope describes the actions of the king's envoys at the curia in the aftermath, and the envoys were at the Curia until c. April of 1171.

² See above no.7.

³ Richard represented the King at the curia both before and after Becket's murder, and later represented him at the courts of the king of Hungary and the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium, see Rigg, 'Barre, Richard', *ODNB*. Richard was archdeacon of Lisieux and archdeacon of Ely, and also held the prebend of Salisbury and the prebend of Hurstbourne and Burbage, *Fasti*, i, 50-1; iv 78-80; viii 47-9.

V fo.153v = L 757-8; *EEA*, xxxiii, no.172

(R)euertissimo domino et patri suo A(lexandro) summo pontifici sanctitatis eius seruus deuotus Rog(erus) eadem gratia Wigorn(iensis) ecclesie minister, licet indignus, deuotam cum debita subiectione salutem. Presumptionis argui non timemus cum id a serenitate uestra petere decreuerimus^a quod hinc^b placere debeat ex honestate, hinc^c offensam non incurrat ex rei facilitate. Pro dilecto itaque et familiari nostro magistro D(aui)d de Lund(oniensi)^d, viro siquidem litterato et honesto, qui ecclesie Romane semper deuotus extitit et personam uestram digno extollens preconio acta uestra magnificauit, uestre discretionis pedes amplectimur ut iuste et nulli denegande petitionis^e, ut^f pro eo consequi mereatur^g effectum. Venerabilis namque frater noster G(ilbertus) Lund(oniensis) episcopus, considerata mediocritate immo paruitate redditus sui et viri honestate et litteratura, ei decem libras argenti in archidiaconatu Middelsexie annuatim percipiendas assignauit, donec eidem in pari vel ampliori beneficio ecclesiastico prouideret^h, quod et carta sua quam inspeximus confirmauit, et litteris a sigillo dependentibus, ut memorato Magistro D(aui)d solueret prefatas x. librasⁱ R. archid(iacono) Middelsex(ie) precepit, qui de mandato suo ei per biennium continuum et ultra^j, terminis statutis persoluit.

Ortis autem quibusdam controuersiis inter iamdictos episcopum et archid(iaconum) et magistrum D(aui)d, episcopus et archid(iaconus) arbitrium commutauerunt, ut quod archid(iaconus) ante^k magistro D(aui)d soluere consueuit deinde episcopo persolueret. Archidiachono itaque a solutione magistro D(aui)d cessante, quod^l episcopus prius m(agistro) D(auid) indebitum constituit, ei ad nouam gratiam reuocauit. Quia vero^m huiusmodi solutio in dampnum et detrimentum m(agistri) D(auid) poterit conuerti, a celsitudine uestra impetrasseⁿ desideramus si quid humilitas nostra in tante maiestatis conspectu^o potest efficere, vel zelo saltim iusticie, sub urgentis districtione mandati sepedicto episcopo iniungatis ut m(agistro) D(auid) qui sepius cum multo studio coram maiestate uestra pro eo stetit, ut auerteret indignationem uestram ab eo, in primo beneficio eccl(es)iastico quod ei vacauerit x. illas libras assignet. Cum magister D(aui)d iuxta intellectum et interpretationem cartarum suarum dudum sibi credit prouideri debuisse in aliquo beneficio certiore et utique in primo quod vacauerit^p iuxta sepememorati episcopi promissum, plurima quidem postea vacauerunt in quorum nullo ei est prouisum.

^a decreuimus L

^b tum L

^c tum L

^d Lundonia L

^e petitiones *EEA*

^f *om. L, EEA*

^g mereantur L, *EEA*

^h prouideatur L

ⁱ libras decem L

^j intra L

^k in L

^l quae L

^m vero *interlined V*

ⁿ id petiisse L, impetrare *EEA*

^o conspectus *EEA*

^p vacauit L, *erasure in V with letters now partially illegible*

Interim vero donec vacauerit beneficium in quo sufficienter x. libre ei recompensentur, districte precipiatis predicto archid(iacono) ut illas de archidiaconatu in quo ei constat fuisse assignatas, absque vexationis molestia persoluat. In huius ergo interuentus pro viro digno, exhibiti exauditione experiatur nostre paruitatis deuotio, pater reuerende, consuet(e) benignitatis affectum, et ne tanti viri labores alicuius tergiuersatione deludantur, in seueritate et districcione mandati precipiatis prenominato arch(idiacono) ut x. libras quas m(agistro) D(auid) soluere consueuit, occasione et appellatione cessante integre persoluat.

Bishop Roger of Worcester to Pope Alexander III

[Shortly before no.34]²

To his most reverend lord and father Alexander high pontiff, Roger by the same grace minister of the church of Worcester, the devoted servant of his Holiness, although unworthy, sends devout greeting with due submission. We have no fear of being accused of presumption when we request anything from your serenity that should please you though its honesty nor incur offense through its ease of accomplishment. On behalf of our familiar master David of London, a man of learning and honesty who has always shown devotion to the church of Rome and through appropriate advertisement of your deeds has magnified your person, we thus embrace the feet of your discretion, so that, denying to no-one their petition, you justly ensure to each whatever outcome he deserves. For our venerable brother Gilbert, bishop of London, in consideration of the mediocrity, indeed inadequacy, of the rent assigned to master David, a man of honesty and learning, assigned to him £10 of silver annually in the archdeaconry of Middlesex, pending such time that he might be provided to an equal or greater ecclesiastical benefice, confirming this by his charter, that we have inspected, and by his letters with pendant seal commanding R(alph) archdeacon of Middlesex³ to pay these aforesaid £10, who at his command did indeed pay this sum for two years continuously and beyond, at the established terms.

However, following certain controversies that arose between the aforesaid bishop, archdeacon and master David, the bishop and archdeacon altered the agreement so that what the archdeacon was previously accustomed to pay master David should now be paid to the bishop. With the archdeacon ceasing the payment to Master David that the bishop had wrongly established before this, the bishop nonetheless offered him an alternative reward. If our smallness, or zeal for justice may accomplish anything in the sight of so great a majesty, we ask your celsitude, since this payment might redound to the damage and detriment of master David who on the bishop's behalf often and with effort stood before you in tempering your indignation against the bishop, be pleased to enjoin the bishop by urgent command that he assign these £10 in the first ecclesiastical benefice to fall vacant. Although master David, by his understanding and interpretation of his charters, has long supposed this sum to be owed to him from another certain benefice, according to the promise of the aforesaid bishop, the first to fall vacant; many such have since fallen vacant in which he obtained no such provision.

Meanwhile, until a benefice fall vacant in which he can be sufficiently recompensed with £10, you should firmly command the aforesaid archdeacon that, without vexation, he pay the money as assigned to master David from the archdeaconry. In thus intervening on behalf of a worthy man, reverend father, the love of one so small as ourselves is entrusted to public hearing, so that moved by customary beneficence, and lest the labours of such a man be deceived through the delay of others, you should order the aforesaid archdeacon by stern and

¹ Briefly noted in Cheney, 'Roger', 222. A rare survival from a category of letter carried by an individual in support of an appeal or petition, here explaining David's grievance against his former patron, the bishop of London.

² For this, see the discussion in Chapter Two.

³ Probably Ralph Diceto, archdeacon of Middlesex from Sept 1152 X June 1153, until his elevation to the deanery of St Paul's Jan 1180 X Jan 1181, but might possibly refer to his successor, Richard Foliot I, who was possibly archdeacon of Middlesex following Diceto's elevation, albeit for only a short time, see *Fasti*, i, 14-17.

strict command that, without delay or appeal, he pay in whole the £10 that he was accustomed to pay master David.

V fo.153v = L 593

(B)arth(olomeus)^a Dei gratia dictus episcopus Exon(iensis) dilecto fratri et amico in Cristo karissimo magistro D(auid) salutem et sincere dilectionis affectum. Inter cetera que laudabiliter vestra gessit industria, meritorum vestrorum titulos non mediocriter illustravit quod pauperes Christi, canonicos Giseburn(enses)^b, a faucibus leonis studuistis eruere^l, ut vestro beneficio creatori commodius valeant militare. Nos itaque dilectioni vestre fiducialiter audemus in Domino polliceri quod fructus militie eorum in die retributionis stipendiis vestris accrescet, cum veritas in ewangelio^c repromittat quod qui in nomine prophete vel iusti iustum recip(et)^d vel prophetam, mercedem prophetie^e vel iustitie^f consequetur², et offitiositas ecclesie membris impensa, capiti non dubitetur^g exhibita.

Nos ergo bonitati vestre de bene gestis hactenus uberi^h congratulantes, rogamus attentius quatinusⁱ Cristo vestrum in prefatis pauperibus patrociniū imploranti, in suscepto negotio sic studeatis usque ad calculum diffinitionis assistere ut in triumpho quem vobis iustitia ministrabit, vobis honor et merces cumuletur apud Deum et homines. Dicitur autem quod pars aduersa sinceritatem vestram muneribus nititur incestare^j, sed pennata animalia que oculos habent ante et retro³, nebul(a) Sathane nequeunt excecari, quia ante oculos eorum retia vanitatis inaniter iaciuntur. Glorificate ergo eum in officio vestro qui suos veneratores glorificat et e regione contemptores sempiterno percellit obprobrio^k, quia si Christus in sponsonibus suis egerit^l fideiussore, nos cum illo et pro illo spondemus indubitanter, quoniam si ob eius honorem contempseritis quicquid illud sit quod sollitator^m auarusⁿ forsitan offeret^o, centuplum vobis refundet in presenti et perseuerantie in futuro vitam largietur eternam. ‘Mensuram enim bonam et coagitatam et supereffluentem dabit in sinum vestrum’⁴, nec vos aduersantium veritati numerus aut magnitudo detereat, quia maiores et plures in veritate vobiscum sunt quam cum illis, et nisi fides vestra deficiat apposite, dicendi et vincendi gratiam etiam^p angeli ministrabunt. Valet, et noueritis nos paratos esse ad obsequium vestrum.

1. Cf. Ps 21:21-2 2. Cf. Matthew 10:41 3. Cf. Revelations 4:6 4. Luke 6:38

^a Arturus L
^b Eileburnenses L
^c euangelio L
^d recipit L
^e prophetae L
^f iusti L
^g dubitatur L
^h vobis L
ⁱ quatenus L
^j infestare L
^k opprobrio L
^l egeret L
^m sollicitator L
ⁿ avaritiae L
^o offerret L
^p et L

Letter 89

Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter to Master David [of London]

[Late 1170s X 1180]¹

Bartholomew by the grace of God called bishop of Exeter, to his dear brother and most beloved friend in Christ master David, sends greeting and an expression of sincere love. Amongst those things praiseworthy achieved by your labour it is of no small token of your merits that you have striven to pluck the poor of Christ, the canons of Guisborough², from the jaws of the lion³, that they may soldier for the creator better, to your benefit. We thus dare surely to predict for you, dear friend that in day of last judgement, the fruits of their struggle shall be added to your own accounted wages, since in the Gospel the truth is proclaimed that 'Whoever welcomes a prophet as a prophet' or a righteous man as righteous, will receive a prophet's or the righteous' reward⁴, so that no doubt the benefit owing to the limbs of the church will not be denied to the head.

Congratulating your goodness the better for the good things already achieved, we therefore ask you the more attentively, imploring your protection for the aforesaid poor men, that you so carry this undertaking through to its final reckoning that, in the triumph delivered by justice through you, you amass honour and riches both with God and mankind. Although it is claimed that the opposing party seeks to corrupt you with riches, the clouds of Satan are powerless to blind the winged creatures that have eyes in front and behind, since the nets of vanity are cast vainly before the eyes of such.⁵ So glorify Him in your offices who glorifies his reverencers and casts despisers from the world into perpetual disgrace, since if Christ serves as guarantor to his promises, we with Him and for Him may promise indubitably, seeing that should you despise on His behalf whatever the greedy seducer may by chance propose, it shall be repaid to you in the present one hundredfold and in future to those who persevere shall be granted life eternal. For 'He shall supply a good measure shaken together running over into your lap'⁶, nor should the number of those who oppose the truth deter you, because they are greater and more who stand with you in the truth than those who stand against you, and lest your faith should fail, oh appointed one, angels will minister the grace to speak and to triumph. Farewell, and know that we are prompt to serve you.

¹ The dating here is unclear, so this rests on the general dating of the collection and the supposition that David's efforts in this area were after the culmination of the Becket dispute.

² Yorks N, St Mary f.1119. Prior unknown, possibly Cuthbert, occ. 1139 last occ. possibly 1175 X 85, or Ralph, occ. 1180, *Heads*, 164.

³ Ps. 21:21-2

⁴ Cf. Matthew 10:41.

⁵ Cf. Revelation 4:6.

⁶ Luke 6:38.

Letter 90

V fos.153v-154r = L 599-600

(V)enerabili viro et karissimo amico suo magistro D(auid) humilis sancti Pancratii conuentus veram in vero salutari salutem. Scimus quod^a et non sine dolore fatemur quod a vobis nichil meruimus, nec pendet precium nostrarum optentus de precedentium gratia meritorum. Erit igitur solius gratie presidium parare^b poscentibus, et Cristi pauperibus patrocinari, quod proculdubio premio carere non poterit vel diuino. Insurrexerunt ut scitis contra Israel Philistiim in prelium in curribus et equitibus^c innumeris, gloriantes in multitudine sua¹. Posuit enim dux eorum aurum robur suum et argentum fortitudinem suam, ut in viris linguatis^d et in sapientia mundi^e disperdat pauperes Cristi et^e dissipet hereditatem Domini. Quis ergo stabit pro agminibus Israel et pugnabit pro castris regis eterni? Solus D(auid), qui^h secundum non habet^f. Sit igitur alter iste noster D(auid) unus pro mille contra x. millia melior ill(is)^g. Solum^h D(auid) manet gloriosus de tam multiplici hoste triumphusⁱ. Solus est quem suus Dominus reseruauit ex omnibus. Quante erit glorie magis timuisse Deum quam hominem, et diuinam sibi conciliasse gratiam quam humanum formidasse timorem? An multum est qui totiens^j militatis vobis, etiam^k nec semel militare Deo. Quando^l dabitis pro Domino animam vestram si ad horam unam negatis ei linguam vestram? Siquidem stare pro veritate, pro Cristo pugnare est. Quanto aduersariorum copia maior, tanto propugnantis erit et merces^m fructuosior et victoria gloriosior. Habemus enim apud patrem aduocatum Ihesum Cristum iustum legis peritum nostrum, qui est virtus et sapientia Dei, in cuius nomine certamen inimus. Ipse estⁿ qui loquitur per os vestrum, sibi in honorem et gloriam, et vobis in retributionem eternam.

Audiuimus quidem quod auerterit a vobis Eliensis pre^o ira vultum suum et animum, quia melius iudicastis tutum non esse pugnare cum illo contra Dominum. Si ergo nec pro Domino pugnaveritis que merces erit vobis? Illinc^p fructus amittitur temporalis, hinc^q non acquiritur eternus. ‘Apprehende’ ergo, virorum optime, spes nostra et refugium nostrum, ‘arma et scutum, et exurge in adiutorium’ pauperum Cristi². Eme et posside³ omnes nos in fratres et amicos in perpetuum coram D(e)o obnoxios. State pro tuenda iusticia nostra quasi carnem unam, nos autem pugnabimus pro vobis contra omnes aduersarios spirituales, sed et votis et voci vestre non deerit tota nostra in perpetuum cum prona voluntate facultas. Bene valete et bene velitis et mementote extremi examinis ante tribunal terribile^r districti iudicis.

^a quidem L

^b parere L

^c exercitibus L

^d quingentis L

^e *om.* disperdat....et L

^f non habet secundum L

^g illo L

^h solus L

ⁱ triumphator L

^j toties L

^k et L

^l Quomodo enim L

^m V *add.* gloriosior struck through for omission

ⁿ virtus....est L

^o *sic* V, pro L

^p illic L

^q hic L

^r Terribile tribunal L, terribile *interlined* V

1. Cf. 1 Samuel 17 2. Ps 34:2 3. Ruth 4:4

Letter 90
The convent of St Pancras to Master David of London

[Late 1170s X 1180]¹

To the venerable master David their most beloved friend, the humble convent of St Pancras² sends true greeting in the truth to save³. We know and confess, not without regret, that we deserve nothing from you, nor should the fulfilment of our prayers depend upon the grace of previous merits. Thus it shall be for grace alone to supply protection to the petitioners, grace that doubtless by divine favour shall not be lacking to defend Christ's poor. The Philistines, as you know, rose up against Israel in battle, in chariots and with countless horsemen, glorying in their multitude⁴. Their leader appointed gold as his defence and silver his strength, just as the poor of Christ are confounded and the Lord's inheritance is scattered by men of subtle speech and the worldly wise. Who, therefore, will stand for the tribe of Israel and fight for the camp of the eternal king? Only David, who has no second. Our David, like the David of scripture, shall be one for a thousand, better than the ten thousand against whom he contends. Only our David shall stand glorious, triumphant over so numerous a foe. He alone the Lord selects as his amongst the multitude. How much more glorious it is to fear God than mammon, and to win divine grace to oneself than to tremble in the fear of man. Better wage war against a multitude than ever once fight against God. When will you give your soul for the Lord, if for a single hour you deny Him your tongue? Indeed, to stand for truth is to fight for Christ. The more abundant the resources of your foes, the greater the fruits of fighting and the more glorious the victory. For we have Jesus Christ as our just and legally expert advocate before the Father, the strength and the wisdom of God, in whose name we enter battle. It is he who speaks through your mouth, in honour and glory to himself and in eternal recompense to you.

Meanwhile, we have heard that Ely⁵ in anger has turned his face and spirit from you, because you judged it safer not to fight in his company against the Lord. If therefore your fighting is not for the Lord, what reward will be yours? On one side worldly riches will be forfeit, on the other eternal reward will not be gained. 'Seize arms and shield', therefore, oh best of men, our hope and our refuge, 'and rise up to aid' the poor of Christ⁶. 'Purchase and possess'⁷ each one of us as brothers and friends, obedient for ever before God. Stand firm to defend our justice as one flesh, and we shall fight for you against all spiritual adversaries, nor shall our entire skill, freely given, be lacking to your vows or voice. Fare well and be of good intent, mindful of last judgement before the dreadful seat of that strict judge.

¹ As no.89.

² Lewes (Sussex), St Pancras (Cluny), founded 1077. Possible heads: William II, occ 1170 X 1171, Osbert occ. 1174 X 1178, Hugh III occ. 1179 X 1186, *Heads*, 119.

³ A salutation much favoured by Peter of Blois in his *Later Letters* (ed. Revell).

⁴ Various battles appear in the bible between the Philistines and Israel but presumably the one referred to here is the story of David and Goliath, as in 1 Samuel 17

⁵ Likely referring either to Geoffrey Ridell, bishop of Ely, or (less likely) to Richard Fitz Nigel, archdeacon of Ely, later bishop of London.

⁶ Ps. 34:2.

⁷ Ruth 4:4

Appendix Two: Incipits

1. *Que cordi magis*
2. *Letus factus sum*
3. *Inter cetera que*
4. *Antiquum et vetus*
5. *Aduentantibus Boloniam*
6. *Ad utile vestrum*
7. *Quod gratie vestre*
8. *Gratulor quod*
9. *Si dies illos*
10. *Dileccionis et obsequii*
11. *Sicut ore domini*
12. *Egritudine graui*
13. *Eam que est*
14. *Unico suo et*
15. *A pectore meo*
16. *Si vobis*
17. *Utinam utiliozem*
18. *Si etiam et*
19. *Noui dominum regem*
20. *Si gratiam illam*
21. *Uno spiritu gradi*
22. *Descendebat ad mare*
23. *Timide scribitur*
24. *Nemo potest*
25. *Ne miremini*
26. *Rerum varietate*
27. *Aput plures*

28. *Magnum est*
29. *Excellentie tue nuntios*
30. *Super discretione*
31. *Affectum vestrum*
32. *Ad suggestionem nuntiozem*
33. *Quod tibi*
34. *Quantam in Cristo*
35. *Que vestra michi*
36. *Quod amici mei*
37. *Respicientes ad priora*
38. *Seueritatem vestram*
39. *Mittimus ad vos*
40. *Seueritatem, domine*
41. *Nouerit serenitas*
42. *Circa mee vocationis*
43. *Quanta sollicitudine*
44. *Ad sanctorum gloriam*
45. *Noueris itaque*
46. *Lator presentium*
47. *Mandatum, pater*
48. *Cause illi que*
49. *Quanto sincerius*
50. *Scismaticorum sectas*
51. *Eterna et incommutabilis*
52. *Cum ex suscepti*
53. *De promotione vestra*
54. *Infortunium meum*
55. *Egressi sunt*

56. *Gratum michi est*
57. *Gloria nostra*
58. *Quotiens amicorum*
59. *Deuotus filius*
60. *Qui nube tristicie*
61. *Ut ecclesiarum salus*
62. *Quam gratus*
63. *Conditori ac redemptori*
64. *Celebris fame*
65. *Benedictus dominus*
66. *Exultat celsitudinis*
67. *Religiosis desideriis*
68. *Quoniam in postulatione*
69. *Illius deuotionis*
70. *Inuitant me aliqui*
71. *Inter ceteros*
72. *Constitutus in presentia*
73. *Quoniam ad nostrum*
74. *Litteraturum, honestatem*
75. *Cum regia negotia*
76. *Notum facimus*
77. *Sullimitati vestre*
78. *Quamuis de officii*
79. *Oportet serenissime*
80. *Quoniam honoris*
81. *Ad apostolice sedis*
82. *Et quoniam dilectus*
83. *Illius siquidem dilectionis*

84. *Lator presentium magister*

85. *Ex quo noticiam*

86. *Ignoti facie*

87. *Antequam secundi*

88. *Presumptionis argui*

89. *Inter cetera que*

90. *Scimus quod*

Appendix Three: David's Itinerary

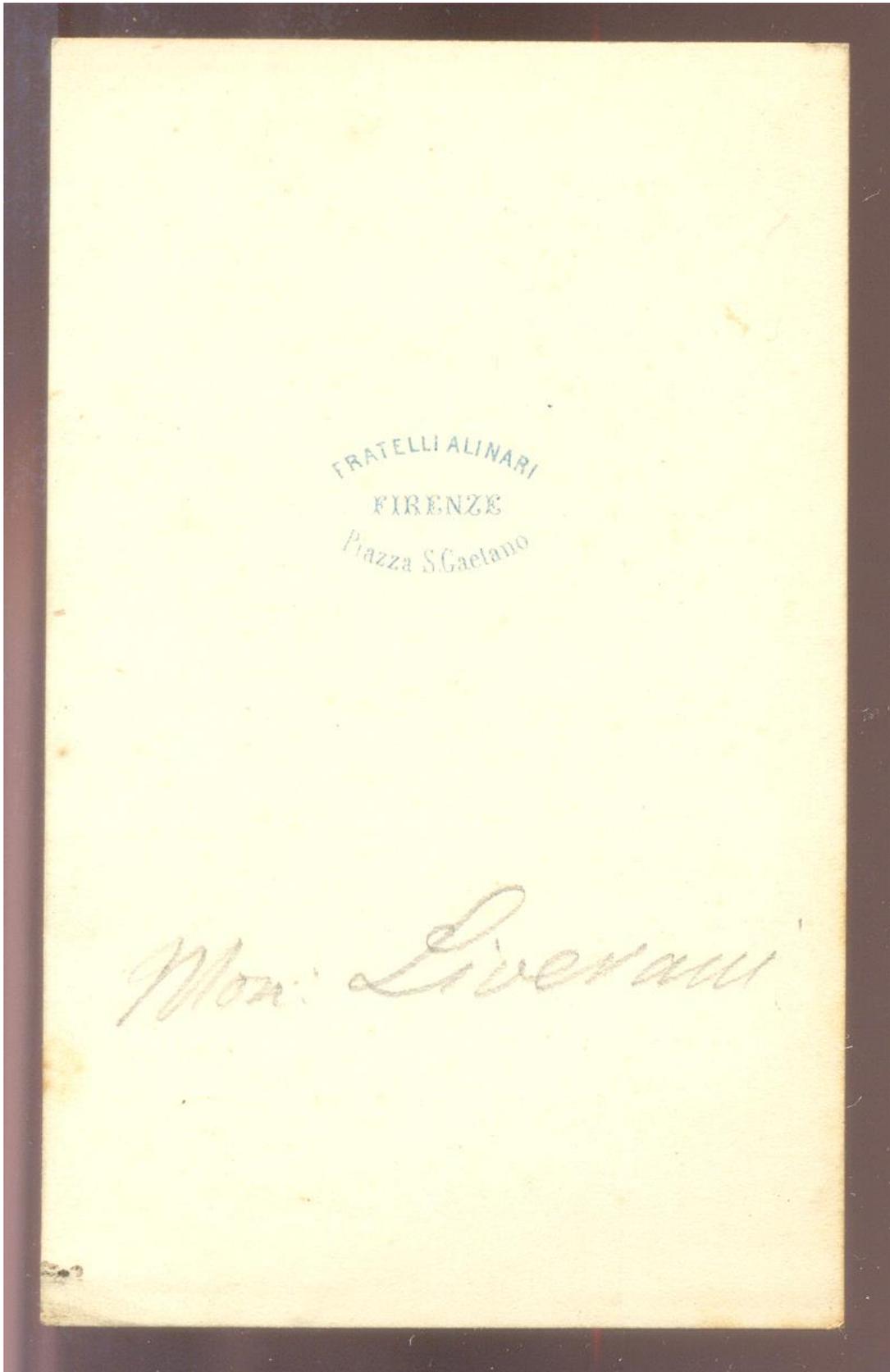
? indicates that it is not certain, but is likely

<u>Early Life</u>		
London		
<u>1150s</u>		
	Clermont	For studying and/ or teaching
<u>1159</u>		
	Paris	For studying and/or teaching
<u>1160s</u>		
	?London/ St Paul's	
<u>Late 1166- mid 1169</u>		
	Bologna	For studying
<u>1169</u>		
Late in the year- very early 1170	Beneventum (Papal Curia)	To prosecute Foliot's appeal
<u>1170</u>		
5 April (Easter)	Rouen	For Foliot's absolution
14 June	Westminster	For the Young King's coronation
1 X 5 December	Canterbury	As messenger to Becket
December	?Normandy	At the king's court with Foliot
Late December	Tusculum (Papal Curia)	To secure Foliot's absolution
<u>1171</u>		
c.Jan X c.April	Tusculum (Papal Curia)	To secure Foliot's absolution
c.June X July	Normandy	To re-join Foliot
1 August	?Gisors	For Foliot's second absolution
<u>1172</u>		
Before c. May	London, St Paul's	
Post May	?Normandy	To appear before the king
<u>1173</u>		
Before 9 June	Canterbury	For negotiations with Odo, prior of Canterbury
After 9 June	London	A return to London

	<u>1175</u>	
May	Westminster	For the Council of Westminster
	<u>Late 1170s</u>	
	Worcester	When he joined Roger's <i>familia</i>

Appendix Four: Image of Francesco Liverani





Postcard photograph of Francesco Liverani c.1865.

